





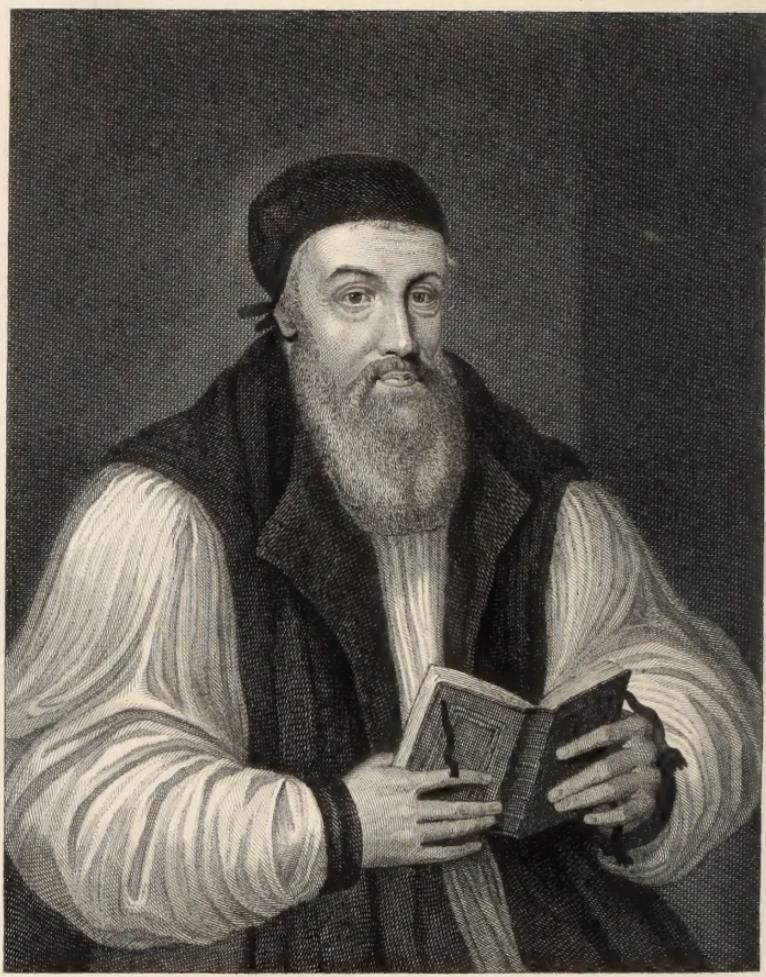
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History and the life and  
acts



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Engraved by J. Fisher A.R.A. after a Drawing by W. Scrots, taken from a Picture in the Library of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace.

EDMUND GRINDAL,

*Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Born about 1519.

Died July 6<sup>th</sup> 1583.

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
THE LIFE AND ACTS  
OF THE  
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
**EDMUND GRINDAL,**

THE FIRST BISHOP OF LONDON, AND THE SECOND ARCH-BISHOP OF YORK AND CANTERBURY SUCCESSIVELY,  
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL MSS.

Faithfully transcribed out of the best Archives; whereunto Reference is made  
in the History.

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IN TWO BOOKS.

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BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

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OXFORD,  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCXXI.



TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

T H O M A S,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, LORD ARCHEBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,  
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN ;  
AND  
ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace,

I PRESENT your Grace with the Life and Actions (as far as I could retrieve them) of one of your glorious predecessors in the chair of Canterbury. And how he discharged his most high and holy office in those critical times, wherein the newly Reformed Church (beset with enemies and malecontents) needed a very wise conduct, I leave your Grace, and other intelligent and impartial readers, (after perusal of these sheets,) to judge.

This commentary indeed, in course of time, should have followed that of Archbishop Parker's Life, but hath the fortune to appear in the world before it. The reason whereof was, the solicitation of a great many honourable, worshipful, reverend, and other inquisitive persons, who were desirous (upon an occasion sufficiently known) to understand more perfectly, who and what this Archbishop was, so long ago deceased, that almost all of him, but his

name, and a particular notion or two, (however taken up of him,) was gone out of memory. Some of these were my friends and acquaintance, who knew I had composed such a work; as indeed I had divers years ago, together with the Life of his immediate predecessor; for this honest end, *viz.* to contribute more light into the state of the Church of England, when it first emerged out of Popery, and to shew the great and painful cares and labours of those its chiefests piritual governors; whom (with several others of Queen Elizabeth's first Bishops) I cannot but look upon with awful reverence, as men inspired by God with larger degrees of his Holy Spirit of piety, wisdom, resolution, and constancy.

To their request therefore, my Lord, I soon yielded: not out of any inclination to mingle myself in quarrels and contests, (which my nature abhors,) but to gratify their reasonable desires; and likewise that a due and honorary respect might be kept up for the memory of those holy Primates and Prelates, that first had the oversight of our religion, upon the blessed Reformation, committed to them: and chiefly, that the true history of our excellently constituted Church, and the genuine doctrines and practices of it, might be more known. Which would (I dare say) direct us better to judge of our modern controversies, and be a means to reconcile an honourable esteem towards it; and perhaps to unite Protestants in a better understanding together, both at home and abroad.

And truly, my Lord, since this good Archbishop hath been lately so much, and yet so darkly talked of, justice and religion require that right be done

to his name, especially having been sometime a personage of such eminent rank and figure here. It is humane to vindicate the reputations of the dead, who cannot speak for themselves: it is the part of a Christian to do it for those who have been *Confessors* for religion, and lived and died constantly in the true faith of Christ. But it is the duty of a member of the Church of England to preserve the memory, fair and unspotted, of one that had been advanced to the highest honour and trust in it; and bore a great part in the first reformation of it.

It is true, my Lord, it hath been Archbishop Grindal's misfortune (I cannot tell by what means) to be of later times misdeemed as an ill governor of this Church. But surely in the times wherein he lived (when he was better known) his episcopal abilities and admirable endowments for spiritual government (as well as his singular learning) were much celebrated. Give me leave, my Lord, to produce the testimony of a learned Churchman and contemporary with him. When the see of York (anno 1568) lay destitute of a Pastor, Dr. Matthew Hutton, the Dean, sensible of the great need that northern diocese and province stood of a fit person for that weighty and difficult charge, sent a letter to Cecil the Secretary, expressive of the same: suggesting withal, what qualifications he that was to be sent among them ought to have, *viz.* "that he  
"should be a teacher, because the country was ig-  
"norant; a virtuous and godly man, because the  
"country was given to sift such a man's life; a stout  
"and courageous man in God's cause, because the  
"country otherwise would abuse him; and yet a

“ sober and discreet man, lest too much rigorous-  
“ ness should harden the hearts of some that by  
“ fair means might be mollified, &c. And such a  
“ Bishop likewise as was both learned himself, and  
“ also loved learning; that that rude and blind  
“ country might be furnished with learned preach-  
“ ers.” And all these excellent qualities he reckoned  
centred in Grindal. For, as he added, “such a  
“ man was the Bishop of London known to be.”  
And therefore he wished that LONDON were translated to YORK, as I have observed elsewhere.

Nothing to this day sticks upon our Archbishop, but the matter of the Exercises, and his suspension. That is the stumbling block and the rock of offence. Whence many have surmised, I know not what, inclination in him towards a discipline in this Church different to what was established. But how groundless this is, may sufficiently, nay abundantly, appear by what is related thereof in this history. Nor need I add any thing more of that affair, except the great esteem and high value he universally had, even at that juncture, when he lay under his Prince's frowns. Insomuch (if I may presume to detain your Grace in a few lines more) that when Barnes, Bishop of Durham, had taken the liberty to speak somewhat reflectingly upon the Archbishop, soon after his disgrace, the Lord Treasurer Burghley took occasion to signify to him, with a concern, how reports went, that he had no good mind toward the Archbishop of Canterbury at that time of his trouble. I have that Bishop's answer to that great Lord, writ by his own hand. Wherein it is observable, he does not charge the Archbishop

with lack of sincerity toward the Church, nor condemneth those Exercises. But more like a courtier, and one that affected further favours from the throne, accused him of “wilfulness, and for contemning the regal power, and obstinacy in not yielding to that which their Honours [of the Star Chamber] had set down; the same being godly and expedient for the time, the malapertness of brainless men considered, &c.” And as for the Exercises, “though being well ordered, he confess-“ed they were *de bene esse religionis*, yet they “were not *de esse religionis sinceræ*. And there-“fore not to be urged so, as to contend with her “Highness and her Council.

“This, he owned to the Lord Treasurer, he had discoursed but to two or three at the most; and that he urged it only in defence of her Majesty, when bruits had been spread, that the Archbishopshop had been cruelly dealt withal, and had not deserved to be so straitened. And also other slanders (he added) had been dispersed, *viz.* that my Lord of Leicester, and others, should further his troubles. Which, he said, he knew to be most false: and that he was therefore under a kind of force to assert the Archbishop’s wilfulness and undutifulness to be the just occasion thereof, &c. And more than this, he affirmed, he had not done; nor, but that he was forced, he should not have done or said any thing of him at all. And lastly, he concluded, that he never minded, if he might, to urge her Majesty’s indignation against any man, *neque addere afflictionem afflito.*”

A disrespect also was taken notice of in him to-

wards the Archbishop; which was, that when he was last in Town, he had not given the Archbishop a visit. But this, he said, he had determined to have done, had he not been warned by some (whom he would obey) not to do it.

My Lord, I have mentioned this passage for two ends chiefly, *viz.* that it might appear it was not the Archbishop's favour to another Church's discipline, and dislike of this, that was the cause of his present troubles; and to shew, that he still retained an high esteem from the greatest and best of the Court; as is evident from that care that was taken that his good name should not be impaired. I only add, that Bishop Barnes had no good-will towards the Archbishop; and he could not forget, how the Archbishop had not long before dealt against him for some defects, either in the discharge of his episcopal function, or for his bribe-taking officers.

But, my Lord, to return to our history. The benefit whereof is not barely to acquaint us with the life of a single Archbishop, but to let us in (as it were through this door) into more public affairs of the State, and especially of the Church, that fell within that compass of years. As, what the cares of the Queen and her Council were for religion and the good government of the Church, in pursuance of her authority in causes ecclesiastical: what was done in Synods; what in ecclesiastical Commissions, and at visitations of dioceses and provinces; what methods and labours were used for uniformity in religious worship, established by law, both with Papists and Puritans; what Bishops were appointed to preside in the sees, as they became vacant; what

ecclesiastical canons, ordinances, constitutions, and injunctions were made or propounded; what regulations of Archbishops' Courts; what correspondence held with the Reformed Churches abroad; what respect had to those strangers, that for the sake of Christ and true religion, fled over, and planted themselves in this kingdom: inspection into the religion and manners of the Inns of Court and Universities; vigilancy against errors and heresies; with divers other things of that nature. All of good use for such as desire to understand the true constitution of our excellent apostolical Church.

And now, my Lord, I have nothing more to add, but the protestation of my truth and sincerity in every thing I have writ concerning this most venerable Primate, and the other affairs concurring. It is the product of many years search into authentic manuscripts, records, papers of state, and more secret letters; besides the registers of London and Canterbury, (wherein I have used mine own eyes,) and that of York, (wherein I have been forced to use the eyes of others, but of such faithful, diligent persons as we may confide in.) A good number of these (besides those that are entered into the body of the history) I have exactly transcribed, and cast them to the end of the book, for the justification of myself, and the satisfaction of inquisitive readers. And as I have had these advantages of archives, so I have invariably followed them, and without reserve or concealment, fairly and faithfully set down the notices they have furnished me with.

And thus, my Lord, recommending myself and  
my pains unto the favourable interpretation and  
candour of your Grace, (and all other learned read-  
ers,) I humbly take my leave, being,

If it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble

And obedient servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE LIFE AND ACTS  
OF THE  
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
EDMUND GRINDAL,

The first Bishop of London after Queen Elizabeth's Access to the Crown, and the second Archbishop of Canterbury.

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BOOK I.

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CHAP. I.

*Grindal's country and parentage. Noted in the University for his learning. Disputes before the King's Visitors. Becomes Bishop Ridley's Chaplain. Bucer applies to him. Preaches abroad. Becomes Chaplain to the King. Lives in exile.*

WE have but little to say of the earlier part of this Pre-  
late's life. He was born about the year of our Lord 1519, CHAP.  
I.  
in a little angle of the county of Cumberland called Cowpl-  
land, or Copland, from the *hills* in those southern parts of Anno 1519.  
His country  
Cumber-  
land.  
the county, which *cope* in the old English language im-  
porteth. And though, as he himself in one of his letters  
gave the character of it, Cowpland, of all that shire, was  
the ignorantest part in religion, yet brought it forth this  
shining light of learning and religion: and however bar-

**BOOK** barous the place of his birth was, yet it obtained a great  
<sup>1.</sup> share in his tender affection and love towards it. It had la-  
 Anno 1519. boured not only under great ignorance, but under great op-  
<sup>2</sup> pression of covetous landlords, most of any one part of the  
 realm. For the redressing of which, in the month of May,  
 anno 1563, when he was Bishop of London, he betook him-  
 self to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, his cordial and  
 constant friend; discovering at large to him the state of the  
 place, and discoursing and consulting with him about a re-  
 medy of the evils it suffered under: having often thought,  
 as he said, to make a general suit to him for a regard to  
 it. Which, no question, had a good effect.

**The gentry there.** The like concern this reverend and pious Bishop had for the good education of the gentry there; whose influence he knew would be so considerable upon the whole country. And hearing of the decease of one Mr. Skelton, a gentleman that had lived very near his own native town, leaving a young son and heir behind him, he speedily informed the said Cecil, master of the wards, of it; adding, that he knew his countrymen would make good speed for the wardship. And therefore he earnestly desired the said master, "that "he would take order for the good education of the ward; "and not leave the poor tenants subject to the expilations of "those country gentlemen, without some choice." Wherein he offered, if it pleased him to understand his opinion, to utter it simply according to his understanding.

**His family and relations.** As for the Bishop's own family and relations, to them he bore an hearty affection, as well as to his country. He was born in the parish of St. Begh's, (so called from a certain Irish virgin saint, named St. Bega, who retired here, and had a cell afterwards founded here to her memory.) Yet a

**Ralph Tho- resby, of Leeds, Esq.** very inquisitive learned gentleman in the north hath informed me, that this Bishop was not born at St. Begh's, but at Hensingham, a mile south of Whitehaven, three miles distant from St. Begh's, but in the said parish.

**Edwin Sandys of St. Begh's.** There was an intimate friendship and familiarity from their youths continued between him and Edwin Sandys, who succeeded him also in London and York, which sprang,

as it seems, from their acquaintance in this town of St. CHAP.  
Begh's; Sandys being from the said place, and his father a <sup>1.</sup>  
justice of peace there. For from twelve years old (except Anno 1519.  
from Sandys's thirteenth to his eighteenth, when perhaps  
their parting was occasioned by one of them going to the  
University before the other; Sandys being three or four  
years elder than Grindal) they had lived in the University,  
and out of it, through all fortunes, (both in adversity, for  
the sake of the Gospel, and in prosperity,) as brothers to  
gether. And therefore, in the year 1563, when Sandys's former Vid. Annal.  
life and innocency had been unhandsomely traduced by Sir <sup>of the Re-</sup>  
John Bourn, of Worcester, knight, in an apology of his to <sup>form. chap.</sup> 35.  
the Privy Council, he earnestly prayed them, that Bishop  
Grindal, who had known him so well from his young years,  
might be called to give his testimony of his behaviour.

In an house here, in St. Begh's parish, held by his fa- Procures  
ther, he fetched his first breath. The lease of this house, leases for  
with the land pertaining thereto, being under twenty shil- his family.  
lings rent, but well built at the charges of his father and  
brother, he obtained of Sir Thomas Chaloner; together with  
another lease of certain tithes of the parsonage of St. Begh's, 3  
himself paying the fines, and conferring it upon his brother  
and his children; intending thereby to advance his family.  
But God disappointed him; the males of the family dying  
soon after; and, by some unlooked-for misfortune, the leases  
being in danger of a forfeiture. For his brother, whose  
name was Robert, and his wife Elizabeth, and Edmund his  
only son, all three died anno 1567, in the space of three  
weeks, to the good Bishop's no small grief: his said brother  
leaving four daughters orphans; and by his testament he  
made his second daughter Anne sole executrix: whereby  
she had the possession of those two leases. She had been  
willed in her father's last testament to be directed in all  
things by her uncle the Bishop. But, clean contrary to his  
mind, and utterly against his will, she bestowed herself in  
marriage with one William Dacres, son of Richard Dacres, His niece  
gent. who dwelt beside Carlisle: which William had combined marries to  
himself with Leonard Dacres and others in that traitorous  
<sup>Dacres.</sup>

**BOOK I.** rebellion, moved in the year 1569, in Cumberland. Now the Bishop's fear was, that if William Dacres, who married his niece, should forfeit his goods and chattels by reason of his being in rebellion, he having the two leases in his hand, they might all be swallowed up in the forfeiture; and so his other three nieces be utterly deprived of their portions therein.

**Anno 1519.** His leases like to be forfeited. This put the Bishop upon suing to the Secretary his friend, in the month of February the said year, that he would be a means to the Queen beforehand, (for avoiding the being prevented,) that she would grant, that the portion and interest which the other three sisters orphans had, or ought to have had, in the said two leases, might be reserved unto them: and also, that whatsoever might accrue to her Majesty by forfeiture or attainer of the said William Dacres, concerning those leases of the house and tithes aforesaid, he (the Bishop) might have the preference before another for the purchasing thereof; being willing to pay as much as the thing was worth, or more: leaving the Secretary, as he said, to consider how much he was bound in nature and charity to make this request. Or in case the forfeiture fell not to the Queen, but to Sir Thomas Chaloner's executors, (which was the common opinion at St. Begh's, by reason of the charter of liberties which the abbey there had, and Sir Thomas purchased,) then he prayed the said Secretary, who was one of the said Chaloner's executors, that he would permit him to compound with him: though his judgment, as he added, was, that no such liberty could pretend to a title in the goods of traitors.

Will. Grindal, Lady Elizabeth's tutor. I cannot trace his family any farther; only, that I find one William Grindal, a dear and intimate friend, colleague, and pupil of Roger Ascham, Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge: who was removed from the college to the court by Cheke, King Edward's tutor, and dwelt with him, and assisted him, probably for a time, in the instructing of that prince. He was chiefly employed as a tutor to the Lady Elizabeth in her studies. Ascham, in a letter to the said lady, commanding her proficiency in learning, and rendering her fortunes and high birth thereby more noble, by joining good literature

thereunto, assigned several things to be the causes thereof; CHAP.  
 as her reading of Plato, her own excellent judgment, the I.  
 counsel of an accomplished lady, the Lady Champernoun, Anno 1519.  
 who it seems had some charge over her; and among the <sup>4</sup> rest,  
 the precepts of his dear friend Grindal. And she made  
 very notable progress in Greek and Latin, by the cares and  
 method that this Grindal took in her instruction. And what  
 further advances she was likely to make in those languages,  
 in case she proceeded in the same course that the said  
 Grindal took with her, Ascham signified in one of his letters  
 to Cheke<sup>a</sup>. “ It can scarce be credited, to what degree of <sup>a</sup> Vix credi  
 “ skill in the Latin and Greek she might arrive, if she shall potest, or  
 “ proceed in that course of study wherein she hath begun natissime  
 “ by the guidance of Grindal.” But she had a great loss in Chece, ad  
 losing soon this her ingenious and learned instructor: for quantam  
 he died young, in the year 1548, of the plague, and made a peritiam  
 very pious end; and left this character: *mores, ingenium, memoria, judicium tale habuit, quale vix cuiquam in eo quo, Anglia contingit.* The Lady Elizabeth, to recruit herself duce, cepe.  
 with another instructor, sent for the afore-mentioned As-  
 cham from Cambridge, to supply his place; and he accord-  
 est. *As-*ingly came up, and was with her at Cheshunt. But what *cham. Ep.*  
 relation the said Grindal was to our Prelate, besides that of <sup>P. 97.</sup>  
 his ingenuity, piety, and learning, I know not. There was  
 also one James Grindal, a clergyman, on whom the Bishop James Grin-  
 bestowed a prebend in Paul’s; and another of his name, dal.  
 whom he retained in his family, when Archbishop of Can-  
 terbury. I meet also with one of this name, or very like it,  
 in the reign of King Richard II. I dare not say the Bi-  
 shop was of his family; but yet I will mention him here:  
*viz.* Thomas Grendal, of Fenton in the county of Hunting-  
 don; who, being cousin and heir to John Beaumeys, of <sup>Camden’s</sup> Armories.  
 Sautre, of the same county, granted his coat (<sup>Tho.</sup> Grin-  
 Beaumeys) to Will. Moigne, knt. which was argent, upon  
 a cross azure, five garbs, or.

Our Edmund Grindal, in his tender years, addicted him- He escapes  
 self to his studies. And even while he was a child books <sup>a great dan-</sup>  
 were his delight and recreation, carrying them about with ger when a  
 boy.

**BOOK** him: which, as it shewed the pleasure he took in learning,  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 I so it fell out once very fortunately to him. For when he  
 Anno 1519. was a boy, walking somewhere in the fields, and having his  
 book in his bosom, an arrow accidentally came, that light  
 with its point just in the place where the book was; which,  
 if the book had not been there, must have certainly slain  
 him. Which passage Conrad Hubert, the publisher of  
 Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, (which he dedicated to him  
 when he was Archbishop,) would make to be a special piece  
 of God's providence; by saving his life in such a remark-  
 able manner, who was afterwards to do him such great ser-  
 vice in his Church.

**Sent to Cambridge.** He was sent up to the University of Cambridge; where  
 three colleges may boast of him. Magdalen college first en-  
 tertained him, and gave him his earliest seasoning. Thence  
 he became a member of Christ's college; drawn thither, I  
 suppose, upon the account of some encouragement and ex-  
 hibition. His third remove was to Pembroke hall, where  
 he was first Fellow, and President in King Edward's time,  
 while Bishop Ridley was Master: afterwards, in the begin-  
 ning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he became Master of the  
 Anno 1549. college. And to all these colleges he shewed his gratitude:  
 to each assigning certain liberal benefactions by his last will,  
 as shall be told hereafter.

**Disputes before the King's visitors.** Before he came to be taken notice of in the Church, he  
 made a figure in the University, as one of the ripest wits  
 and learnedest men in Cambridge. And when an extra-  
 ordinary act was commenced, anno 1549, for the entertain-  
 ment of King Edward's visitors there, *viz.* Goodrich Bishop  
 of Ely, Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Paget, Sir  
 Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr. Mey, and Dr. Wendy,  
 all very learned men; and the questions to be disputed  
 were,

Whether transubstantiation could be proved by plain and  
 manifest words of Scripture: and,

Whether it might be collected and confirmed by the con-  
 sent of Fathers *for these thousand years past.* [So Fuller;  
 but it should rather be, *for a thousand years after Christ.*]

At this disputation, one of the four selected out of the whole University that asserted the negative, was our Grindal, then a young man, and Fellow of Pembroke hall: a college wherein in those times were harboured many eminent professors of sincere religion, that came up students from the northern parts, as Ridley, Turner, Bradford, and others. The other three disputants being Pern, Guest, and Pilkington. And probably Bishop Ridley hearing how aptly and excellently Grindal did then acquit himself, might from thence design him for his chaplain. The disputation may be seen at large in Fox's *Martyrology*.

He was this year (being Bachelor in Divinity) admitted Lady Margaret's Preacher.

The first appearance of him in the Church, as I can find, was when Bishop Ridley, now removed to the bishopric of London, made choice of him for his chaplain, being fellow-domestic with two other holy and learned men, Rogers and Bradford, who both ended their lives at a stake for the testimony of the Gospel. Of all whom the said Bishop, in a letter to Sir John Cheke, gave this testimonial: "That they

"were men of good learning, and, as he was persuaded, of excellent virtue; and which were able both with life and learning to set forth God's word in London and in the whole diocese." And of Grindal, in particular, he told Cheke, "that he himself knew him to be a man of virtue and learning." But as yet this last was without preferment: for whom, upon the death of Layton, an old preacher, he designed the prebend of Cantrelles in the Church of St. Paul's, had he not been obstructed by one Thomas, a clerk of the Council, who had laboured with the King and Council the next avoidance for himself. And, being become void, letters were writ to the Bishop by some of the Council to stay his collation of the prebend. For when it was perceived that Ridley would never be thought to bestow the prebend upon Thomas, some procured it to be settled for the furnishing of the King's stables. This extremely troubled the good Bishop; who therefore applied himself to Cheke, Wroth, and Cecil, at the Court, whom he

Anno 1549.  
Pembroke  
hall.

Becomes  
Ridley's  
Chaplain.  
MSN. Ceci-  
lian.

The Bi-  
shop's cha-  
racter and  
care of him.

**BOOK** esteemed men that loved the Gospel: that they would inter-

**1.** pose, that he might collate this his Chaplain to the said pre-

Anno 1550, bend, to whom he said he would with all his heart grant it;

**6** that so he might have him continually with him, and in his diocese to preach. He added, “that the man, Mr. Grindal, “moved him very much; for that he was known to be both “of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. And, “finally, he prayed them for God’s sake to help; that, with “favour of the Council, he might have knowledge of the “King’s good pleasure to give this living unto his said well-“deserving Chaplain.” But whether Grindal after all this enjoyed Cantrelles or no, I cannot tell: nevertheless, soon after, the chantership of the church was collated on him, a thing of better value. So that in short time the Bishop, like a good master, provided for this, as well as his two other chaplains. This was collated on him August 24, 1551.

Made  
Chanter  
of Paul's.

President of  
Pembroke  
hall.

Bucer ap-  
plies to him  
about a dis-  
putation held with  
Young.

Grindal was now President of his college, (as Ridley the Bishop, to whom he was Chaplain, was Master,) but was absent this summer, being at London with the Bishop; when there happened a public disputation at Cambridge, between Martin Bucer, the King’s Professor of Divinity, and one John Young, of the same University, a Papist, yet a subscriber; who undertook to grapple with that learned Professor about works done before justification; which he asserted were not pleasing to God, but were of the nature of sin. Young held the other part; though the doctrine were laid down in one of the King’s late Homilies, *viz.* that of Good Works. In fine, the disputation caused great stirs and party-making in the University. The business came into the Vice-Chancellor’s court, where Young accused Bucer of great errors, and asserting matters both against Scripture and Fathers; and had drawn up in writing his own disputation, but not faithfully, and communicated it to his friends; though he would not to Bucer, who was most concerned, when he desired it. The reverend man, therefore, to vindicate himself from slanders and misreports, wrote down the disputation himself, according to what both said

*pro* and *con*, and first laid the writing before the heads: CHAP.  
I. and thought it expedient likewise, for his own safety and reputation, being the King's Reader, for thus vindicating his Anno 1550. doctrine, to give an account of this affair to the Court; and therefore wrote it to Sir John Cheke: and soon after he sent the whole copy of this dispute to Grindal, then with the Bishop, his very cordial friend, together with a letter to him, dated August the last, praying him first to peruse it well himself, and then to represent it clearly and fully to the said Bishop: and that, "because this point now debated was a principal article of doctrine, which," as he said, "he would not betray for the sake of no creature in the world; " and that it was not meet for him to be tolerated a moment in his present function, should he err in this head of "Christian doctrine:" he beseeched Grindal therefore to open his cause to the Bishop, and withal to ask his counsel, what he would direct him to do; which he was confident the reverend Father would not think much to impart to him: and since it was the cause of Christ, the Church, and University, that Grindal would speedily send some trusty person to him, with an ample answer, if he came not himself. This whole letter to Grindal may not be amiss to be perused: and 7 I have set it in the Appendix, as I found it in his Num. I. *Scripta Anglicana*. And no question this kindness Grindal did for his friend Bucer, and especially for his greater friend *truth*.

It was but the latter end of the winter following that he paid his last respects to his said friend; being one of those that assisted at the funeral, and bore up Bucer's hearse, Assists at  
Bucer's fu-  
neral. when he was carried to St. Mary's church to be buried: and Dr. Matthew Parker preached his funeral sermon. But to return to Bishop Ridley, our Grindal's patron.

These his foresaid three Chaplains the Bishop preferred to be prebendaries of his church of St. Paul's. But such was their worth and usefulness, that they were all employed abroad: so that Ridley could keep none of them with him in his house, as he told the Secretary and the Vice-Chamberlain. Employed  
abroad in  
preaching.

**BOOK I.** In the year 1551, Grindal's parts were so well known, that he was concerned in two amicable private conferences:

**Anno 1551.** Engaged in certain conferences. What the true and genuine sense of those words of Christ was, *This is my body*; and, whether they were to be understood in the letter, or in the figure? the former managed at Secretary Cecil's house, and the latter at Mr. Morison's; whereat divers learned and noble men were present. There assisted on the Protestant side, (beside Grindal,) Cheke, Horn, and Whitehead; and Feckenham, Young, and Watson on the other.

Becomes one of the King's Chaplains. In December this year a resolution was taken by the King's Council, that the King should retain six Chaplains; whose employments were thus laid out for them: two to be always with the King in waiting; the other four to be sent over the kingdom, especially the remoter counties, to preach to the common people, and to instruct them in the principles of true religion, and obedience to their prince. These six were afterwards reduced to four: and Grindal was one of these; the other being Dr. Bill, Dr. Harley, (afterwards Bishop of Hereford,) and Dr. Pern. And their annual salaries were 40*l.* each.

**Anno 1552.** Hath a royal licence to preach. In the month of June, 6 Edward VI. for his greater countenance he obtained a royal licence to preach. And in July following, I find (in King Edward's Warrant-Book) a grant to Edmund Grindal, B.D. of a Prebend in Westminster for life, void by the death of one Breton.

Nominated for a bishopric. In the month of November, Grindal was nominated for a bishopric in the north, being then not above three and thirty years of age: such public notice had been already taken of his abilities. Of this his designed preferment Bishop Ridley was very glad, giving God hearty thanks, as he said in a letter to certain of his friends at court, *viz.* Sir John Gate, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir William Cecil, Secretary,

MSS. Cecilian. "that it had pleased him to move the heart of the King's majesty to choose such a man, of such godly qualities, unto such a room." But being desirous to bestow the prebend that would be vacant upon Grindal's remove, and to fix some worthy person therein himself, fearing some

courtier might obtain it of the King for some unworthy or CHAP.  
unfit person, the said Bishop addressed for that purpose a <sup>I.</sup> letter to the same Sir John Gate, and Sir William Cecil, Anno 1552.  
men of great interest with the King. And as an argument <sup>8</sup> to move the King thereto, he shewed them how well himself had bestowed three or four of these prebends, and what worthy and well-deserving men they were, to whom he granted them; namely, men that were known to be so necessary abroad in the commonwealth, that he could keep none of them with him in his house; meaning our Grindal, together with Bradford and Rogers: propounding to their consideration also, how he was placed where he had daily need of learned men's counsel and conference. Beseeching them therefore, for God's sake, to be so good unto the see of London, which, as he said, was *the spectacle of all England*, as to be petitioners for him in God's cause unto the King; "That seeing his Highness did perceive that he did "so well bestow the prebend which Mr. Grindal had of his "collation, that it would please him, of his gracious clemency, to grant him the collation of the same again: that "he might therewith call some other like learned man, "whom hereafter, by God's grace, his Highness might "think meet likewise to promote, as Mr. Grindal then was. "If they desired to know unto whom he would that dignity "of his church, called the Chantership, should be given, he "told them, unto any one of these following persons: Mr. "Bradford, (*whom in my conscience*, said he, *I judge more worthy to be a bishop, than many of us that be bishops already to be parish priests,*) Mr. Sampson, Mr. Harvey, "Mr. Grimold, Dr. Lancelot Ridley, all preachers. And to "conclude, he prayed them to be suitors to the King for "him: nay, not for him, but for God's word's sake, that the "said collation might be given unto him for one or any of "these; and he would surely praise God in them."

What this northern bishopric was, to which Grindal was nominated, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in <sup>was</sup> the year 1552, by the King and his Council, that the bishopric of Durham, now void by the deprivation of Tonstal,

**BOOK** should be divided into two. And consideration was now

I. had of placing fit men in them; as appears by King Ed-  
Anno 1552. ward's Memorials, set down in Archbishop Cranmer's Life.  
Lib. ii. cap. 5.

Now I make little doubt, but that Grindal, being a north-  
country man, was pitched upon for one of these bishops;  
the date also so well agreeing. For this Memorial of the  
King was writ by him in October 1552, and Bishop Ridley's  
letter (wherein is mentioned this nomination of Grindal to a  
northern bishopric) was dated just the month after.

But all this came to nothing, there being then a great  
topping courtier that put an end to this pious purpose of  
supplying those parts, where ignorance and superstition  
most prevailed, with two bishops. For by his sway he got  
the whole bishopric dissolved, and settled as a temporal  
estate upon himself.

Anno 1553. So that we leave Grindal still in the possession of his pre-  
Flies abroad bend of St. Paul's, laying out his talent in a diligent and  
upon King Edward's faithful preaching of the Gospel in divers parts of the realm,  
death. as well as at the court, till the death of good King Edward

9 VI. when we find him flying his native country to avoid the  
persecution and cruelty that the Popish religion directed to  
be used to replant itself; and especially towards the most  
eminent of the preachers and instruments of the Reformation;  
whereof our Divine was deservedly looked upon as one.  
He made Strasburgh in Germany his sanctuary; the ma-  
gistrates of which town did freely and christianly give har-  
bour to divers English Protestants of the best rank, both of  
the laity and the clergy; and allowed them a church for the  
exercise of their religion, according as they professed it in  
England. Thither he came in very honourable company,  
*viz.* with Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Richard Morison, Sir John  
Cheke, Sir Thomas Wroth, and Mr. Hales; all persons of  
very great learning, and extraordinary worth and goodness.  
And one may conclude of what value and esteem Grindal  
now was in making one of this society. And of this his de-  
parture his patron Ridley, now prisoner, had intelligence;  
and in a certain letter to Augustin Bernher, relating how  
Grindal's two fellow-chaplains, Rogers and Bradford, one

was offered up to God in martyrdom, and the other ready to be offered, used these words of him; “ Grindal is gone.” “ The Lord, I doubt not, hath [seeth] and knoweth wherein he will bestow him.” Prophetically, methinks, spoken of those high places in the Church, wherein God afterwards bestowed him.

And being almost in despair of the restoration of religion in England, and consequently of his return thither again, he resolved to make himself master of the German tongue, that his talent might not lie unoccupied, but that he might be able to preach God’s word in the German churches. Which the better to compass, he retired from Strasburgh, and the English there, to a town called Wasselheim, to learn the language: which he at length did to that perfection, *ut vox tua etiam in Germanicis ecclesiis audiri potuisset*; i. e. that his voice might have been heard in the German churches; as a learned German told him. He also made some residence at Spire.

CHAP.  
II.

Learns the  
German  
tongue.

Conrad Hu-  
bert's Epist.  
Dedicat.  
ante Script.  
Buc. Angli-  
can.

## CHAP. II.

*Some account of him in his exile. Concerned in the Frankfort business. Bishop Ridley’s letter to him thereupon. Aids Mr. John Fox in his Martyrological Histories. Ridley’s letter to Grindal about his disputation.*

NOW let us trace our exile, as well as we can, through this his pilgrimage, and inquire how he employed himself in this his forced leisure. And I find him concerned in the first stirrings of the matters of Frankfort; and all along a great and diligent collector of papers relating to the writings, examinations, acts, and sufferings of the martyrs in England under Queen Mary. And from him Mr. Fox received great assistance in his work.

How he  
employed  
himself  
abroad.

Mr. Grindal was among the number of those pious and 10

**BOOK I.** learned Divines, and others at Strasburgh, that took to heart the controversies that were springing up at Frankfort,

Anno 1554. in the year 1554, about a new model and form of wor-

Grindal sent to Frankford. shipping God, varying from the last corrected book under King Edward. To the brethren of Frankfort that were

of this mind, those of Strasburgh sent a letter, signed by Grindal, together with divers others. “Therein first “taking notice of the goodness of God, that had moved the “hearts of the magistrates of that town to allow a church “to the poor English for their religious worship; not “doubting of their further friendship in permitting them, “frankly, to use their religion, according to that godly “order set forth and received in England. That they, “their brethren of Strasburgh, doubted not of their good “conformity, and ready desires in reducing the English “Church, begun there, to its former perfection of the last “book used in England, so far as possibly could be ob-“tained; lest by much altering of the same they should “seem to contemn the chief authors thereof; who, as “they at that present suffered, so were they ready to confirm “that fact with the price of their bloods: and should also “give both occasion to their adversaries to accuse their “doctrine of imperfection, and them of mutability; and the “godly to doubt of that truth, wherein before they were “persuaded; and lastly, to hinder their coming together at “Frankford, which before they had purposed.” This letter they sent by two of their members, *viz.* Chambers and Grindal, whom they made their agents, to treat with the magistrates and them. And as their wisdom, learning, and godly zeal was well known to them all, so they signified, that what they should do should fully take place with them from whom they were sent.

His message there. Grindal and his fellow being arrived at Frankfort, and the letter read in the congregation there, he then declared by word of mouth the reason of their coming: which was chiefly to establish the English book. Yet, that they meant not to have it so strictly observed, but that such ceremonies and things, which the country where they were

could not bear, might be omitted ; the substance and effect thereof remaining. Which when Knox and Whittingham (the main instruments of a new office) asked, what they meant thereby ? they answered, they had no commission to dispute in those matters ; but they requested only their answer to three questions : one whereof was, what parts of the book they would admit. To which they answered, what they could prove to stand with God's word, and the country would permit.

Grindal, after this, returned back again, with a letter sent by those of Frankfort, in answer to that sent from Strasburgh. But seeing the small likelihood of agreement, he did not think fit to concern himself any further in this affair, that drew apace to contention ; but resolved with others, that then were at Strasburgh, not to go and reside at Frankfort, as they had thought, but to remain where they were. Yet afterwards, in April or May 1555, he was at Frankfort again, with Cox, Chambers, and some others of chief account ; and there, by their prudence, quieted these differences : so that from henceforth the greatest numbers of students and other exiles took up their habitation here.

Nor did the remembrance of this town's kindness to the English slip out of Grindal's mind ever after, whensoever he had opportunity of owning it. Thus particularly in the year 1561, writing a letter to that town upon another occasion, he enlarged himself, both in his own name, as in the name of the rest, for the charitable and Christian harbour afforded them there in their afflicted state : saying, " that no time should ever root out of their minds this benefit. And, that England had so many bishops, and other ministers of God's word, which at that day preached the pure doctrine of the Gospel, was owing to Strasburgh, Zuric, Basil, Wormes, but above all the rest to Frankfort. *Vos illos hospitio exceptistis, exceptos summa humanitate complexi atque autoritate tutati estis. Et, si istam vestram pietatem gratis animis non agnosceremus, et prædicaremus, essemus omnium mortalium ingratis.*

**BOOK** “*tissimi* ;” i. e. “ You received our people to harbour; and  
**L.** “ being received, embraced them with the highest humanity,  
**Anno 1555.** “ and defended with your authority. And if we should  
 “ not acknowledge and speak of this piety of yours with  
 “ thankful minds, we were of all mankind the most un-  
 “ grateful.”

**Collects  
the writings  
and stories  
of the per-  
secuted  
English.** One of Grindal’s great businesses now was to collect together the writings and stories of the learned and pious sufferers in England, and to publish them: for which purpose he had a great correspondence here. In the year 1555 had come to his hands Ridley’s disputation at Oxford; also Marcus Antonius Constantinus’s Objections to Archbishop Cranmer’s book against Stephen Bishop of Winchester, and the Answers to those Objections, which were either framed by the said Archbishop or Ridley in prison: and a treatise in English against Transubstantiation; which was Ridley’s. This last, by the counsel of Grindal and others, was resolved to be put into Latin. And so it was. But these writings Grindal with his friends there did make some stop to put in print as yet, lest it might irritate the enemies of those holy men then in captivity; and therefore reckoned it better to defer it for a while. And concerning this, Grindal being now at Frankfort, and having an opportunity here, sent a letter to the said Bishop Ridley, to know his pleasure herein. And because in the letter are other matters relating to the present state of the exiles, I shall here insert it: and the rather because the answer to it from Ridley is preserved in Fox, and mention only made of this letter.

**His letter  
to Ridley.** “ *Gratiam et consolationem a Domino, et Servatore nostro  
Jesu Christo.*

“ Sir, I have often been desirous to have written to you, “ and to have heard from you; but the iniquity of the “ times have hitherto always put me forth of all hope and “ comfort. Now at this present God seemeth to offer some “ likelihood that these might come to your hands, which “ I thought to use, referring the rest to God’s disposition.

" Your present state, not I only, (who of all other am most bound,) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joyned with the most miserable captivity that ever any Church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we geve God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others, your concaptives, to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but that he that hath called you and them not only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer for hym, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the schole of the cross. He graunte that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be most to his honour, and your everlasting consolation.

" Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certayne be at Tigurye good students of either University a number; very well entreated of Maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole citye. Another number of us remayne at Argentine, and take the commodity of Maister Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Maister Scory, and certayne other with hym be in Frysland, and have an English Church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at Frankford, where I was at this present by occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a Church; and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of Maister Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose. So that now we trust God hath provided for such as will flye forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true Pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundredth students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work dyversly in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man.

CHAP.  
 II.  
 Anno 1555.  
 12

**BOOK I.** "Primus est victoriæ titulus gentilium manibus apprehendere; secundus ad gloriam ergo huncum Dominum confitari. Secundus ad gloriam ergo

I. "hensem Dominum confiteri. Secundus ad gloriam gra-

Anno 1555. "dus est, cautâ secessione subtractum, Domino reservari. Cyprian. de "Illa publica, hac privata confessio est. Ille judicem Lancia.

Lapsis. *"scrupuli vincit hic contentus Deo suo iudice conscientiam*

*“sæculi vincit, hic contentus Deo suo judice, conscientiam  
“puram cordis integritate custodit. Est hic fortitudo  
“promptior, hic solicitude securior. Ille appropinquante  
“horâ suâ jam maturus inventus est, hic fortasse dilatus  
“est, qui patrimonio derelicto idcirco secessit, quia non erat  
“negaturus, confiteretur utique si fuisset et ipse detentus.*

" We have also here certayne copies of your aunswers in  
" the disputation. *Item, Antoniana objecta cum responsione:*  
" the treatise in English against transubstantiation, which in  
" tyme shall be translated into Latine. It hath bene thought  
" best not to print them till we see what God will do with  
" you, both for incensyng of their malicious fury, and also  
" for restraining you and others from writing hereafter;  
" which should be a greater loss to the Church of Christ,  
" than forbearing of these for a tyme. If I shall know your  
" will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed.  
" Thus much I thought good to let you understand con-

13 "cerning these matters, and concerning the poor state of  
"men here, who most earnestly and incessantly do cry  
"unto God for the delivery of his Church, to behold the  
"causes of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of hys  
"imprisoned: knowing that you, who in this state have  
"more familiar access unto God, do not forget us.

" God comfort you, ayd you and assist you with his  
" Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the  
" glory of his name, the edification of his Church, and the  
" subversion of Antichrist's kyngdom. Amen.

*"From Frankford the 6. of May, 1555.*

E. G."

## Travels to Spires,

Whilst Grindal remained in these parts, he took occasion to visit some places of eminency in Germany, as did the other exiles commonly. One of those places which he saw was Spires, where he was courteously entertained and harboured by one Leach, a Scotchman; to whom he after-

wards shewed himself a true friend in his necessity, by CHAP.  
interposing seasonably for him to the Secretary of State, <sup>II.</sup>  
when by false witness he was in very great danger in Ire- Anno 1555.  
land, as we shall see under the year 1563.

The learned and industrious John Fox was, among the <sup>Assists</sup> English exiles, the chief writer. He at length departed <sup>J. Fox.</sup> from Frankfort, and took up at Basil, that he might be near a good printing press. Where he wrote divers things : and among the rest his two master-works were, a Latin translation of the controversy between Archbishop Cranmer and Gardiner Bishop of Winchester about the Eucharist, and an Ecclesiastical History also in Latin ; wherein he intended more especially to enlarge upon the modern persecutions in England. And at the same time he laboured also an English Martyrology, of those that suffered under Queen Mary. In all these Grindal was his great counsellor and assistant. The first, Fox finished in the year 1557. But while he was in his translating work he met with divers knotty matters and difficulties, especially in Winchester's style : which made him write to Grindal, wishing that he was nearer, and would have taken up his residence at Basil ; or at least to make a journey thither, that he might consult with him in divers matters, while the work lay before him. But Grindal in a Latin letter, by way of answer, told him, that indeed had not some things fallen out, he had seated himself there : that there was nothing that he would more willingly do, than to join his study and pains, if need were, to so pious an enterprise : but that he had there at Basil some English, and among them James Pilkington, a man, as he styled him, of a most exact judgment, with whom he might sometimes communicate counsels. And he hoped that learned person would not be averse to it.

Fox was moved with the difficulty of translating exactly ; <sup>Counsels</sup> that is, to use good proper Latin, and withal to reach the <sup>and advises</sup> writer, even to a word, if possible. The English style also <sup>him in a</sup> stuck with him ; which having so many ecclesiastical phrases and manners of speech, no good Latin expressions could be found to answer them. Winchester's inversion of Cran-

**BOOK I.** mer's book put him also to a stand, and his dislocating of Cranmer's arguments, placing them in another and a worse

**Anno 1557.** method. Lastly, he was troubled with the apprehension of

**14** the variety of censures that he was like to meet with, when his translation should come forth. It was now his friend Grindal's office to counsel and comfort him; which he seasonably did in a letter to this tenor:

E Foxii  
.MSS.

*Quod ad iudiciorum varietatem attinet, non est cur multū labores. Boni de te benē loquentur, mali malē. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est. De ratione vertendi nemo melius judicabit quam tuipse, cui non est incognita fidei interpretis libertas. Verbum verbo reddi, qui exigerent, seipso statim proderunt, quām nullius essent iudicii. Sensum sensu reddidisse, semper in laude fuit, modō scriptoris mentem, non suam explicuisse appareat. In his omnibus medium quandam viam tenuisse, ut ferē etiam in ceteris, tutissimum erit. Idēmque etiam iudicio de stylo. Nam neque ecclesiasticus stylus cum fastidio rejiciendus est, (quod faciunt quidam) præsertim cum capita controversiarum sine eo non nunquam perspicuè explicari non possunt: neque è diverso tam superstitionē consecrandus est, ut orationis lumen aliquando aspergere non possimus. Hujus rei egregium nobis exemplum ob oculos posuit D. Calvinus, quem honoris causā nominō, qui et styli ornatum non neglexit, et ecclesiasticas loquendi formulas, tanquam civitate donatas, sæpe numerò usurpat. De librorum inversione quā utitur Wintoniensis, meum quidem hoc est iudicium; ut omnino permittatur ille suo arbitratu, uti, atque ordine, neque moveas quicquam. Duo sunt quæ me præcipue movent. Primum, vociferabuntur adversarii, fraude et dolo malo mota esse argumenta loco suo. Nam ut in præliis, non semper eodem ordine pugnam ineunt imperatores, sed aliquando primam aciem invadunt, aliquando in cornua impressionem faciunt, nonnunquam equestri pugna, sæpius etiam tenui armaturæ velitatione hostes primum aggrediuntur. Iniquissimum enim esset de ordine pugnæ ineundæ*

*ab hostibus leges accipere. Ita et de vobis queretabantur, CHAP.  
si Wintonienses copiae aliâ ratione, quam ipsem instruit, II.  
in aciem producantur. Deinde et hoc mihi videtur ad au-* Anno 1557.  
*toris ingenium patefaciendum pertinere. Nam qui in tota  
vita præposterissimus (ut ita dicam) fuit omnium rerum  
humanarum et divinarum inversor, consentaneum est, ut in  
scribendo etiam præpostorum sese ostentet, et ut vulgo dici  
solet, Joannem ad Oppositem.*

*Hæc mea est sententia, tu pro tuo candore aliter consulas.  
Quod ad titulum libri, nemo melius adaptabit quâm inter-  
pres, qui non modo singulas sententias, sed et verba etiam  
et apices pænè excussisti.*

*Mihi impræsentiarum libri copia non fuit: itaque nunc  
nihil habeo quod in medium proferam. Si posthac aliquid  
occurrerit quod acuminis aut gratiæ aliquid in se habeat,  
non illibenter communicabo. Verùm quiddam est quod  
nunc scribenti mihi in mentem venit, cuius tuam prudentiam  
admonere, non inutile fore existimavi. Audivi hoc mussi-  
tatum aliquando in Anglia, Cantuariensem aliquando Pa-  
pistis attribuere, quod ipsi non profitentur. Et si benè  
memini habet quasdam antitheses inter Papisticam et doctri-  
nam nostram; hâc formula, Illi dicunt, Nos dicimus. Ibidem  
credo habet, Papistas corpus Christi ubique esse asseverare.  
Quod illi nusquam docent, sed in omni altari pertinaciter  
esse contendunt. Siqua similia inter vertendum repereris  
(nam illud exempli causa tantum afferro) aut sicubi tuo ipsius 15  
judicio non plene satisfiat, faceres meo quidem judicio non  
malè, si ad D. Petrum Martyrem catalogum hujusmodi loco-  
rum mitteres; et illius consilium in amantiss. sui patroni  
opere requireres. Communicaret sat scio libentissimè, et for-  
tasse siqua ipse præterea annotaverit similia, subindicaret.*

*Hæc ita à me scripta sunt, ut tuo tamen judicio omnia  
geri vellem; tantum meæ mentis sensa apud amicum et  
fratrem, candidius fortasse quâm prudentius in medium  
profero. Saluta D. Balæum, et cæteros amicos. Opto te in  
Domino quam optimè valere.*

*Edmundus Grindallus tuus,*

*Argentina V. calend. Jan. 1557.*

**BOOK I** And according to Grindal's advice in the foregoing letter,

Anno 1557. Fox soon applied himself to Peter Martyr in this affair, accosting him with this letter, (for I had rather give the reader the author's own words, than my translation of them.)

Fox writes to Pet.

Martyr for his advice.

Foxii MSS.

*Salutem in Christo. Vir doctissime, prolixa ista disputatio Domini Archiepiscopi, quam amicorum suasu, tuâque occasione vertendam suscepisti, vix credas, quantis mihi constat laboribus. Oratione Wintoniensis nihil vidi insuavius, confragosius, aut magis spinosum, in qua non nunquam sic vorticosis est, ut Sibillâ potius aliquâ, quâm interprete indigeat: imo nescio an ulla Sibylla sit tam ænigmatistes, aut Delius tantus vates, qui sensum ubique expiscari possit. In tertio libro unus est aut alter locus, ubi aquam ex pumice citius quâm sententiae lucem invenias. In periodis plerûmque tam profusus vel infinitus magis est, ut bis sui oblitus videatur, quâm sui reperiatur finem. Tota phrasis etiam ferè structuram habet, ut maxima quidem parte constans ex relativis, omnem ferè translationis gratiam respuat. Ex quo quanta mihi nascitur difficultas, tibi haud difficile divinatu fuerit. Cantuariensis aliquanto mollior, sed idem tanto prolixior, quo si non plus mihi molestia, certè tantundem laboris affert. Accidit porro ad hos griphos librorum ac doctorum, qui passim hic citantur, inopia. Et scis quâm non concinnum sit, doctores aliter quâm verbis propriis loquentes introducere. Ea res me coget brevi repetere Argentinam vestram per mensem unam aut alteram, ut subsidium τῆς βιβλιοθήκης alicujus emendicem. In primo libro tuum nomen cum Luthero et Bucero citat Wintoniensis, impingens tibi falsarii aut mendacis alapam. Sed Cantuariensis contrà, Petri sui nominis nihil prætermittit ad defensionem. Locum ipsum ad te versum transmittam, simul cum reliqua parte quæ jam absoluta est, &c.*

The tenor of which letter is to this import:

“ Health in Christ. Most learned Sir, you would scarce believe, what great pains that large dispute of my Lord of Canterbury cost me; which by means of you, and the persuasion of my friends, I undertook to translate.

" I never saw any thing more unpleasant, rough, and intan- CHAP.  
 " gled, than Winchester's discourse: wherein sometimes he II.  
 " is so full of depths, that he needs some Sibyl rather than Anno 1557.  
 " an interpreter. Yea, I doubt whether any Sibyl be such Winches-  
 " a riddle resolver, or Apollo so great a prophet, to be able ter's style  
 " every where to comprehend his sense. In the third book 16  
 " there be one or two places, where you may sooner draw  
 " water from a pumice, than find light for the sentence. In  
 " his periods, for the most part, he is so profuse, or rather  
 " infinite, that he seems twice to forget himself, rather  
 " than to find his end. The whole phrase hath in effect  
 " that structure, that consisting for the most part of relatives,  
 " it refuses almost all the grace of translation. Whence  
 " how great difficulty arises upon me, it will be easy for you  
 " to guess. The Archbishop of Canterbury is somewhat  
 " softer, but so much the longer; whereby, if it doth not  
 " create me more trouble, yet certainly as much labour.  
 " To these dark sentences happeneth moreover the want of  
 " books and doctors, cited up and down herein. And you  
 " know, how it is not handsome to bring in doctors speaking  
 " otherwise than in their own words. This thing will oblige  
 " me shortly to resort to your Strasburgh for a month or  
 " two, to beg the aid of some library. In the first book  
 " Winchester cites your name with Luther and Bucer,  
 " laying to your charge the imputation of a forger or a liar.  
 " But the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand,  
 " omits nothing for the defence of the name of his friend  
 " Peter. I shall send over to you the very place translated,  
 " together with the remaining part now finished, &c."

But after all Fox's pains and labour in this translation, Fox consult-  
 his book translated never yet, I think, came forth: which is eth with  
 pity, for the general usefulness thereof, and for the spreading Grindal  
 of the just fame of that excellent Archbishop and holy about print-  
 martyr, and being a piece so correctly and accurately done. ing a trans-  
 A good part of the original writing is in my hands. But lation of  
 the reason it was not printed was partly the want of a Cranmer's  
 wealthy printer in those times to undertake it. Fox, for book  
 me. Gardiner. MSS. penes

BOOK I. this purpose, had desired his friend Grindal to treat with one Wendelin, a printer in Strasburgh, about it. But Anno 1557. Grindal in his answer told him, that, in truth, to speak what he thought, he dared not to discourse Wendelin in that affair: for he was a morose man, and strongly addicted to that opinion in matter of the Sacrament which they ascribed to Luther; so that there was no hope that he would take it in hand: but there was one Augustin Frisius, another printer there, but very poor; who, if the charges were supported by others, was a man that would strenuously go about it. Yet that, in his own judgment, Froseover, a printer at Zurick, was the fittest person to commit the business to; who, as he was rich enough, so upon Bullinger's motion to him, and encouragement, he would no doubt undertake it.

But while Fox was thus busy in preparing to publish his work, an order was set forth in those parts, forbidding printing of any books: which put him to some melancholy stand; for he depended in a great measure upon the benefit of his books for his subsistence. Of this, when he had complained to his good friend aforesaid, as he was sorry for that unseasonable edict, so he made his own conjecture of it; 17 *viz.* that it might proceed from the advice of the German princes, that the contest about the Sacrament might not be revived; as it might be, if more books of this argument should be exposed to the world. For, as Grindal added, the report now went, that the princes were wholly taken up about composing that controversy; and in the mean time were willing, that there should be some intermission of writing *pro & con.* And so, finally, he exhorted the translator to stay a little, and expect what good issue time would produce as to this matter, seeing there was a necessity for him so to do: promising him, that afterwards, if he could not obtain the work to be perfected there, his pains should not be wanting, if he could do any thing by prayer and interest, that he might have a supply to go and try elsewhere. But, in fine, Froseover, according as Grindal had devised, undertook the printing of the book, and Fox delivered part

of his copy to him. But the business still underwent CHAP.  
delay; and Fox himself seemed to be cooler in it, knowing II.  
how exulcerated those times were with sacramental contro-Anno 1557.  
versies. Yet the laborious man, by Grindal's and his other  
friends' persuasions, went on with his translation, till he had  
fully finished all; which was done by June in the year  
1557. Which when Grindal understood, he congratulated  
to him the conclusion of this long work with these words;  
*Gaudeo te tandem opus illud Domini Cantuariensis ad*  
*exitum perduxisse. Longum opus fuit, et in quo necesse*  
*erat multis cum difficultatibus luctari;* i. e. that he was  
glad that he had at length brought the Archbishop of  
Canterbury's work to an end. And that it was a long  
labour, and in which he must needs have met with many  
difficulties.

Something of this laborious work was set forth in print; but that was only some small part at the beginning, which was but as a specimen to the whole: which, when printed, he sent to Grindal. Upon the receipt whereof, as a taste of the work, he declared himself much pleased.

The other great work our painful countryman laboured in Assists Fox  
this time of his exile, and wherein he had the concurrent in his His-  
and constant assistance of Grindal, was the History of the tory of the  
Persecutions of the Church of Christ, and especially in the Persecu-  
later times of it. Many accounts of the acts and disputa-  
tions, of the sufferings and ends of the godly men under  
Queen Mary, came from time to time to Grindal's hands:  
who had a correspondence with several in England for that  
end and purpose. And as they came to his hand, he con-  
veyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this; but withal  
frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his  
instructions and counsels about them; always shewing a most  
tender regard to truth; and suspending upon common  
reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory  
evidence came from good hands. And because a complete  
account of all particulars of those that suffered in that  
sharp persecution could not so soon be procured, he ad-  
vised Fox, for the present, to print separately the acts of

**BOOK** some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic  
<sup>I.</sup> relations came to hand: and that a larger and completer  
**Anno 1557.** history of these martyrs should be printed together after-

18 wards, when he should be supplied with fuller accounts of the whole persecutions. And, finally, that his history might be both in Latin and English, for the more general benefit.

**Sends Fox Bradford's martyrdom.** I find Grindal, soon after Bradford's martyrdom, sending Fox his history, together with many of his holy letters, which Fox thanked him for; and added, that he saw what a good performer of his word he was: wishing, that all the rest of the martyrs' histories might be composed after the same diligence. Grindal wrote him likewise, that he had a farrago, *i. e.* a great heap of such papers. To whom Fox, that he doubted not, that he would, with the like vigilancy and faithfulness, peruse and digest them. But to return to Bradford. He communicated to Fox (beside what he had sent him before) Bradford's examinations, and some other of his writings: telling him, that when he had translated them, (for his Latin Martyrology) and had sent them back to him, he would send more of Bradford's writings to him. He added, that he wanted much of what that holy man had writ; but what he had of his might be depended on; and perhaps he should scarce find so many of his composes any where else. For indeed Grindal had greater opportunities of knowing Bradford, and getting his papers, than others; they two having been fellow-chaplains together to the Bishop of London, and the King; and fellow prebendaries of St. Paul's; and I might add also, fellows of the same college.

**An information about Cranmer's;** Again, in the year 1556, soon after the burning of Arch-bishop Cranmer, Fox requested Grindal to take some pains to describe the life and death of the said most reverend father. To whom he gave this answer; that a certain learned and pious man in England had already wrote a faithful and exact account of his death to Peter Martyr. Grindal added, that it was not then come to his hands, but that he heard by those that had seen and read it, that it was

elegantly and faithfully written: and that it was not fully CHAP.  
concluded, whether it should, out of hand, be printed by it. II.  
self. If it were, he told Fox, that then he might make his Anno 1557.  
use of it, being made public: but if it was determined not  
to publish it, he promised him, that he would use his best  
diligence to procure a copy for Fox's use, as soon as he  
should need it. For, as he told him, he could not believe  
he had already finished so great a work, as he was upon, in  
the midst of so great employment.

Grindal had also a copy of Cranmer's and Ridley's And of his  
disputations at Oxford, writ by themselves; where objections and Rid-  
of the adversaries, and their answers, as far as they could ley's dispu-  
recall them to their memories, were set down: which Grin-  
dal, as he told Fox, had compared with what the notaries at  
these disputations had taken, and found things agreeing  
well enough in the main; unless that in the copy all things  
were more briefly related; reproaches and vain repetitions  
omitted. These he promised Fox that he would send him,  
after he had made some larger progress in his work, together  
with some other things, which would be proper for him to  
cast into the course of his history, if he thought good;  
professing, that he desired by all the means that he could  
to further his purpose, that that reverend writer might 19  
bring to the conclusion he wished, the history of this English  
persecution. This Grindal wrote from Strasburgh to Fox,  
November 28, 1557.

There is a letter still extant, written from the said Ridley, out of prison, to Grindal then at Frankfort, concerning his said disputation at Oxford, soon after it happened, and also concerning a treatise of the blessed Sacrament; both which he had composed. In which letter he thus tells Grindal concerning them: " My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal all the whole manner, after the which I was used in the disputation," (namely, with what indecent clamours, and outcries, and stopping him in his arguments it was managed.) " As for the treatise in

**BOOK I.** “English contra transubstantiationem, vix possum adduci,

“ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur:

**Anno 1557.** “cæterùm quicquid sit, nullo modò velim, ut quicquam

“quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis

“Dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certò constiterit.”

By which we may perceive, what a diligent collector Grindal was of the histories and writings of the learned confessors, and sufferers in those Marian days, with intention to publish them. Copies of the aforesaid disputation and treatise (which that reverend father and martyr had writ) were soon dispersed. And one of them, Dr. Ironside, late Master of Wadham college, Oxon, (having found it in his father's study,) caused to be printed there, anno 1688, very seasonably in the reign of the late King James. Bishop Ridley's own preface to the disputation, beginning, *Hæc, amice lector, &c.* (wherein that father shews how tumultuously it was done,) Fox hath translated into English, and sets it in his

**P. 1330.** Acts and Monuments, I make no question, by the advice of Bishop Grindal.

Ridley to  
Grindal  
about the  
Frankfort  
contest.

Blames  
Knox.

And holy Bishop Ridley, hearing of the controversies stirred there at Frankfort about the Common Prayer Book used in the Church of England under King Edward, writes thus to the same Grindal a little before his martyrdom: “Alas! that our brother Knox” (who was the chief raiser of discontents against the use of it in the congregation of the English exiles there settled) “could not bear with our Book “of Common Prayer; matters, against which, altho' I graunt “a man (as he is) of wit and learning, may find to make “apparaunt [meaning plausible] reasons; but I suppose he “cannot be able soundly to disprove, by God's word, the

**Dr. Covel's Brief Answer to J. Burges's Reasons, &c. printed 1606, p. 69.** “reason he maketh against the Letany, and the fault *per sanguinem et sudorem*, (i. e. by thy cross and bloody sweat,) he findeth in the same, I do mervail, how he can, “or dare avouch them before the English men, that be with “you. As for *private baptism*, it is not prescribed in the “book, but where solemn baptism, for lack of time, and “danger of death, cannot be had. What would he in that “case should be done? Peradventure he will say, It is

“ better then to let them die without baptism. For this his CHAP.  
 “ *better*, what word hath he in the Scripture? and if he II.  
 “ have none, why will he not rather follow that, that the Anno 1557.  
 “ sentence of the old ancient writers do more allow? From  
 “ whom to dissent, without warrant of God’s word, I cannot  
 “ think it any godly wisdom. And as for *purification of women*,  
 “ I ween the word *purification* is changed; and  
 “ it is called *thanksgiving*. Surely Mr. Knox is, in my  
 “ mind, a man of much good learning, and of an earnest Bucer in  
 “ zeal. The Lord graunt him to use them to his glory.” *Censura de primo libro Sacrorum.*  
 But return we to Fox.

Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, and martyr, his examinations also were soon come over from England. Which, when Fox had spoke somewhat concerning, and consulted with Grindal, whether they ought not to have a review, and some corrections of them made, before they were exposed to the public; Grindal freely thus expressed himself in this matter: “that there were some things in them that needed the file; that is, some prudent hand to usher them out into the world. For, that Philpot seemed to have somewhat ensnared himself in some words, not so well approved; as, that Christ is *really* in the Supper, &c. And, that if the English book had not been divulged, some things might be mitigated in it. And next, that he sometimes cited the ancients *memoriter*, being void of the help of books; where one might easily slip; (as he did;) as when he said that Athanasius was chief of the Council of Nice; when as he at that time was only the deacon of the Bishop of Alexandria, as he (Fox) had remembered rightly. But Athanasius, he said, laboured in disputes more than the rest; and in that sense, indeed, he might be said to be the chief. But there the controversy was of honour and primacy, (and therefore Philpot could not be brought off by that means.) Grindal also supposed, that Fox himself might in like manner espouse some other oversights; wherefore he bade him use his judgment. Grindal subjoined, that he had heard, that Peter Martyr and Bulinger had wished, that in the writings of Bishop Hooper, <sup>Bishop Hooper’s writings in prison.</sup>

**BOOK** he had had time and leisure to recognize what he wrote.

**I.** For being wrote suddenly, and under confinement, he had  
**Anno 1557.** not warily enough writ concerning the cause, that had been  
 tossed about by his disputations with so many, as such an  
 envenomed age required.

His advice  
 to Fox a-  
 bout pub-  
 lishing the  
 martyrs'  
 examina-  
 tions.

But, after all, Grindal modestly added, that he arrogated not to himself the part of a critic, but only, according to his custom, candidly communicated his own sense: and that he doubted not but that Fox, if he thought good to publish these examinations, would, where there was need, add some censorial notes. He also let him know, that some history of Philpot was come over to them, and more they expected; which he thought might be very conveniently placed among the Acts of the rest of the Martyrs; and that perhaps, if he set forth Philpot's examinations separately by themselves, the same might again be inserted in his great work among the Acts.

Sends him  
 money.

With this letter Grindal also sent Fox two dollars, wishing they were two hundred; but by what means they came to his lot he concealed till another time. There were monies secretly conveyed over from England, by persons well disposed, to private hands, to be distributed among these exiles; especially preachers and students, who were not able to subsist of themselves. And Grindal, I suppose, had some  
**21** of this charitable money consigned to him, to bestow according to his discretion. And a share of it was this which he now sent to Fox; who was very poor, and had, besides himself, a family to maintain.

He com-  
 piled as  
 well as as-  
 sisted in  
 these His-  
 tories of the  
 Martyrs.

In short, by all these particulars, which I have extracted out of Grindal's and Fox's own letters, we see how earnest an assistant the former was to the latter in compiling his Martyrology, both by his continual counsel and by supplying him with materials for it; much whereof he sent him drawn up and methodized by his own pen in English: and Fox's work was only to translate into Latin. And by his advice also, Fox published there at Basil divers examinations and histories of the English bishops and divines at sundry times in single pieces, soon after their respective martyrdoms.

And it was his advice to the same Fox, to digest them altogether in a more large volume; but thought not convenient CHAP.  
that he should make too much haste to put it forth, till he Anno 1557.  
II. could make the relations of the persecution more full and complete, and might obtain more certainty of truth to depend upon. Therefore, in the year 1557 he gave his advice, that Fox should rather, for the present, get ready his Ecclesiastical History as far as to the end of the reign of King Henry VIII. and put that first into the press. And then after a while more full and certain accounts might be procured.

In the next year, *viz.* 1558, Queen Mary being now dead, Anno 1558.  
Grindal and some other of the chief exiles being called away Advises Fox  
to make a  
stop.  
into their own native country, he could not further assist stop. Fox in his labours. But upon his departure, in the month of December, he jointly with Sampson advised him again as before; that is, for the present to make some stop, till they might come to have more certain and larger intelligences out of England of the late persecution; which now they should have fairer opportunities of knowing: which the said reverend man signified to him in this short letter from Argentine.

*Sal. in Christo. Mutationes temporum meum etiam in- His letter  
stitutum mutarunt, doctissime et charissime Fox; ego jam to him.  
cogor urgentibus amicis in Angliam iter instituere, qui Foxii MSS.  
aliоqui Basileam ad vos transvolassem. Jam quod ad Historiam Martyrum attinet, Sampsonus et ego existimamus optimum fore, ut ad aliquod tempus premeretur; donec ex Anglia et certiora et plura comparemus. Dubium enim non est, quin multa tum in lucem prodibunt, quae antea in tenebris delitescebant. Si tibi etiam idem videatur, benè est. Nos quæcunque possumus ibi corrademus, et ad te transmittenda curabimus. Levis erit jactura temporis, si rerum copiā et certitudine compensetur. Vale in Christo,  
quàm optime.*

*Edmundus Grindallus tuus.*

*Argentinæ, raptim 19. Decemb. 1558.*

**BOOK I.** I have only one thing more to say of Grindal with respect to Fox's work: that he also supplied him with collections of matters that happened before these times, whereof one was so remarkable, that by setting Grindal's name under it he might acknowledge whence he had the relation. The passage communicated by him to Fox, concerning the death of the pious Mr. Stafford,

**22** Reader of Divinity in Cambridge about 1528, when religion first began to shew itself there. The story was this. There was one there of great fame for his skill in the black art, and therefore was commonly called Sir Henry Conjuror. This man at last fell sick of the plague. Out of compassion to whose soul at this time, that good man ventured his own life by resorting to him; and there so effectually argued with him of his former wicked life and practices, that he brought him to repentance, and caused all his conjuring books to be burnt before his face. Thus he endeavoured to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it; for he got the infection, went home, and died. To this story are subjoined these words, *Ex testimonio D. Ridley et Edmundi Episc. Lond.* The meaning whereof I suppose was, that Ridley might have told this to his chaplain Grindal, and he to Fox.

### CHAP. III.

*Grindal comes home. Employed in the Reformation of Religion; and in a public Disputation. Preaches at the Court, and St. Paul's. One of the Queen's Visitors. Visitation of London. He and other eminent exiles preach at St. Paul's. Nominated for the see of London. His scruples. Consults with Peter Martyr about various usages in this Church. His answers. Grindal elect, his Letter to the Queen about exchanges. His concern about the crucifix in the Queen's Chapel.*

Hastened  
home upon  
Queen  
Mary's  
death.

**I**T pleased God to bring him home sooner than he thought, to exercise his talent in his own country. For upon the

access of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, there was need of CHAP.  
Grindal to assist in the work of the restitution and govern- III.  
ment of the Church of England, lately much defaced by Anno 1558.  
Popery. And therefore he was hastened home; and was  
ready to depart for England in December 1558, that is,  
the very next month after Queen Mary's death. Being  
come home, he was soon employed in several weighty eccle-  
siastical affairs.

And first, when a form of prayer and public worship was The use  
thought fit to be drawn up and prepared, which might be now made  
ready to be presented against the Queen's first Parliament  
sat, to be laid before the House, and other matters to be de-  
liberated for the reformation of the Church; there were  
some few learned and wise men set apart privately for this  
weighty work; whereof Mr. Grindal was one; who it is  
likely, having been chaplain and very intimate with Bishop  
Ridley, was well acquainted with the reasons and methods  
used under King Edward in the composing the Common  
Prayers, wherein that Bishop, with Archbishop Cranmer,  
had the chief hand. And in Sir Thomas Smith's lodgings 23  
in Cannon-row in Westminster, did he and the rest meet  
accordingly, from time to time, that first winter.

I find him at this work, upon Dr. Edwin Sandys (one of  
this number) his presenting this assembly with a paper by  
him drawn up, of certain things which he judged needful to  
be redressed: one whereof was, that private baptism, where- Instances of  
in women sometimes took upon them to baptize, might be his judg-  
taken out of the book; for which he thought the Queen ment in  
matters to was to be solicited. At which Grindal wrote his judgment be reform-  
ed. in the margin in these words: *Potest fieri in Synodo*; i. e.  
It may be done in the Synod. Which Synod was ere long  
to be called together.

There was another paper drawn up for ecclesiastical dis-  
cipline laid before these Divines, now or some time after, it is  
uncertain, which passed also Grindal's eye and censure, and  
had his emendations and additions by his own hand, which  
I have seen among Mr. Petyt's manuscripts. In one article  
of this paper it was thought fit it should be enjoined to min- Petyt's  
MSS.

**BOOK** isters to wear a grave apparel, distinct from the laity. In  
I. the margin here he noted his approbation of this difference of  
 Anno 1558. apparel; yet judged, that *it might not be altogether the same used in the Popish time*; and that wisely and warily, for the avoiding of offence at that nice time: shewing his judgment herein quite contrary to the innovators, who would have no difference at all in apparel between the clergy and laity. For so was one of their queries made some time after in  
Ann. of the Reformat. p. 425. their appeal to Bullinger, the learned foreigner: *viz.* whether laws for garments ought to be prescribed to churchmen, to distinguish them from laymen? Another article was in favour of small vicarages and livings, for the obliging the impropriators to augment them; and that ordinaries, with the assistance of one or two justices, might have authority to tax the parishioners of great towns, for the bettering of the stipends of them that ministered there. But this article our Divine thought a tender point, to lay this burden upon the people, and therefore gave his judgment in the margin, *Consideretur melius, i. e.* that it was better to be considered of: and after, upon consideration of it, it was thought fit to be omitted; for it is in the paper crossed out. To another article in this paper, *viz.* about orders for pluralists and non-residents, he subjoined this seasonable clause: *And for such as had livings, and had obtained licences to live beyond seas only upon misliking of religion;* as many priests at this time did. These instances are produced, not only to shew that he was employed in the first reforming of religion, but of his prudent and grave advice and conduct therein.

Grindal appointed to oppose the Popish Bishops.

**24** Again, when in March following a solemn conference was held publicly at Westminster, whereat was present the Lord Keeper, and many other of the nobility and gentry; and White Bishop of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, and Abbot Feckenham, with some few more Popish bishops, undertook to make good some Papistical principles; Grindal was one of the eight Protestant Divines selected to enter the lists against them. Which disputation is more largely spoken of Chap. v. p. in the Annals of the Reformation.

88.

He was also upon occasion called forth to preach. And

in the Queen's first Lent, on the 23d of February, he CHAP.  
 preached before her Majesty. In which Lent there preached III.  
also divers other learned Protestant Divines, and the first of Anno 1558.  
note in King Edward's time; viz. Dr. Cox, Dr. Parker, Dr. Preaches  
 Bill, Dr. Sandys, Mr. Whitehead; all whom, excepting the Queen.  
second and third, had but lately come from exile.

The English Service Book, that had been enacted in the Anno 1559.  
 late Parliament to be used throughout the churches of Eng-  
 land, began Sunday May 12, 1559, in the Queen's chapel.  
 The Wednesday after, May 15, it began to be read at St.  
 Paul's church. And for the more solemn introducing it Preaches at  
 there was a sermon, which Grindal was made choice of to Paul's, at  
 make, together with a very august assembly of the Court the first  
 present; viz. the Queen's Privy Council, the Duke of Nor- reading of  
 folk, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer, the Com-  
 the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Admiral, the mon Prayer  
 Earls of Arundel, Sussex, Westmoreland, and Rutland, the  
 Lord Russel, and many more lords and knights; the Lord  
 Mayor also and Court of Aldermen. And sermon being  
 done, they all departed to the Lord Mayor's to dinner.

In the summer of this year 1559, the Queen's visitation  
 was on foot all over England, to require the oath of su-  
 premacy, to inspect cathedrals and the manners of the  
 clergy, and the like.

Then was our Divine employed, being one of the Queen's Employed  
 commissioners for that royal visitation, in the north. When in the  
 among other things then done, he deprived him that was Queen's vi-  
 the unworthy governor of Sherborn hospital for Papistry; sitation in  
 and who had made such unreasonable leases and grants, the north.  
 that that house, that maintained a great number of poor,  
 was like to go into utter decay: a practice commonly used  
 by the Popish Clergy in these times. We shall hear here-  
 after (viz. under the year 1574) the endeavours Grindal,  
 being then Archbishop of York, used to make void those  
 leases.

And as distinct visitors were appointed by the Queen's  
 special commission for each part, so London and the parts Visitation  
 adjacent had their peculiar commissioners. Of these I can <sup>of London.</sup>

**BOOK I.** only assign Dr. Rob. Horn, an exile, not long after this  
Anno 1559. Bishop of Winton. This being afterwards the chief city of  
 Mr. Grindal's see, I shall hint a few things of the visitation  
 of it. And the first and chief care seemed to be taken for  
 the reforming of the city of London, that commonly gave  
 the example to all the rest of the realm.

To trace, therefore, a little this visitation. Those few friars and nuns who were anew instituted, and set up of late under Queen Mary, were discharged: for July 4, the priests and nuns of Sion and Charter-house departed; and 25 on the 12th the black friars in Smithfield, and the Abbot of Westminster and the monks there, were deprived. On the 18th of July the visitors sat at the Bishop of London's palace. In this visitation they took care to have all the utensils and instruments of superstition and idolatry demolished and destroyed out of the churches where God's pure service was to be set up; such as the roods, that is, the images of Christ upon the cross, with Mary and John standing by; also images of other saints, tutelaries of the churches, to whom they were dedicated, Popish books, altars, and the like; as knowing that while these things remained, the practices of idolatry must almost necessarily be continued among the ignorant people, and the reformation of religion be greatly obstructed.

**St. Paul's purged, and other churches.** And first, the cathedral church of St. Paul's was to be purged. The visitors sat there August 11. Then Harpsfield, Bishop Bonner's chaplain, and divers others belonging to that church, were summoned. On the 21st the visitors sat at St. Bride's, where the two church-wardens and two others were sworn to bring in a true inventory of that church. And so, I suppose, were the respective church-wardens of divers other parish churches within that precinct. The 22d they sat at St. Laurence in the Jury, the 23d at St. Michael's in Cornhill; inquisition being chiefly made in each for church goods. And so likely at other churches.

**Popish images burnt.**

The 24th, being St. Bartholomew's day, was the first day the burning of Popish relics began. And it was so ordered as to be seen of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, foreign

Ambassadors, besides a multitude of other persons attending them: for, according to an old custom, this being the first day of Bartholomew fair, the Mayor, Aldermen, Ambassadors, and many others in company with them, afforded their presence at a wrestling in Clerkenwell; and as they came home through Cheapside, against Ironmonger-lane, and against St. Thomas of Acre, (*i. e.* Mercer's chapel,) were made two great fires in the street; wherein were thrown a great number of roods, with the images of John and Mary, and the resemblances of divers other saints, that had been taken down from the churches; the people looking on with great wonder.

The next day, *viz.* August 25, was burnt at St. Botolph's Rood without Bishopsgate, the rood, with Mary and John, and the patron of the church, and other church goods. And while these were burning, a person stood within the church wall and made a sermon upon the occasion; and at length, in the midst of his discourse, threw into the fire certain books. At this time was taken down a cross of wood that stood in the churchyard, and was burnt with the rest, which cross had lately been set up by one Warner, a tawer of skins; whether as an enjoined penance, or a voluntary good work, I know not.

September 16, the rood, with Mary and John, belonging to St. Magnus church, was burnt at the corner of Fish-street, together with other superstitious things pertaining to that church; which no question wanted not for things of that sort, Maurice Griffith, a violent Papist, and Bishop of Rochester, being lately incumbent, and about seven or eight months before buried there. So that from Bartholomew-tide, and so forward, within a month's time, or less, were destroyed all the roods, church-images, church-goods, with copes, crosses, censers, altar-cloths, rood-cloths, books, banner-staves, wainscot, with much other such like gear, in and about London. These were some of the matters that passed in the visitation of this city; whereof, not long after, our Divine was called to be Bishop.

This royal visitation reached also the Universities of the

CHAP.  
III.

Anno 1559.

**BOOK I.** land; the visitors for that of Cambridge being Sir William Cecil, Sir Anthony Cook, and some others. Here Dr. Young

**Anno 1559.** was put out from the mastership of Pembroke hall for refusal of the oath of supremacy, and our Divine was placed in his room by the said visitors. Of which college he sometime had been fellow.

**Matters of religion now passing in London.** In this vacancy, until our Divine became Bishop of London, give me leave to commemorate some of the preachers that came up now at Paul's Cross, and some matters that occurred and were done in London, referring chiefly to religion.

September 3, one Makebray, a Scotchman, and lately an exile, preached at Paul's Cross.

**Obsequies of the French King solemnized.** September 8, were celebrated the obsequies of Henry, the French King, in St. Paul's choir, which was all hung with black and arms; and his hearse garnished with thirty dozen of pensiles, and fifteen dozen of escutcheons of arms. The hearse was garnished with great escutcheons, bossed with great crowns; and all under feet with black, and a great pall of cloth of gold, and coat-armour, target, sword, and crest. The Lord Treasurer was chief mourner; next, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lords Burgany, Hunsdon, Cobham, Dacres of the south, Paulet; Sir Richard Sackvile, Sir Edward Warner; and many more mourners, all in blacks. There were fourteen heralds of arms attending in their coat-armour, following after the lords. Then dirge was sung; and then they repaired to the Bishop's palace to dinner. Thence in the afternoon they came to church again, the heralds before them. And the service was then performed: the Archbishop of Canterbury elect was minister, Scory elect of Hereford preached, the third Bishop was Barlow, elect of Chichester; which three had black gowns, and great hoods, lined with silk, and priest's caps. After all was done, they repaired to the palace to supper; there being sent officers of the Queen's house, of every office some, for the more convenience and splendour.

September 10, Turner, another exile, a man formerly of much esteem with Archbishop Cranmer, preached the Paul's

Cross sermon; where, besides the Mayor and Aldermen, was a great audience of the court, city, and country. CHAP.  
III.

September 17, Veron, a Frenchman by birth, that had been also of reputation for his profession of the Gospel under King Edward, and suffered imprisonment upon Queen Mary's access to the crown, preached at St. Paul's. He had words in his sermon to this import, asking, *Where were the bishops and the old preachers now? Now they hid their heads.* Anno 1559.

The —— day of September, the new Morning Prayers began now first at St. Antholin's in Budge-row, ringing at five in the morning; and then a psalm was sung, as was used among the Protestants of Geneva, all men, women, and young folks singing together; which custom was about this time brought also into St. Paul's. 27

The 24th, Huntington, the preacher, came up at Paul's Cross.

The 30th began the Morning Prayer at Paul's, at the hour the Apostle-mass had beforetime been used.

October 8, Veron, being accounted a great preacher, was put up to preach before the Queen. He took the confidence to tell the Queen in his sermon, that the new bishops ought to have their lands and revenues, as the old bishops had; otherwise they should not be able to maintain and keep good houses, as was customary for the prelates, and as was expected from them. For all the talk now was of curtailing the bishoprics, and leaving the bishops to be made to subsist upon some parts of the ancient revenues thereof. Account of  
Veron's ser-  
mon be-  
fore the  
Queen.

October 19, Robert Crowley, an exile, formerly of Magdalen college, Oxon, (afterwards a printer, now again resuming the profession of divinity,) preached at Paul's Cross.

October 23, the Queen's visitors sat again at Paul's. Then Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of London, was deposed, and divers other Prebendaries and Vicars of that church.

November 4, a priest was married at St. Botolph's with-out Aldgate unto the widow of a priest deceased, late minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, when one West, a new doctor, (for so they that were Gospellers were now called,) preached; Account of  
a sermon  
at Aldgate.

**BOOK** and in his sermon took occasion to declaim much against  
I. the rood-lofts, (now the roods were gone,) where, it seems,  
**Anno 1559.** still the people shewed their devotions. He also aggravated  
 the low and poor estate of those that in the late reign fled  
 abroad for the word of God, urging much that livings ought  
 to be provided them.

Miles Coverdale  
preaches at  
Paul's.

November 12, the reverend Miles Coverdale, an exile,  
 late Bishop of Exon, and the translator of the Bible into  
 English in King Henry VIII.'s reign, took his turn at  
 Paul's Cross.

Bentham  
preaches  
there.

The 19th, Mr. Bentham, another confessor and exile, and  
 that was not long after made Bishop of Coventry and Litch-  
 field, preached in the same auditory. On which day Ton-  
 stal, the learned and reverend old Bishop of Durham, (who  
 had made a great figure in King Henry's reign, noted for  
 his services to that King, when he cast off the Pope's su-  
 premacy,) was buried decently at Lambeth; where he was  
 in easy custody with the Archbishop elect.

Jewel  
makes his  
challenge  
at Paul's.

November 26, Mr. Jewel, Bishop elect of Sarum, preached  
 the Paul's Cross sermon; where was as great an audience as  
 had been ever almost seen there: the Lord Mayor, the Al-  
 dermen, and many of the Court made up some of his audi-  
 ence. This was that most memorable sermon, as near as I  
 can conjecture, wherein he first gave his challenge to any,  
 whosoever, that if they could maintain and make good the  
 Popish practices and doctrines of private mass, prayer in an  
 unknown tongue, &c. either by Scripture, or example of the  
 primitive Church, or the old doctors or councils, he openly  
 avowed, that he would yield and subscribe to him, and he  
 28 should depart with victory; and that none of all them that  
 stood out against the Protestants, were, or ever should be,  
 able to prove against them any of those points. Which  
 words of his occasioned great surprise at present, and much  
 talk afterwards, as though he spake more than he was able  
 to justify or make good: insomuch, that in his next sermon  
 that he preached at the same place, which was the March  
 after, he thought fit to take notice of it, and of the dis-  
 courses against him his former sermon had occasioned; say-

ing, “it ought the less to trouble him, that these reports CHAP.  
 “were only in corners; and that if his sayings had been so III.  
 “weak as was given out, they might easily have been re-Anno 1559.  
 “proved; which had not yet been done: but he marvelled  
 “the parties never came yet to light, to take the advantage.”  
 And then he repeated his challenge again, with the addition  
 of more of the Popish errors; whereat the Papists were so  
 nettled, that Dr. Cole, lately Dean of Paul’s, was put on to  
 take Jewel up; but he thought fit to conclude the quarrel  
 with a few letters passed between them. But begging par-  
 don for this digression, we now turn our eyes again to the  
 subject of our history.

When Bonner, Bishop of London, who by his late bloodi-  
 ness procured an eternal stain of cruelty upon his name, Made Bi-  
 was laid aside from his bishopric, by declaring his deposition  
 under King Edward to have been valid, the Queen thought  
 none so fit to succeed him as Grindal; it being a suitable  
 diocese for him, where his behaviour and doctrine had been  
 so very well known, and where, no question, he was the  
 dearer to the citizens, having been formerly so dear to their  
 late holy Bishop, Dr. Ridley.

He was one of the five first elects; Parker elect of Can-Remains  
 terbury, Cox of Ely, Barlow of Chichester, and Scory of under some  
 Hereford, being the other four. But our Bishop elect of scruples.  
 London remained under some scruples of conscience about  
 some things; especially the habits and certain ceremonies  
 required to be used of such as were bishops. For the re-  
 formed in these times generally went upon this ground; that,  
 in order to the complete freeing the Church of Christ from  
 the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and cus-  
 tom practised by that apostate and idolatrous Church should  
 be abolished, and that all their ceremonies and circum-  
 stances of religious worship should be clearly abrogated;  
 and that the service of God should be most simple, stripped  
 of all that shew, pomp, and appearance, that had been custo-  
 marily used before; esteeming all that to be no better than  
 superstitious and antichristian. This commonly received  
 opinion, which the late English exiles especially had im-

**BOOK I.** bibed, was the cause that Grindal was now in doubt, whether he might with a safe conscience accept of a bishopric, **Anno 1559.** when he saw he must submit to divers of these things, if he did; namely, such things as were practised in the Church of England in the late reign of King Edward. For so it was now determined, that religion should be reformed according to the way and manner, wherein it then appeared and was practised.

**Consults with Peter Martyr about them.** In this scruple, therefore, he thought fit to consult with Peter Martyr, one of the learnedest Protestant Professors of Divinity in Europe in his time, and of excellent moderation;

**29** and at this time Public Professor at Zurick in Helvetia.

And being Grindal's friend and acquaintance, (for they had been at Strasburgh together,) in the month of August he sent a letter to him; which passing from Strasburgh, and so to Zurick, came not to Martyr's hands before October. Therein Grindal communicated to him his doubts, desiring his speedy resolutions of them, that he might, according to that light he should give him, accept the episcopal office, or refuse it:

**Impropriations.** one of these was concerning impropriations, which were to be annexed to bishoprics. For the Queen now (chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers) made exchanges with her bishops, by the authority of a late act of Parliament; taking to herself their ancient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange, tithes and impropriations. A matter those first Bishops took very heavily; and scrupled very much whether they could or should comply in a thing so much to the injury of the revenue of their respective sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges; and whereby all hope should be cut off of restoring the tithes, so long unjustly detained from the respective churches,

**Garments.** for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point at which he stuck was, wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra sacra* or *in sacris*. He desired Martyr's judgment briefly of these things.

**Martyr's answer and advice.** That reverend man, in the beginning of November, gave his answer. And first, as for impropriations, he thought Grindal needed not to be so solicitous; for that it was a

**Epist. P. Martyr.**

thing lay not in his power, whence or how it pleased the CHAP.  
Queen to provide wages and food for her bishops and the III.  
parish ministers. And then, as for going in a cap, whether Anno 1559.  
round or square, and in a gown, in ordinary conversation,  
when they were not employed about holy things, his judg-  
ment was, that they should not wrangle more than need  
was about them, since superstition seemed not properly to  
be concerned herein. But, in the next place, as for the  
habits to be used in the ministry of holy things, since they  
carried an appearance of the mass, and were merely re-  
mainders of Popery, it was, he said, the learned Bullinger,  
the chief minister of Zurick, his opinion, that they were to  
be refrained from by Grindal, lest by his example a thing  
that was scandalous should be confirmed. But Martyr said,  
that though he was always against the use of such orna-  
ments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be  
put from the office of preaching; and that perhaps some  
hope might be, that as altars and images were already taken  
away, so also those appearances of the mass might in time  
be taken away too, if he, and others who had taken upon  
them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein: but notwith-  
standing, if it came not to so good effect, yet, should he  
decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who  
would not care to have those relics rejected, but perhaps  
would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them. He was  
therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to  
refuse the bishopric than to submit to the use of those ves-  
tures. But because he saw scandals of that kind were alto-  
gether by all means to be avoided, therefore he more easily  
had yielded to Bullinger's opinion aforesaid: but if altars 30  
and images had been continued and preserved, then he did  
freely, as he had wrote in other letters, judge, that Grindal  
ought by no means to minister.

In general, he advised him to do nothing against his con- Conscience  
science. He acknowledged the questions which he sent him to be con-  
had difficulty in them, and therefore excused himself that sulted.  
he had no sooner imparted his counsel, since it could not so  
easily be given. He added, that when he was at Oxford,

**BOOK I.** though he were a Canon, yet he would never wear the surplice in the choir. He knew his example was no just confirmation of Grindal; but that which moved him then, and still did the same, might perhaps have some force with Grindal, namely, that that was not to be done, which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve.

Anno 1559.  
Grindal writes again to Martyr for his advice.

The same year our Bishop elect wrote two letters more to the same reverend man, both in October and December, for his advice and counsel: for he cared not to trust to his own wit and learning in the performance of his duty in matters not so clear to him. The things he now wrote to P. Martyr about were partly the same, about which he had consulted with him before, and partly some other. One of Grindal's queries was, that seeing he was not left at his liberty for the garments, whether he should accept of the episcopal function offered him, because of the imposition of the matters aforesaid?

Martyr's answer.

P. Martyr's answer came late; for Grindal had accepted the bishopric, and was made Bishop before it came to his hand. But Martyr's advice was consonant to what Grindal had done; that is, that he should not decline it; and that because of the great need of ministers. Wherefore if they, who were as it were the pillars, should decline the offices of the church, the churches should be destitute of pastors, and they should give place to wolves and Antichrists. And being without the function, it would not be in their power to amend such things as gave offence, yea scarcely to keep that which was granted: but if they, such men as himself, sat at helm, there would be much hope, that if not all, yet that many things might be redressed.

His judgment in case of great tithes.

In the next place, as to the State's taking away many of the lands and lordships from the sees, Martyr would not have this evil to discourage him from accepting the bishopric; since that they themselves did not alienate them, but others; and that it was done, they not being consulted with. But when upon this taking away the demesnes from the bishops, and in lieu thereof giving them great tithes, (which indeed belonged to parish ministers,) Grindal made

a conscience what the said ministers should do for a sub- CHAP.  
sistence, since the tithes, their dues, were gone, Martyr soon III.  
answered this, *viz.* that they must be maintained by the bi- Anno 1559.  
shops; and that they must trust God, who would open  
some way and means to provide for them, seeing he fed the  
birds of the air, and clothed the lilies of the field, and for-  
sook none rightly walking in their vocation.

Of the square cap and the external episcopal habits, he 31  
thought there was no need much to dispute, when the wear- Of the ha-  
bits.  
ing thereof was without superstition, and especially when it  
might have a civil reason in this kingdom.

Of the garments which they termed holy, he confessed Of the sur-  
they somewhat more stuck with him; so that he wondered plice and  
they should be so stiffly retained: and he wished all things episcopal  
in the service of God might be done in the most simple garments.  
manner. Yet he subjoined, that in case peace might be ob-  
tained between the Saxon and Helvetian churches as to  
doctrine, this sort of garments should never make a separa-  
tion: for though they should not approve of them, yet they  
would bear them. Therefore he allowed that Grindal might  
use that attire, either when he preached or administered the  
sacraments; yet so as to continue to speak and teach against  
the use of them. But he added, that he could never advise,  
that when he preached or administered the Lord's Supper,  
he should have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

Grindal also desired to know this great Divine's judgment Of the Po-  
as to the State's dealing with obnoxious Papists; and what pish Priests.  
he advised as to the inflicting punishment upon them, in  
respect of the many advantages that might be taken against  
them for their irregular and lawless doings in the last reign.  
Likewise whether he thought adviseable, that Popish Priests  
should be continued in their places, or that such should be  
admitted to livings. But Peter Martyr piously counselled,  
that for peace sake matters past should be forgotten; re-  
membering that punishments in the Church have sometimes  
been intermitted, and sometimes a total pardon granted;  
and that heretics have been received with the continuance  
of their former honours and degrees, they subscribing to

**BOOK** sound religion. But he advised withal, that care should be taken, that for the time to come nothing should be admitted which was contrary to the religion now entertained. And as for such as should hereafter be presented from patrons to the bishops for spiritual livings, that they should not be by them instituted, unless they should subscribe to the religion established.

**Of the sacramental bread.**  
I.  
**Anno 1559.**

**Wafer.**

**Of Bishops' attire.**

**And of the perambulation.**

Our elect consulted also with the afore-mentioned learned man about the sacramental bread, whether it were necessary it should be unleavened; that is, wafer. To which he told him, he knew it himself, that all the churches abroad did not make any contention about it; nay, that they every where used it.

Grindal also gave Martyr to understand how offended many were with the episcopal habits, and those *sacred* garments, as they called them. But the Divine told him, they might escape all blame, if they also declared in their sermons that those garments displeased them also, and that they would use their endeavour at one time or other to get them laid aside.

At the same time also did the Lord elect advise with Martyr about going the perambulation in the rogation weeks; which seemed to have been derived from the ambulations or walkings of the heathen. Martyr made a stand here, what rightly to advise about them; but concluded, 32 that all superstition should be avoided: and if God only were prayed to in those perambulations, that for his mercy he would graciously grant them the new fruits of the earth, and the use of those good things, and together giving God thanks for the food of the year past, superstition should seem sufficiently avoided. Although both magistrates and people should be taught against such customs, and endeavours ought to be used to explode them as relics of the Amorites. And to conclude, he prayed God to persuade him of these things, or to suggest better: adding, lastly, that in all this he had consulted Bullinger, who assented, and heartily saluted him.

We will mention one act of our elect in consort with the

Archbishop elect, and the three other elects; which was, CHAP.  
that he and they had the honesty and courage to prefer to III.  
the Queen a secret address for her granting of several things Anno 1559:  
of great benefit and use to the Church and ministers of it: His address  
as, to stay the exchanges of bishops' lands for great tithes to the Queen a-  
and impropriations in the Crown, so much to the detriment bout ex-  
of the episcopal sees, and to the disabling of her Majesty's change.  
bishops to encourage learning, and to exercise that hospi-  
tality that was expected from them; offering her an equiva-  
lent, *viz.* a thousand marks a year during their lives. In  
the same address they requested divers other very needful  
things, as in behalf of the small bishopries, and of the infe-  
rior clergy; as may be seen in the Annals of the Reforma-  
tion. The excellent letter itself will be found in the Life Annal. of  
and Acts of Archbishop Parker. But however godly and Reformation,  
pious the intention of this our elect was, yet little was ef- p. 98.  
fected thereby. But hereby he and his fellow bishops dis-  
charged their consciences.

In the beginning of January, Grindal (who was now con- Grindal  
secrated Bishop of London) wrote again to Martyr. And writes again  
by this letter it appeared, that he and the rest of the pious to Martyr.  
bishops and ministers were at this time under great fears,  
perhaps about the success of religion, and it may be, some-  
what jealous of the Queen's purposes. Martyr and the rest  
of the brethren at Zurick assured him, that they heartily  
condoled with them, and that they had, and would not  
cease to pray to God to avert the troubles and feared evils  
from them.

Peter Martyr, in a former letter, had shewed a great dis- Consults  
like at having the crucifix placed upon the table at the ad- with him  
ministration of the Sacrament, which the Queen retained in about re-  
her chapel; whereupon Grindal now asked his judgment, taining the  
whether he did not hold this among the things that were crucifix.  
indifferent. To which that learned man replied in the ne-  
gative; and that he should not advise any to distribute the  
Communion with that rite: but he prudently added, that he  
that was in the very midst of the battle must not expect  
counsel so far off, he being at such a distance from them,

**BOOK** I. who were taking their consultations about it on the very spot: a calling, said he, is not rashly to be cast away, nor yet to be taken up with the injury of truth. The sum is, Anno 1559. as he went on, the worship of images is by no means to be tolerated: that neither Bullinger nor he esteemed such matters among the ἀδιάφορα, *i. e.* things indifferent, but rejected them as forbidden. Yet he exhorted him by no means to refuse the ministry which was voluntarily offered him, unless he were driven and compelled to these things.

33 In fine, the good Bishop prayed him to use his interest And that he would write to the Queen against it. with the Queen, and to write a letter, to dissuade her against setting up or continuing the crucifix. But Martyr excused himself, and pleaded his extraordinary business; adding, that he thought his letters had not much weight with her; since he had writ twice before to her, both publicly and privately, and knew not yet whether what he writ was received; so little notice was taken, as he judged, of him: especially seeing, as it was said, the English were now consulting about embracing the Augustan Confession, and of entering into league with the German Protestants, who all had the crucifix in their churches. He gave him leave to consider then what little place his letter, or the letters of those of his rank, were like to find. Grindal also prayed him to put Bernardin Ochin and Bullinger upon writing to her. He did so, and Bernardin promised he would; but Bullinger declined it also.

## CHAP. IV.

*Made Bishop. Arms granted him. His Officers. Some of his first cares in his high function. Ordains Ministers. Perambulation in Rogation Week reformed. Preaches at Dr. May's funeral. The Lessons and Calendar reformed. Commissions.*

**H**AVID thus related at large the correspondence between that learned foreign Professor and our Divine, for the

better pacifying of his conscience, and the directing of him in certain matters, wherein he must be concerned, if he were CHAP.  
IV.  
Anno 1559.  
bishop, I shall now go on to shew him entering upon his episcopal honour and office.

He, together with the other first four elects, in a private address to the Queen, offered her a pension of a thousand marks a year, for themselves and for the rest of the province of Canterbury, (which they undertook for,) to stop the exchange of bishops' lands, which the Parliament had empowered her to do; and shewing her in humble manner, that the present alteration of lands, by exchange from her, having been lands of monasteries dissolved, parsonages, and such like, were very inconvenient; which they offered to describe at large to her in writing. But this commendable boldness of Grindal and his colleagues took not effect, nor would the annual pension be accepted, as was shewn before.

The consecration of Grindal, B.D. to the see of London, Grindal  
consecrated. was December 21, 1559, being forty years of age. And with him were consecrated Cox elect of Ely, Meric of Bangor, and Sandys of Worcester. The consecration was celebrated in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, by Archbishop Parker, assisted by Barlow, Scory, and Suffragan Hodgson: and a sermon was then preached by Alexander Nowell, the said Bishop of London's chaplain, upon that suitable text, *Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.*

An exchange of lands was in hand between the Queen 34 and our Bishop, even before his consecration, but yet still not fully finished; before the concluding whereof, he could not make an end of compounding for his first-fruits; the inconvenience of which was, that it laid a stop to him in the exercise of his episcopal office. For the taking this off, he required the Queen's authority for his acting as Bishop. Whereupon, the day after his consecration, she warranted him by this her letter:

“ Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-  
“ beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we be informed,  
“ that now upon the confirmation of your election to the

Ex Regist.  
Grind.

**BOOK I.** “ bishopric of London, and consecration, you stand in doubt  
Anno 1559. “ to exercise any jurisdiction, which otherwise you might ;  
“ for that you have not yet compounded for the first-fruits  
“ of the said bishopric ; which thing cannot conveniently  
“ be done, until the exchange betwixt us and you be in  
“ order requisite finished: for avoiding of disorder and in-  
“ conveniences, which otherwise might grow among our  
“ people within the city and diocese of London, we have  
“ thought good to require you, all scruple of our laws in  
“ respect of such order in proceeding set apart, to use and  
“ exercise all such ecclesiastical jurisdiction as appertaineth  
“ to the Bishop of London, in as ample and large manner  
“ as ye were in full possession, and as ye had compounded  
“ with us for the first-fruits of the same. And these our  
“ letters shall be warrant sufficient for your discharge in  
“ that behalf. Given under our signet, at our palace of  
“ Westminster, the xxii. day of December, the second year  
“ of our reign.”

Installed.  
Grind. Re-  
gist.

The next day, that is, December 23, was the day of his installation; which was performed in this manner. First, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, Thomas Young, Professor of Laws, produced his proxy for the Bishop before William May, LL.D. Dean of the church, and the Canons greater and less, and other members of that church, and took the oath of supremacy, *in animâ ipsius Episcopi*; and also swore the Bishop's residence according to the custom, unless dispensed with, and to observe the rights and privileges of the church of St. Paul's. Then was the said Dr. Young enthronized, or installed, in proxy for the Bishop; the Dean of Paul's, and John Molins, Archdeacon of London, conducting him from the chapter-house, the Dean on the right hand, and the Archdeacon on the left, to the great west door of the choir; and thence through the middle of the said choir unto the Bishop's seat between the said choir and the place of the high altar, the other greater and less Canons going before; and there they seated him. Then *Te Deum* was sung; and the Dean made this prayer in English.

“ O Lord, Almighty God, we beseech thee to grant to thy servant EDMUND our Bishop, that by preaching and doing those things which be godly, he may both instruct the minds of the diocesans with true faith and exert ample of good works, and finally receive of the most merciful Pastor the reward of eternal life; who liveth with thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.” These things were done, together with other accustomed usages.

CHAP.  
IV.  
Anno 1559.  
Dean of St. Paul's  
the new Bishop.

35

Now did Sir Gilbert Dethick, alias Garter, Knt. principal Garter king of arms, honour the Bishop with a blazon of arms, to grants him be made use of in all his sealed letters and instruments. The patent whereof ran in this tenor:

*Omnibus Christi fidelibus has presentes literas visuris, le- Offic. Ar-  
cturis vel audituris, GILBERTUS DETHIKE, alias Garter, mor. Shield.  
Miles, Principalis Rex Armorum Anglicorum, salutem, Books, No.  
cum debita et humili commendatione.*

*Æquitas vult, et ratio postulat, quod homines virtuosi, et laudabilis dispositionis et vitæ honorabilis, sint per eorum merita honorati et remunerati in suis personis, existentes in hac vitâ mortali tam brevi et transitoriâ, et in quolibet loco honoris præ cæteris exaltati, demonstrando signa et exempla virtutis ac etiam humanitatis, viz. scutum cum insigniis honoris: eâ intentione, ut per eorum exempla alii magis conentur eorum vitam in bonis operibus et factis clarissimis exercere. Et ideo ego prædictus Garter Rex Armorum ut supra, non solum ex divulgatâ famâ, verùm etiam ex meo cæterorumque nobilium fide dignorum testimo, sim veraciter instructus et informatus, quod Reverendus in Christo Pater D. EDMUNDUS GRINDAL Londonen. Episcopus diu in virtute claruit, ac veri et Christiani Præsulis officio functus est et fungitur indies; adeo ut benè mereatur et dignus sit in omnibus locis honoris admitti, numerari et recipi in numerum et consortium aliorum veterum præclarorum ac illustrium virorum: quapropter ob memoriam ejus tantæ virtutis et humanitatis, auctoritate ac potestate mihi officioque meo Garterii Regis Armorum per Sereniss. Dominam Reginam concessis et attributis, ordi-*

BOOK I.  
 Anno 1559. *navi et assignavi præfato Domino EDMUNDO Episcopo Londinen. ut suprà, scutum cum insignis honoris, sicut hic Gallicè declarabitur, Ceste ascavoir, d'or et d'azure escar-telle, une croix escartelle d'hermines et d'or. Sur le pre-miere une columbe d'azure, sur le seconde une autre d'argent, ut latius in scuto hic depicto apparet: habendum et tenendum eidem Domino EDMUNDO Epi-scopo ut supra. Et ut ipse in his ornatus sit ad ejus honorem in perpetuum. In cuius rei te-stimonium has patentes literas manu meâ propriâ subscrispsi, ac sigillum meum ad arma unâ cum sigillo officii mei Regis Armorum præsentibus apposui. Dat. Lon-donii anno regni Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliae, Francie, et Hiberniae Reginae, Fidei Defen-soris, secundo, die vero vicesimo quinto mensis Decembri.*



36 And now we shall first shew his officers, whose assistance His officers. he made use of, for the better discharge of this his weighty function, that was fallen upon him. December 22, he granted to Thomas Huick, LL. D. to be his Vicar General in spirituals, and issued out a commission of the same date to him, to exercise jurisdiction within the deanery of Middlesex and Barking. And Thomas Cole, M. A. he made his Commissary within the archdeaconry of Essex and Colchester, the commission bearing date Feb. 20, 1559. And a like commission was issued forth from him to Tho. Donnel, B.D. and to Edward Stevens, Vicar of Dunmow, clerk, for the consistory of Stortford, dated May 7, 1560. A like commission he granted to David Kemp, clerk, to exercise jurisdiction within the deanery of St. Alban's. And John Mullins, M. A. was his Archdeacon of London. These were the ecclesiastical officers which the Bishop constituted under him. And sometime after, Tho. Watts became his Archdeacon for Middlesex.

January 8, the Bishop preached his first sermon at St. Paul's after his consecration. CHAP.  
IV.

The good Bishop now, above all, thought it highly needful to provide ministers to supply the vacancies, and to furnish the Church with men of learning, honesty, and good religion, in the room of such priests as had either voluntarily relinquished their places, or were put out. Therefore the Bishop, soon after his own consecration, proceeded to the ordination of ministers, of whom he ordained considerable numbers; consisting in a great measure, as it seems, of such young persons as had left the Universities in the late reign, and studied abroad at Zurick, Strasburgh, and other places. The first ordination was held December 28, on a Thursday; the persons ordained having the day before undergone their examination by Mullins, Archdeacon of London; who assisted also at the ordination, which was performed in the chapel of the palace in London. The Deacons now ordained were, Tho. Jeffreys, M. A. Fellow of Clare hall, Cambridge; Tho. Page, Scholar of Magdalen college, Cambridge; and Nic. Hewitt, Scholar of Queen's college, Cambridge. The Priests were these, Tho. Lance, Fellow of Bene't, Cambridge; Henry Beane, Scholar of Queen's, Cambridge; Rich. Bromel, Scholar of Pembroke hall, Cambridge; J. Holland, of Chelmsford; J. Twydale, M.A. Fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge; Edw. Harnes, B. L. Fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge; J. Mayer, B. A. of Jesus college, Cambridge; J. Price, B. A. Fellow of Catharine hall, Cambridge.

The next ordination was little above a fortnight after, *viz.* January 14, in the chapel belonging to his palace in London; Molins, Archdeacon of London, examining also, and assisting as before. The persons ordained Deacons were as follow: Richard Cham, of Henley upon Thames, aged 47; Robert Broke, aged 29; John Mantyl, aged 29; Thomas Brodestrete; John Brainford; John Gowgh; Thomas Spender; Adam Halladay; William Howel; George Hull, Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, B. A.; John Champion; John Monger; Thomas Harvey; John Person; Edward

Anno 1559.  
Preaches at  
Paul's.  
Ordains  
ministers.

**BOOK I.** Watsmouth ; Thomas Brasbrigg, B. A. ; Tho. Oxforth,  
Anno 1559. A.B. of Bene't college, Cambridge; William Bradforth,  
A.B. of Clare hall, Cambridge; Richard Hedge; James  
Calfhill, born at Edinburgh in Scotland, aged 30; Rob.  
37 Buckberd; Tho. Pyrrye; Steven Britain; Edward Hales;  
Tho. Renyger; Michael Goodyere; Thomas Pegge; Thomas  
Wilson, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, M. A.; Wil-  
liam Pett; Thomas Serelby; Simon William; Thomas Jen-  
kynson, B.A.; Nicholas Hunt; Henry Wright, A.B. of St.  
John's, Cambridge; John Scarlet; Robert Harrington;  
Thomas Willyat; William Baldwin; and William Overton,  
M. A. of Magdalen, Oxon, aged 33, afterwards Bishop of  
Lichfield and Coventry; in all thirty-nine.

The Priests were William Wood; Francis Cocks; George  
Bacon; John Hooper, of the diocese of Gloucester, aged  
40; Thomas Pegge, ut supra; William Porrage; Roger  
Kelk, B.D. Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, aged 36; Wil-  
liam Austin, aged 40; in all eight. In all this ordination  
none were ordained that were under twenty-three or twenty-  
four years of age, but most were upward of thirty. Some  
of the Deacons were no scholars, or of any University, but  
men of sober conversation, and that could read English well;  
who, nevertheless, in this present necessity were ordained,  
that they might be readers in the churches, to read the  
Common Prayers and Homilies.

About ten days after, *viz.* on the 25th day, being the  
festival of St. Paul, was another ordination celebrated; when  
these Deacons were made: Percival Wyborn, M. A. of St.  
John's college, Cambridge, aged 26; Richard Tremain,  
M. A. Fellow of Exon, Oxon; Theodore Newton, M. A.;  
Peter Morving, of Magdalen college, B.A.; John Philpot,  
of London; Thomas Bawden; Robert Shryff; Henry Mors;  
John Carter; Richard Cotton; Thomas Clement; Augus-  
tin Styleman; Henry Standen; William Hewes; William  
Loker; Richard Flint, of Magdalen hall, Oxon; Rich.  
Aderton; Maurice Newel; John Dane; William Lesley;  
Roger Matthew; Edmund Bestian; Rich. Bosom; John  
Westroke; Tho. Smith; Tho. Mowe; Tho. Dawks, Scholar

of Pembroke hall, Cambridge; John Gifford; Henry Baker; CHAP.  
 John Bonton; Mr. Elmer; Lancelot Priestland; Mr. John IV.  
 Markham, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke hall; Tho. Cattel; Anno 1559.  
 in all thirty-four. The Priests were these: John Pilkington,  
 of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, M.A. born in Lancashire;  
 John Blake; Pyrry; Harrington; Brasbrig; these, and three  
 and twenty more, that had been made Deacons, and men-  
 tioned before. To these are added, Francis Barlow, (who  
 is said to be *dioc. Leodiensis*, i. e. of the diocese of Liege,) and Mr. Fox; [undoubtedly John Fox, the Martyrologist, who had been ordained Deacon by Bishop Ridley, in King Edward's reign;] in all thirty.

To which (that I may lay the ordinations of this year to-  
 gether) I add one ordination more, which next happened;  
 and that was on Sunday, March 24, being performed also  
 in the Bishop's chapel. The Deacons were, William Day,  
 M.A.; Nicholas Wilson, M.A.; John Bedens, in Gram-  
 maticis Magister. Priests, John Smith, and Tho. Watts,  
 B.A. (afterwards Archdeacon of Middlesex.)

March 3, our Bishop preached again at Paul's Cross in Preaches at  
 his habit, *i. e.* in his rochet and chimere; and so continued Paul's.  
 to wear them as often as he preached. There was then a MSS. D. Jo-  
 mighty audience; for the people were greedy to hear the han. Episc.  
 Gospel. And sermon being ended, a Psalm was set, and Elien.  
 sung by all the congregation (for now it became commonly  
 practised in churches) with the organ.

The Rogation time drawing on, when many superstitious 38  
 processions were wont to be used in London and other Anno 1560.  
 places, the Bishop took care, as to allow of the ancient use- His order  
 ful practice of perambulations for the asserting the bounds for the Ro-  
 of each parish, so to check and restrain the superstitions gation time.  
 thereof: therefore he prescribed this order to the Archdea-  
 cons, to be by them communicated through the diocese;  
 which was as followeth.

“ For the avoiding superstitious behaviour, and for uni- Ex Registr.  
 “ formity to be had in the Rogation-week, now at hand; Grind.  
 “ these shall be to require you to give notice and command-  
 “ ment within your archdeaconry, that the ministers make

BOOK I.  
 —————  
 Anno 1560. “ it not a procession, but a perambulation; and also that  
 they suffer no banners, nor other like monument of super-  
 stition to be carried abroad; neither to have multitude of  
 young light folks with them; but the substantial of the  
 parish, according to the injunctions: the Ministers to  
 go without surplices and lights; and to use no drinkings,  
 except the distance of the place do require some necessary  
 relief; and to use at one or two convenient places the  
 form and order of prayers and thanksgiving appointed by  
 the Queen’s Majesty’s injunctions. Thus fare ye well.  
 From my house in London, the xiii. of May, 1560.

“ *To Mr. Cole, Archdeacon of Essex: this be  
 delivered with speed.*”

But though our Bishop took this care of his diocese, yet  
 I find in many places of the realm this year, *gang-week*, as  
 they called it, was observed. And in divers places, of Bucks  
 and Cornwall especially, the people went in procession with  
 banners, and had good cheer after the old custom.

The Bishop  
preaches.

Preaches at  
the funeral  
of May,  
Dean of  
Paul’s.

Alex. Now-  
ell made  
Dean.

The Bishop again preached above in Paul’s, June 2.

In August 1560 happened the death of Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul’s, a pious and learned man; of whom great use had been made in ecclesiastical matters under King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. and was in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth nominated to the Archbishopric of York; but deceased before his consecration. He was buried in St. Paul’s church; and Bishop Grindal preached in his rochet his funeral sermon. Alexander Nowell, M. A. that had been

an exile, the Bishop’s chaplain, and Archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, succeeded in the said deanery, after it had been void some months. The Queen’s letters to the Chapter of St. Paul’s, to choose him, bore date November 11, using these expressions concerning him: “ As well for his godly zeal and special good learning, and other singular gifts and virtues; we thought good to commend him unto you, as one, whom we, of a singular good will and hearty affection towards that church, would have preferred unto the Deanery thereof.” December 1, the

Bishop sent his letter to Dr. Huick, his Vicar General, for CHAP.  
the process of his confirmation and installation. IV.

Our Bishop was made one of the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners. For a commission of that nature had lately been enacted by the Parliament, to inspect into the manners of the Clergy, and regulate all matters of the Church.

And in this year 1560 he was also appointed, by the Queen's special letters, to be one of her Commissioners (Par-<sup>39</sup>  
ker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Bill, her Almoner; Dr. Haddon, Master of Requests, being the other) for the changing of certain chapters used for lessons, and some other things appointed to be read, (not so convenient,) for other chapters more edifying to the common people; and for the making of a new calendar for the Book of Common Prayer; and for the taking some good orders for the keeping clean and adorning of chancels, which were in these times very much neglected and profaned; altogether unbecoming the houses of God, and the places where the holy Supper was administered; and, lastly, for the prescribing some good order for the collegiate churches, that by the Queen's permission used the Common Prayer in Latin, as should be most convenient to be used in respect of their companies, or of resort of the laity thither; that this liberty of the Queen's, granting the prayers in Latin, might not be corrupted and abused.

In the afore-mentioned year, *viz.* 1560, came these prescriptions and mandates from the Archbishop to our Bishop. A mandate to him from the Archbishop. An inhibition to him (as also to the other provincial Bishops) to forbear visiting his diocese for some time, because of the great poverty of the clergy; having been so oppressed before, by frequent visitations and procurations, "that to the exceeding scandal of their state and ministry (as the letters of the Archbishop ran) they had scarce wherewith to buy food and raiment."

In July, an order was prescribed him by the said Arch-bishop, to be used in Common Prayer thrice a week, for another order from him. seasonable weather, and good success of the common affairs of the realm; meet to be used (as the injunction ran) at

**BOOK I.** this present, and also hereafter, when like occasion should arise, by the discretion of the Ordinary within the province  
**Anno 1560.** of Canterbury.

**Several ordinations of Ministers.** I will now recount all the ordinations of Ministers that happened since the last year hitherto, celebrated by our Bishop, or by some other Bishop by him deputed; that you may see what care was taken by our Bishop for furnishing the Church with ministers not tainted with Popery.

March 27, were Rob. Joyner and Rich. Langhern, B.A. ordained Deacons and these six made Priests; Will. Barker, (who had received Deacon's orders in the time of Bishop Bonner,) Brian Barton, Percival Wyborn, Gilbert Genyns, Edm. Johnson, William Margets. All these received their orders from Rich. Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph, who performed the ordination in the name and by the order of the reverend father, Bishop Grindal.

Ultim. Martii, another ordination was celebrated, by the said Bishop of St. Asaph, in the Bishop of London's chapel. Deacons: Hugh Jervys, B.A. of Clare hall, and Hugh Brommel, Scholar of St. John's, Cambridge. Priests: Tho. Horton, M. A. of Pembroke, Cambridge; Rich. Proud; and Wil. Day, (afterwards Bishop of Winton.)

**40** April 25, the Bishop of London held an ordination in his chapel in the palace at London; wherein these following were made Deacons: Will. Betts, of Hadley in Suffolk; Tho. Upchere; Peter Foreman; Tho. Nokes; Christopher Knight; Richard Clive, B.A.; Christopher Booke; Henry Basset; James Blacket; John Amerye; Tho. Spicer; Tho. Coper, born at Bewdley, Wigorn, aged 60;.....

.....; — Hawgh, alias Halgh; Greg. Metcalf; John Wolton, born at Whalley in Cheshire, aged 23; (he was afterwards Bishop of Exeter;) Will. Painter; Martin Adam; Rich. Wilmot; Will. Atkinson; Tho. Brice; Humphrey Walwyn; Will. Lion; Walter Bedel, B.A.; Rich. Lee; John Valey; Dominicus Jackson; Nich. Hunt; Alex. Smelley; Rich. Weston, aged 38. And these Priests: Francis Serle; Walter Richardson; John Aman; John Brewer; James Blacket; Will. Dartnel;

Nich. Humphrey; Tho. Cook; Gilbert Hazzard; John Stanton; Francis Banister; Will. Davis; Will. Green; Will. Fletcher; Walter Kelle; Nich. Wilson, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen college, Oxon; Roger White; Rich. Allen; Walter Davies, aged 41; Will. Atherton; Rob. Joyner; Rich. Langhern; Rob. Smith; Will. Overton; and six more, lately ordained Deacons, and mentioned before.

CHAP.  
IV.

Anno 1560.

The next ordination was held May 1. Then was ordained only Rob. Pownal, an exile, born at Barwick in Dorsetshire, [it should be Somersetshire,] aged 40, and more.

The next was June 4, Archdeacon Mullins assisting the Bishop, as he had done in all the ordinations before. The Deacons were, Rob. Rogers, M.A. and Fellow of Christ's college, Oxon; Bernard Sudbury; Tho. Lylyot, M.A. and Fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge; Rob. Frazier, a Scot; Tho. Pett; John Stevens; Henry Brown; Anthony Gatonbye; Will. Lyon, aged 43; Anthony White; Arthedox [perhaps for Orthodox] Rogers, M.A. The Priests were, Rich. Cliff, B.A.; John Wotton, [Wolton,] B.A.; Rich. Wylymothe; Tho. Bryce, and nine more ordained Deacons before; Will. Osborn; and Barn. Sudbury.

June 9, Basset, Gatonbye, and Calfil, M.A. three Deacons, were made Priests. And one Deacon ordained, *viz.* Robert Rowles, B.A. Fellow of New College, Oxon.

July 25, Thursday, being St. James's day, still Mullins the Archdeacon assisting, were ordained Deacons, Nich. Slater; John After, aged 50, born in Calais; John Garret, aged 41; Rich. Simons, aged 31; Dominic Jaxon. Priests, Rich. Lee, and Will. Lyon.

July 28, were Will. Hardiman and Nich. Slater made Priests. Those ordained, that were more elderly, (whose ages I have set down,) were such, I suppose, as being grave and sober persons, though no scholars, but perhaps tradesmen before, were thought convenient to be admitted into orders, to supply the present necessity of the Church: but this it seems gave offence. And therefore

Another  
order to  
ordain no  
more ac-  
tificers.

The next month an order came, directed to the Bishop from the Metropolitan, to forbear ordaining any more ar-

**BOOK** tificers, and others that had been of secular occupations,  
 I. \_\_\_\_\_ that were unlearned; which they, the Bishops, had been

Anno 1560. forced to do at first, if they were qualified with sobriety and good religion, and skill in reading, for the supply of the vacant churches: and that all, henceforth, should be excluded from taking holy orders, but such as had good testimonials

41 of their conversation, were exercised in learning, or at least had spent some time in teaching school. And because the Bishop, as the Archbishop's Chancellor, was to communicate this order to the rest of the Suffragan Bishops, he did it with this letter of his own.

The Bi-  
shop's let-  
ter to other  
bishops for  
that intent.

“ After my very hearty commendations, these are to signify unto your Lordship, that I have received a letter, directed me, from my Lord of Canterbury, containing an

“ advertisement, to be communicated unto you, and the  
 “ other of our brethren within his Grace's province: and  
 “ for that intent, I have caused the copy of the said letters  
 “ to be inserted, and inclosed herein: the which I do now  
 “ send by this bearer unto you; not doubting, but that  
 “ your Lordship will consider the same, and have such regard thereunto, as appertaineth. And thus wishing  
 “ unto your Lordship prosperous health and felicity, to the  
 “ pleasure of Almighty God, I bid you most heartily farewell.  
 “ From my house at Fulham, the 17th of August, 1560.

“ By your loving brother,

“ Edmund London.”

The Arch-  
bishop  
sends to  
our Bishop  
for a list of  
the names  
of his cler-  
gy.

In November following, the Archbishop sent a letter to the Bishop of London, for certain considerations conducive to the general reformation of the clergy, to certify him, the said Archbishop, of the names and surnames of all the Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Chanters, and others, having any dignity in his cathedral church, and of all the Prebendaries of the same; and all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Curates, &c.

He and two  
Bishops  
more write  
to the  
Queen to  
marry.

He was one of the three Bishops (the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely being the other two)

that this year took upon them the courage and the honesty CHAP.  
to write a secret letter to the Queen, to persuade her to IV.  
marry; shewing her how the safety and welfare of the Anno 1560.  
Church and kingdom depended upon issue of her royal  
body: concluding, “that till they should see that fortunate  
“day, they should never repose themselves to minister  
“in their offices comfortably, in perfect joy, and quiet of  
“heart.”

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## CHAP. V.

*The Bishop superintendent of the foreigners' churches in London. His dealings with some members thereof. Anabaptists. The Spaniards desire a church. More ordinations.*

THE Bishop of London had the care and inspection of all He inspects  
the foreigners' churches in the said city, as namely, both the fo-  
reigners' the Dutch and French; under which were comprised the churches.  
Spanish and Italian congregations; and he was their superintendent, and so termed. The chief was the Dutch or German church, settled first by King Edward VI. and 42  
the church formerly belonging to the Augustin friars was by that Prince given to Alasco, their first minister, and his congregation, who had then removed themselves hither from Embden: and upon the access of Queen Mary to the crown, after many tossings abroad, retreated thither again; and thence replanted themselves here again under Queen Elizabeth.

For the year last past, this congregation had petitioned The  
the Queen to have their church restored them, and their church in St. Austin charter renewed. And herein Bishop Grindal was their Friars re-  
great advocate and friend at Court, as they acknowledged stored to  
themselves, in some records remaining in their said Church. them.  
Their church they accordingly enjoyed; and command MSS. Eccl.  
was given to the Queen's Purveyor, that it should be <sup>Londino-</sup><sub>Belgic.</sub>

**BOOK I.** cleansed, and discharged of the stores put in there in the last reign, in order to their assembling there for the public worship of God. To which I will add here, that it appears by the same papers, that a sentence was given, in the year 1567, by this Bishop, and other of the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, ratifying and confirming this church and its constitution.

**Their ministers.** Their chief elder about this time was Johannes Uttenhovius, a man of noble rank and quality, and formerly assistant to Alasco in this church. Their ministers were, Peter de Loene, Gotofridus Wyngius, and Hadrianus Hamstedius. There were at this time other learned foreigners belonging to this church ; one whereof was Jacobus Acontius, who, with Hamstedius, was touched with Anabaptistical and Arian principles, and had divers followers, shrowding themselves under the wings of this church ; which cost our Bishop some trouble, as we shall learn by and by.

**A supplication sent him from some strangers, for exercise of their religion.** In the month of September 1560, a supplication was brought him in Dutch, as it seems, from a sort of men of the Low Countries, for the free exercise of their religion ; shewing themselves exiles for religion, though in some points differing from the doctrine received in this church. But this petition had no names subscribed to it ; so that the Bishop could not tell to whom to give his answer, nor where to send it ; but he took a copy of this supplication turned into Latin, which he kept, and sent the original to the Dutch minister de Loene, and Uttenhovius, to keep safely. For having received this supplication, he acquainted them with it, and with his conjectures ; *viz.* that the petitioners were Anabaptists, and that Hadrian Hamsted was the drawer of it up ; for that he had been heard to say, that he would draw up a supplication to the Bishop, in behalf of the Anabaptists. The Bishop therefore signified to them, that he was minded in his answer to direct himself to Adrian in the name of all the Anabaptists ; but that he would do nothing without first acquainting them with it, who knew, he said, the depth of the sect better than he, by reason of their daily experience of them. And the church sending certain of their members

to the Bishop at this time, to consult with him upon some business, and to receive his answer, he took the occasion to make them the bearers of the aforesaid supplication, and of his letter, importing what was related before : which letter I had rather the reader should peruse in his own words.

*Salutem in Christo. Mitto exemplar supplicationis cuius-* 43

*dam ad me missæ per quosdam (uti apparet) Anabap-* The Bishop writes to De Loen about it. Ex Biblio-  
tistas, sed anonymos. Curavi Latinè vertendam. Archetypon ad vos misi, quod diligenter uti asservetis, oro. Non-dum respondi, quia nescio quibus responderem. Sunt qui Adrianum authorem existimant. Is enim (uti audio) quo-dam tempore quibusdam audientibus dixit, se velle Anabap-<sup>no-German.</sup> MS. tistarum nomine supplicem libellum ad me conscribere. Itaque puto compendio me facturum, si ad ipsum Adrianum respcionem meam destinarem, ut is fratribus illis anonymis tradendam curaret. Sed tamen decrevi nullo illos responso dignari, nisi prius communicato cum vobis consilio, qui hujus sectæ profunditates melius novistis quam ego propter diuturnam experientiam. De cæteris, fratres quos ad me misistis, certiores vos reddent. Opto vos in Domino quàm optimè valere. Fulhamiæ, 4. Septembr. 1560.

*Vester in Christo,*  
*Edmundus Grindallus, Lond. Ep.*

*Domino Petro de Læno et Domino Joanni*

*Utenhovio, fratribus et amicis in Do-*  
*mino charissimis, Londini.*

For the fuller understanding of the matter aforementioned, it must be known, that one of the great doctrines of this sect was, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin Mary, but brought it down from heaven ; a doctrine that undermined the mediatorialship of our Saviour. But being otherwise outwardly sober and quiet, and pretending zealously to believe and worship Christ, and to expect salvation by him ; the abovesaid Adrian took their parts, and laboured much for their peaceable and quiet subsistence, and enjoyment of their opinion, till they were further enlightened. And he

**BOOK** declared, how this gentle behaviour towards them was  
 1. the likeliest way to win them from their error. Hadrian  
 Anno 1560. himself was a sober and pious man ; and gave out himself to  
 be no Anabaptist in his own judgment ; but firmly held,  
 that Christ's taking flesh of the Virgin was a thing necessary  
 to salvation. But he was for tolerating these men that  
 held to the contrary ; and wrote a paper consisting of  
 various arguments for the same ; wherein he ran out into  
 many dangerous expressions, and vented divers unsound  
 tenets : as for example ; whereas it was urged, that  
 Anabaptists could not have Christ for a true mediator,  
 since they were of opinion his flesh was not taken of the  
 Virgin ; Hadrian argued, that though they did not believe  
 it, yet considering they believed and invocated Christ, who  
 suffered for us, and rose again, and by whom our sins  
 are pardoned, they did not err from a true mediator. He  
 said also, that the incarnation of Christ could not be proved  
 by Scripture ; and that the assertion, that Christ partook of  
 our nature, and was of the true seed of the woman, was not  
 a foundation, but a circumstance only of the foundation.  
 He said, he would not altogether condemn them, but com-  
 mit them to God's judgment : and that children, and those  
 that are distracted, have salvation without faith. For these

44 and the like expressions and assertions, Adrianus was con-  
 ventioned before the Bishop ; and when he could not be revoked  
 from what he had said, the Bishop exercised his episcopal  
 authority, and censured him in the month of November.

Censured  
by the  
Bishop.  
  
The stran-  
gers write  
to P. Mar-  
tyr about  
this matter.

His answer.

Int. Ep. p.  
Martyr.

After this censure, the church thought good to write to Peter Martyr, acquainting him with this matter. And the said reverend man wrote back a very large and learned answer to the church, strengthening that article of faith, and confuting Adrian's paper and arguments : which answer is among the printed letters of Peter Martyr. He shewed how very unseasonably Adrian had disturbed the church, by moving a controversy in it, of which they at Zurick had been consulted : that he was not to be approved in defending that opinion, whereby the people were rather destroyed, than edified in true orthodox doctrine ; for that he affirmed, that

that perverse opinion of the flesh of Christ brought from CHAP.  
heaven, and not taken of the blessed Virgin, deprived V.  
not those of salvation that believed it, and pertinaciously Anno 1560.  
stuck to it; but that still they did belong both to Christ  
and to his Church. The learned man demanded, if this  
took not away both the weight and wickedness of that  
heresy, nay, and confirmed not that miserable people  
in their error, and made others less careful of avoiding it?  
Adrian had said, that those that were endued with the  
fear of God, would yield to such as shewed them how they  
were in a great and dangerous error; from which ex-  
pression Martyr took occasion to observe, how he yielded  
them to be guilty of a great and dangerous error; and yet  
had before affirmed them to be members of Christ, and  
parts of his Church, and that such errors did not cut off  
from eternal life. But if, said he, Christ's faithful ministers,  
however they confuted this opinion by infallible testimonies  
of God's word, and roundly told them that held it, that they  
must perish, unless they repented, could not bring them to  
yield to truth, were they ever like to be restored by milder  
methods, as by telling them that their opinions, though false  
and contrary to the holy Scriptures, excluded them not from  
salvation, nor from Christ?

In fine, this grave and reverend Father advised this church to unite together, and to lay aside the dissensions that these errors had begot among them, holding fast the truth; and that they should seriously think of the great mercy of God, that had planted here in England a Dutch and a French church. This, he said, the Devil could not endure; and therefore had sown divisions and contentions among them about these things, that he might render the poor strangers more hateful to them among whom they were planted. He exhorted them to watch with the greatest care and diligence, lest Satan obtained his desire, and that the Church of Christ might not receive damage. And in respect of Adrian, who now lay under censure, he advised, that he who had lately been rebuked, should bear it with no less equal mind than Peter did, when he was reproved by

**BOOK I.** Paul. And, on the other hand, that such of them that had taken upon them the defence of the truth, should receive their brother, who had seemed to go aside from the right

Anno 1560. 45 way, not of malice, but rather of mistake; and to embrace him still as their fellow-minister and beloved colleague, in case he acquiesced in those that had admonished him. And so he committed them to God, and beseeched them to labour, according to their power, to keep peace among themselves.

The Bishop censures another member of the Dutch church, *viz.* Jac. Acontius.

But to proceed: the Bishop, as he had censured the aforesaid Hadrian, he did the like to another learned man of the same church, named Jacobus Acontius, a favourer and adherer to this man and his opinions; being withheld by the Bishop's sentence from receiving the holy Sacrament, forbidding both the Dutch or any other church to admit him. For which he wrote a long expostulatory letter to the said Dutch church, which is extant in the library of the said church of St. Augustin's.

The Bishop's dealings with other favourers of Hamstedius.

And, that I may lay all this matter together, (though what falls under another year,) Adrian, besides Acontius, had other favourers and followers. These talked abroad, that Adrian was not lawfully excommunicated; who, in the beginning of the year 1561, were convened before the Bishop; to whom two conditions were offered to prevent further punishment, and to clear themselves: 1. Publicly before the church to confess, that the doctrine of Adrian, asserting, that "it was not a fundamental article of faith, "that Christ came of the seed of the Virgin, but a circumstance," was erroneous and antichristian. 2. That they who publicly spread these rumours, and so disturbed the Church, should publicly confess, that therein they did amiss.

Some of these, refusing these conditions, were to be excommunicated by order of the Bishop in April 1561; but giving some signification of a better mind, before the minister and elders, their excommunication was appointed to be deferred for fifteen days. This was ordered by the said Bishop of London, with the consent of the ministers of both

churches; the Bishop of Durham present, and consenting CHAP.  
also, April 29, 1561. V.

Thus stood things with this church in the year 1561. Anno 1560.  
The next year the Bishop seemed to have brought Adrian  
to be sensible of his faults, after he had stood a year and  
upwards excommunicated. And he drew up a form for him  
to pronounce and acknowledge in order to his absolution;  
which bore this title, and was to this tenor:

*Brevis quædam formula Revocationis Hadriano Hamste-  
dio per reverendum Episcopum Londinens. oblata ultimo  
Julii, 1562.*

*Ego Adrianus Hamstedius, &c.* The original may be  
read in the Appendix. Thus in English: Num. II.

“ I Hadrian Hamsted, by reason of certain assertions The form  
“ and doctrines of mine, contrary to the word of God, thereof.  
“ while I acted here as minister in the Dutch church,  
“ London, being deposed, and excommunicate from my 46  
“ ministry, by the decree of the Bishop of London; now Ex Bib-  
“ after an year and half, or thereabouts, weighing things lioth. Eccl.  
“ better, and examining them by the rule of God’s word, do Lond. and  
“ think otherwise, and from my heart acknowledge my Paper Of-  
“ fault, and am sorry that I have given so great offences  
“ and scandals.

“ And these are the articles, or assertions, in which,  
“ I confess, I have erred:

“ I. In a certain writing of mine, I asserted, against  
“ the word of God, and used these words, *viz.* That Jesus  
“ Christ was born of the seed of the woman, and made  
“ partaker of our nature, was not a foundation, but a cer-  
“ tain circumstance of the foundation, even boys, that  
“ begin first to learn their letters, will acknowledge: there-  
“ fore, he that denieth Christ to be born of the seed of the  
“ woman, he doth not deny a foundation, but one of the  
“ circumstances of the foundation.

“ II. That the Anabaptists, denying Christ to be the true  
“ seed of the woman, if they do not accuse and condemn us,  
“ I have, in some of my writings and discourses, acknow-

**BOOK** " ledged them for my brethren, and weaker members of the  
 I. " body of Christ ; and by consequence have ascribed to them  
 Anno 1560. " the salvation of eternal life.

1 John iv.  
and Epist.  
ii.

" III. I have asserted, those that deny the incarnation of  
 " Christ by the Virgin, to be founded in Christ the Lord,  
 " the only foundation, calling their errors of this sort,  
 " wood, stubble, hay, built upon the foundation ; notwith-  
 " standing which, they come to be saved, as through fire :  
 " of whom I testified, that I hoped well, as of all other my  
 " dear brethren founded in Christ. When nevertheless the  
 " Holy Ghost, by John the Apostle, affirmeth, that those  
 " that deny Christ came in the flesh, (speaking of that flesh  
 " which was assumed of the seed of Abraham and of the  
 " seed of David,) are seducers, nay Antichrists, and have not  
 " God.

" IV. Also in this, I confess, I have greatly erred, that  
 " I have constantly asserted, that those that deny Christ to  
 " be the true seed of the woman, do not from thence,  
 " necessarily and by consequence, deny him to be our  
 " Immanuel, mediator, priest, brother ; nor therefore deny  
 " him to be true man, nor his resurrection from the dead.  
 " For those that deny the consequence, Christ is the true  
 " seed of the woman, I do plainly acknowledge, by the  
 " same act, they do deny Christ to be our Immanuel,  
 " mediator, &c. and not less than that which St. Paul speaks,  
 " 1 Cor. xv. *If there be no resurrection of the dead, neither  
 " is Christ risen ; and if Christ be not risen, our preaching  
 " is vain, and your faith is vain.*

" V. That sometimes in my sermon, straying from the  
 " duty of a pious minister, I have used arguments, persua-  
 " sions, similitudes, and jests, to convince the people of these  
 " assertions ; viz. by a similitude, It is no matter what  
 " colour the King's robe is of ; and comparing those that  
 " contended concerning the flesh of Christ, to the soldiers  
 " that cast dice upon Christ's garment ; and others of the  
 " like nature : all which tend to this, to extenuate this  
 " principal article of our faith ; and that the hope of faith  
 47 " might not be taken away from them that deny it. For I

“ acknowledge, that it is of great concern, whether Christ CHAP.  
 “ took our flesh, or it were some other celestial or ethereal V.  
 “ matter; since he could not satisfy the justice of God, but Anno 1560.  
 “ in our flesh, and be a sacrifice acceptable to God for our  
 “ sins.

“ VI. I acknowledge also my fault, in that in my sermons I have affirmed, that it is free to every one in the reformed Church, to reserve his child for some years without baptism: nor could the conscience of any to be baptized be restrained to any certain time.

“ Lastly, that I have contemned the ministers of both churches, admonishing me of these errors above written, and even the Reverend the Bishop of London himself, superintendent of both the churches of the strangers. Yea, rather contemning all admonition, I appealed to the law; whereby nevertheless being convicted by lawful testimonies, and worthy of credit, I refused to acknowledge my fault. And I accused all the foresaid ministers of the churches, and others that admonished me, as well in word as writing, and letters in London, and in parts beyond sea, as though I were not orderly, justly, and lawfully ejected and excommunicated. For I acknowledge I have very justly deserved this, and that the Bishop of London hath dealt orderly with me.” But after this form of revocation drawn up, Hamstedi<sup>us</sup> refused to subscribe it.

All this care had our Bishop with the foreigners’ churches; and still some business or other he had with them, as we may relate in the progress of our discourse. Something more happened concerning some of them in this present year 1560, which I shall proceed to shew.

Divers of other nations had now removed themselves into England, under the Queen’s favour and protection, for the sake of true religion, and the free exercise of it. Some of these were Spaniards; many whereof traded as merchants into Spain, and other the King of Spain’s dominions. The preacher to these was named Cassiodorus. Upon their first coming, they were advised by the Bishop, and the Secretary of State, for some prudential reasons,

**BOOK I.** to exercise their religious worship privately in an house, rather than in a church. But having done this hitherto, it  
Anno 1560. being now the year 1560, they were induced, for certain causes, to meet together rather in a church for the future; and many ministers in the city of London had voluntarily offered them the use of theirs: therefore they put up a supplication to the Bishop and the said Secretary, for their leave more publicly to serve God, together with their reasons for this their request.

His petition.

As first, because while they met in a private house, they found by experience it was an hindrance to the kingdom of Christ; while many withdrew themselves from the assembly, and others were afraid to meet there, lest they might create a danger to themselves and their affairs in Spain, where they held a commerce; for that they who joined themselves with this congregation were easily observed by their adversaries, men very sharp-sighted in this behalf: whereas no such notice would be taken of them, when they should assemble in some public place, where any might come.

**48** Again, that by their meeting so long together in a private house, especially in a city that, by the grace of God, was free for all Christian assemblies, they gave occasion to the adversaries more foully to traduce them and their doctrine, than before; for indeed they openly said, that these Spaniards did cherish among them monstrous doctrines, hated even by Lutherans themselves; since in a city so much Lutheran, they thought it not safe to appear publicly: and Cassiodorus made no doubt, that as they did so calumniate them here, they did the like in Spain by their letters; and by these specious pretences procured them great hatred, not only from their adversaries, but even their friends and brethren. He desired therefore of the Bishop and Secretary, that regard might be had to the Gospel of Christ by them sincerely preached; which undoubtedly suffered this scandal, by occasion of these private meetings of theirs.

Nor, if this liberty of a church were granted them, would

there be any reason to fear giving greater occasion of CHAP.  
enmity with the King of Spain ; for as soon as ever they V.  
should perceive any such thing, they would be willing Anno 1560.  
to depart out of England, rather than disturbances should  
arise among princes for their cause, what danger soever  
followed thereby to themselves.

And where it was feared the Spanish Ambassador might interpose himself, if this were granted, Cassiodorus thought not, because this congregation had been now here above a year ; and that he knew they had assemblies under the title of the Spanish church, and had forbid any of his to be present there, and had not since any way further concerned himself ; and that it was not twelve days ago, that the said Ambassador ingenuously confessed, that he never to that time had been an enemy to them, nor, if they were minded to constitute a church, would he be their hindrance, having nothing of that nature in his instructions, and that he never had any envy at all against them; besides other good words.

This is the sum of the address the Spanish preacher made to our Bishop ; what issue it had I cannot tell, any further than that a Spanish church remained some years after in London, and one Antonius Corranus was their Corranus,  
preach~~er~~; under whom it received some eclipse, he having Spanish preacher.  
been accused of Pelagianism. Of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

Bishop Grindal this Lent, March 9, preached before the Queen : in which good time, divers others of the chief exile Divines performed the like office at Court ; as Mr. Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's; Skamler, Bishop of Peterborough; Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Horn of Winchester, Cox of Ely, and Dr. Sampson ; which last preached twice at Court this Lent ; and so did also Bishop Pilkington.

Our Bishop being one of the Queen's Commissioners, Orders deputed and assigned for deciding ecclesiastical causes under her letters patents, according to the tenor of a statute made in Parliament in the first year of her reign, (whereby they were empowered to make decrees and ordinances, interpretations, or reformation,) he, with the Archbishop of Canterbury

**BOOK I.** and some others, sitting this winter, reformed the calendar of the Common Prayer Book, by putting out less proper **Anno 1560.** Lessons, and appointing others to be henceforth used in Divine

**49 Service:** and also ordered, that the Ten Commandments in English should be set upon the east wall throughout all the churches of the kingdom. And for the putting this legally in actual execution, in February a mandate came **Vid. p. 57.** from the Archbishop to our Bishop, that since these ordinances, corrections, interpretations, &c. were imprinted, to see them observed in his cathedral church of St. Paul's, and in the churches of London, and throughout his diocese; and further, with all speed, to signify the same to all the Bishops of the province, to be used in their respective dioceses.

**Ordina-**  
**tions.**

For the conclusion of our Bishop's doings this year, I shall set down here the names of all the persons on whom he conferred holy orders, since the last ordination before mentioned, which may be observed not to be so many as formerly: the reason whereof probably was, because of the late mandate from the Archbishop, not to admit mechanics.

**Episc.**  
**Londin.**  
**Registrar.**

August 24, being St. Bartholomew's day, was one Deacon ordained, named John Cheake, born at Croydon, and charactered to be *liberæ conditionis et laudabilis commendationis*; and one Priest, John Ashton, M. A. Fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge.

Sept. 21, being the festival of St. Matthew, John Orvyse, John Webster, Will. Sodom, John Lancaster, born in the parish of Knaysborough, Yorkshire, aged 36, by letter dimissory from Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, were made Deacons. Thomas Spicer, Hugh Barber, John Green, John Amery, John Webster, were made Priests.

Octob. 18, being St. Luke's day, these persons were admitted into the order of Deacons; Thomas Cost, Richard Lymborn, John Whiting, Will. Austin, Sebastian Roccartalica of the diocese of Winchester, born in Genoa in Italy, aged 80, James Renyger, John Woolward, Rob. Street, Rich. Peers: and into the order of Priesthood, Rich. Pakenman, John Ireland, John Althen, John Whiting, Hamletus

Tayler, Thomas Pet, John Stevens, Sebastian Roccartar-liaca, [so written here,] John Woolward. CHAP.  
V.

Octob. 21, Thomas Goddal alone was ordained, and made Deacon and Priest. Anno 1560.

Octob. 28, on Monday, being the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, James Renyger was ordained Priest.

Novemb. 10, Henry Willet took both orders of Deacon and Priest.

Ult. Novemb. St. Andrew's day, were ordained Deacons, Anthony Harleston, Leonard Stepney, Tho. Turpyn, Robert Clay, Hugh Brady, A. B.; and Priests, Robert Street, Simon Williams, and William Scotman.

Decemb. 22, Richard Pyers [Peers] was made Priest.

Decemb. 27, Friday, Anthony Harleston was preferred to the order of Priesthood.

Decemb. 28, were these Deacons ordained; David Smith, Thomas Pemberton, and Will. Greenway: and these Priests; John Cheak, of Yarley, in the county of Hertford and diocese of Lincoln, aged 33, and David Smith.

Decemb. 29, Sunday, Thomas Hewton was made Priest. 50

January 2, Stephen Nevynson, Doctor of Civil Law, born at Carlisle, was made Deacon; and Will. Austin, Richard Lynborow, [the same with Lymborn above,] and Mr. Stephen Nevynson, [the same that was made Deacon,] Jordained Priests.

Jan. 6, Monday, the feast of the Epiphany, Thomas Cost was made Priest.

Jan. 16, Ralph Skinner, M. A. [who soon after was made Dean of Durham, or one of his name,] and Baptist Willoughby, B. A. received the order of Deacon and Priest.

Jan. 26, were these made Deacons; Will. Barker, M. A. Will. Farmer, Rich. Herry, Peter Isles, Thomas Addy, Tho. Ackworth: and these Priests; Tho. Pemberton, Cook alias Price, and Rob. Cod.

On Sunday the feast of Purification, Feb. 2, Herald Pachet, fellow of Martin [or Merton] college, Oxon, was ordained Deacon.

Feb. 22, were these Deacons ordained; Robert Rowland, John Beaumont of London, Henry Bradwater, and John

**BOOK I.** Bowden: and these Priests; Walwen Farmer, Will. Barker, John Orvyce, and Hugh Brady, B. A.

**Anno 1561.** March 9, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, ordained these in the Bishop of London's oratory in London: Deacon; Richard Longworth, M. A. Fellow of St. John's, aged 27, (afterwards master of the same,) born at Bolton in Cheshire: Priests; Tho. Turpin, born in Calais, and Rich. Pedder.

March 14, Friday, John Hill was ordained Priest. And thus much for the ordinations of this year; wherein perhaps a discerning eye may perceive some things not unworthy observation, concerning these first ordained ministers next after the Reformation. All the graduates and scholars of the University I have noted carefully; who were very few in comparison. The Universities were now so much infected with the late Popish leaven, that but few came up from thence to receive Orders from the hands of Protestant Bishops.

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## CHAP. VI.

*The Bishop writes to Frankfort in behalf of the Dutch church there. Unites St. Mary at Ax to St. Andrew Undershaft. St. Paul's burnt. The Queen's order for the repair. Proclamation against profanation of that church. The Bishop visits.*

**T**HE governors of the free town of Frankfort in Germany intercedes for the Dutch congregation at Frankfort.

**51** the exercise of their religion and worship: but now set on by some zealous Lutherans, the government looking upon them to be little better than heretics, for their different sentiments about the holy Sacrament, and refusing the Augustan

Confession, intended to eject them out of their city. This CHAP. put this poor congregation to great trouble; and they VI.  
Anno 1561. imparted their present condition to their brethren of the Dutch church here in London, which soon made known to the Bishop in what ill case those their brethren stood. The good Bishop heartily espoused their part; and having been formerly known unto those of Frankfort, when the English exiles were there, he wrote a very earnest letter to them in behalf of this church, and for the continuance of it still among them. And Gotofrid Wyng, one of the ministers of the Dutch church in London, being appointed to carry the letter, and be the messenger to those magistrates, Gotofrid Wyng carries the Bishop's letter. the Bishop first gave them a character of the man, *viz.*

“ That he was a person that had been long under persecution in Flanders, and was a pious, moderate, and peaceable man.” And then, with many arguments, he beseeched them “ not to eject this poor church, which had been so long harboured with them; and that although they perhaps disagreed in one controverted article of doctrine; yet if this church disturbed not peace, as, he hoped, they had not hitherto done, nor should hereafter do, they would not descend to the extremest courses: but if they should, these poor men must necessarily fall into the butcherly hands of Antichrist; since there was no other place in Germany for their reception. In France things were in an unsettled condition, that neither might they retreat there; and before they could come into England, (where they should be received with both arms,) such a multitude must be incepted in the midway, and destroyed.” The Bishop forgot not, in this letter to those magistrates of Frankfort, to acknowledge, with all possible gratitude, their great charity and humanity in the hospitable entertainment the English exiles had lately found with them. The copy of this letter was kept in the archives of the Dutch church, London, being transcribed by Peter de Loene, their minister: nor do I think it any ways unworthy the memory of Bishop Grindal, to be here exemplified.

**BOOK I.** *Gratiam et pacem in Christo. Rogarunt me fratres*

*Flandrenses, qui religionis nomine hic apud nos exulant, ut*  
 Anno 1561.  
 The letter  
 to the ma-  
 gistrates  
 of Frank-  
 fort. Ex  
 Biblioth.  
 Eccl. Belgic.  
 Lond.  
*et Gotfridum Wingium, qui istas defert, et Ecclesiam Flan-*  
*dricam, quæ in urbe vestra collecta est, quæque jam per*  
*aliquos annos benignissimè apud vos hospitium invenit,*  
*vestræ amplitudini commendarem. Ego verò, clariss. et*  
*ampliss. viri, hanc scribendi occasionem libenter arripui,*  
*non solùm, ut illis gratificarer, verùm etiam ut meo, atque*  
*adeo omnium Anglorum exulum nomine, vestræ amplitudini*  
*pro vestra summa erga nos, afflictissimis nostris temporibus,*  
*benignitate ac pietate gratias agerem. Nulla unquam dies*  
*hoc vestrum beneficium Anglorum animis eximet. Argen-*  
*tinensi, Tigurina, Basiliensi, Wormaciensi, sed ante omnes*  
*vestræ inclytæ reip. debet Anglia, quod tot habeat Episcopos,*  
 52 *cæterosque verbi divini ministros, qui hodiè puram evangelii*  
*doctrinam annuntiant. Vos illos hospitio exceperitis, exceptos*  
*summa humanitate complexi atque autoritate tutati estis.*  
*Et, si istam vestram pietatem gratis animis non agnoscere-*  
*mus et prædicaremus, essemus omnium mortalium ingra-*  
*tissimi.*

*De Gotfrido Wingio hoc habeo quod scribam, hominem*  
*esse doctum, pius, ingenio moderato ac pacifico, quíque diu*  
*in Flandria sub cruce, et quasi perpetuo animam in manibus*  
*habens, Christi evangelium prædicavit. Quo nomine non*  
*dubito quin vestræ pietati erit acceptissimus. Oro etiam,*  
*idque visceribus Christi, ut Flandrensis Ecclesiæ jam inte-*  
*grum septennium apud vos agentis, nunc vero de ejectione*  
*nonnihil sollicitæ, tutelam et patrocinium perpetuetis. Va-*  
*leat in illos charitas vestra. Nihil enim vel apud homines*  
*gloriosius, vel apud Deum acceptius facere potestis, quam*  
*si tot membra Christi in pristino suo hospitio retineatis.*  
*Quamquam fortassis in uno articulo, jam per multos annos*  
*inter doctissimos alioqui viros controverso, cum quibusdam*  
*per omnia non consentiant; tamen si ecclesiarum vestra-*  
*rum pacem non perturbent, quod spero eos neque fecisse*  
*hactenus, neque postea facturos, orandi estis nè ad extrema*  
*remedia descendatis; sed potius ut Christiana lenitate et*

*mansuetudine in suo sensu ipsos toleretis. Christi Dei CHAP.  
præsentiam in sua sacra Cœna, eāmque veram et salvificam VI.  
omnes fatemur, de modo tantū est disceptatio. Nos in no- Anno 1561.  
stris Ecclesiis, quanquam eandem cum Flandrensis istis  
doctrinam, et apud vos professi sumus, et etiamnum hic  
profitemur, nunquam tamen aliquem qui cum Luthero senti-  
ret, si pacificè se gereret, pro hæretico et nefario homine  
persecuti fuimus. Utinam conditionibus in Marpurgensi  
colloquio conclusis statum fuisset, ut pacem utraque pars  
coleret, donec utrísque Dominus aliud revelaret. Sed præ-  
terita facilius defleri possunt, quàm corrigi.*

*Si vos, fratres istos ejeceritis, necesse est in Antichristi  
carnificis manus eos incidere. Quò enim miseri fugient?  
In Germania, a vobis ejecti, nusquam recipientur. In Gallia  
nondum sunt res constitutæ. Si ad nos penetrare vellent,  
ubi obviis ulnis recipientur, mediâ in viâ tantam multitudi-  
nem intercipi necesse est. Nuper enim aliquot fratres Eccl-  
esiæ nostræ Londino-Germanicæ in Flandriam quàm pote-  
rant occultè atque pacificè profecti, comprehensi sunt, atque  
incendio absunti.*

*Repræsentate animis vestris, clarissimi ac pientissimi viri,  
quàm triste esset spectaculum tot Christi membra omnium  
ætatum atque sexuum simul uno incendio conflagrantia con-  
spicere. Tale autem aliquid futurum sine dubio existimare  
poteritis, si illos portis vestris excluseritis. Sed hoc quàm  
longissimè à vestra pietate abfuturum certissimè mihi per-  
suadeo.*

*Iterum igitur ad preces conversus, oro vestram pietatem,  
quàm possum demississimè, ut quorum patrocinium et tutelam  
tamdiu benignissimè suscepistis, quóisque et misera et crudeli  
Antichristi tyrannide salvos et incolumes Dei Opt. Max.  
beneficio conservâstis, tantáque cum clementia et humanitate  
hactenus fovistis, pro vestro in Christum ejúsque religionem  
sincero studio, retineatis, ac hospitio dignos, licet non propter  
se, propter eundem tamen Christum, ducatis. Quo fiet, ut  
non solùm evangelicæ veritatis in gentem Flandricam pro-  
pagandæ tanquam authores futuræ sitis gloriæ Christi,  
singularem in ea parte operam navaturi; verum etiam cùm*

**BOOK I.** *in hoc seculo benedictionem Domini quam amplissimam omnibus honorum genere locupletati (pietas enim, teste D. Paulo, Anno 1561. etiam praesentis vitae promissionem habet) experiamini, tum 53 in futuro à Christo Domino hospites, ut qui eum collegistis, et hospitio exceptistis, agnoscamini.*

*Hæc in Flandricæ gentis, quæ apud vos exulat, gratiam, evangelii propagandi studio, ad vos (clarissimi viri) pietate vestrâ fretus, scribere sustinui: non dubitans quin, pro vestrâ in Christri afflita membra humanitate et clementia, benignitatem vestram in ipsos largiter effusam sentient. Siquâ verò in re ego vobis aut reipub. vestræ operâ vel studio gratificari, aut usui esse potero, diligentiam promptâmque in ea parte voluntatem vobis ipsi de me polliceri poteritis. Deus amplitudinem vestram et civitatis vestræ statum quam florentissimam diutissimè conservet.*

*Londini, duodecimo Novembr. 1561.*

Petrus Dathenus set his hand to this letter, in witness, that the original was delivered to the senate of Frankfort, December 17, 1561; wherein he also gave a testimonial of Wingius, called to the ministry of that church.

**The Bishop unites two parishes.** This year did the Bishop unite the parish church of St. Mary at Ax, which was of the Queen's patronage, unto the church of St. Andrew Undershaft; the reason whereof was, that the inhabitants of this parish might resort to divine service, and have the benefit of a minister to officiate to them in their spiritual exigencies. They had been several years without an incumbent, because of the narrow revenue of the living; for whatsoever this church yielded to the parson in former times, which by reason of offerings and gifts might have amounted to some considerable matter, being dedicated to divers she-saints, as the blessed Virgin, and St. Ursula, with the eleven thousand virgins besides, (and so might well have been resorted to, by the rich, devout citizens' wives and daughters, and have partaken of their bounties,) yet now, as the instrument of the union imported, the church was so lessened of late time, and the former rents, incomes, and emoluments so decreased, that it

could not suffice for the sustentation of any minister; nor was likely after, the fruits and rents not exceeding 5*l.* yearly: and therefore it was left desolate, and without any office performed in it for no small time; and the cure of souls was neglected. Upon these reasons the parishioners petitioned the Bishop, that they might be joined to the next parish, *viz.* St. Andrews, that lay near and convenient. And Edward Riley, the present incumbent of the said parish, and both parishes consenting, the Bishop complied; and signed an instrument to unite the said St. Mary's unto it.

On Wednesday the 4th day of June, this year, happened a most grievous disaster to the church of St. Paul, the Bishop's cathedral. For between one and two in the afternoon that day, a great and terrible lightning was seen to vibrate down from on high; and that presently followed by an huge and unusual crack out of the clouds; and that directly, as much as people's senses then could judge, just over the city; and in that moment of time, something of the battlements of St. Martin's steeple at Ludgate was broke down, and some square stones of a great bigness fell by a dreadful force and violence through the roof of the church, breaking through lead and timber, upon the pavement. Some persons being upon the Thames in boats, and others in the neighbouring fields, while the storm lasted, did affirm, that they saw a long tract of flame like a dart, ending in a point, which seemed to pierce and break through St. Paul's steeple, stretching from east to west. And some also of the parish of St. Martin's at Ludgate, being at that time in the street, suddenly perceived a violent force of the moved air like a whirlwind, and a great smell together, not unlike to that of brimstone, blown from Paul's church; and in like manner they heard a crack of great stones falling from the steeple of St. Martin's into the church. Afterward, between four and five, a certain vapour and smoke was seen by some breaking out under the spire of Paul's steeple; and particularly by Peter Johnson, notary public, and the Bishop's Registray, who immediately went and told the Bishop. The flame presently brake out on

CHAP.  
VI.

Anno 1561.

St. Paul's  
burnt.  
The man-  
ner of it.

54

**BOOK I.** every side, and in the manner of a crown compassed the whole space on the top, to four cubits, as it seemed, under Anno 1561. the globe of the same ; and within a quarter of an hour, or little more, the brass eagle and cross which sustained it, and that glittering globe, which was before so often admired, falling down with the fire upon the roof, beginning on the south side, at length consumed all the vaulting of the church, with the lead and timber, and the bells of the steeple. The Lord Mayor came in this consternation in all speed, with the rest of the Aldermen of the city ; who together with the Bishop and others consulted together of means to be used to quench the fire : but no ways could be found out to do it. Some advised, to preserve the rest of the steeple, that some great guns should be brought, and discharged at it : but that was disliked, because of further danger, as for fear of dispersing the fire, and the ruin of houses. Many courtiers of the greatest quality came, as the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Lord Treasurer ; who, with the rest, encouraged the people to use all the means they could to quench the fire : and many of them put their own hands to the buckets, particularly Win-tour and Strangways, two great sea officers. But after all means used to no purpose, at length, about ten of the clock, the fire of itself abated.

Some at that time reported, that this fire came to pass by the carelessness of certain plumbers: but neither plumbers nor any other workmen had done any work there for six months before. Others suspected, that it happened by some fraudulent and wicked use of wild-fire, or gunpowder : but after a diligent search into that matter, no just or probable suspicion could be found, that might be fastened upon any. Others laid the blame upon witches and conjurers; but no

The Bishop of Durham preaches at St. Paul's the next Sunday.  
The conjecture more uncertain than that. The next Sunday, being the 8th of June, the Bishop of Durham preached at St. Paul's, and there learnedly and profitably exhorted them, that heard him, to repentance, and especially to submission to the magistrates, and obedience, in this time especially much neglected and lessened ; signifying, that the Queen's

majesty would use severer laws against the stubborn and CHAP.  
obstinate, as well in matters of religion, as in civil affairs. VI.  
And this sermon was preached with great applause of the Anno 1561.  
hearers.

In this sermon he particularly admonished his auditors, to 55  
look upon this conflagration as a judgment from God, and  
a sign of imminent destruction of the whole nation to follow,  
and especially of London, unless a more reformed course of  
life in all sorts of men prevented it. He severely rebuked those  
who transferred the cause of this Divine anger upon any  
certain rank or condition of men, or that curiously pried  
into the lives of others, and winked at their own; praying  
every one to descend into himself, and to say with David,  
*I am he that have sinned.* He accused the profanation  
that had been used towards this temple of Paul's, before  
practised for so great a space of time, by walkings, meetings,  
talkings, chidings, fightings; and that especially in the time  
of sermons and divine worship. And by the way, the  
Right Reverend Bishop and Preacher took occasion to  
answer to the calumnies of some, who would have had this  
judgment to be God's revenge for the late changing of  
religion, or the amending of it rather: but he shewed out  
of commentaries, annals, and histories, that much greater  
calamities had heretofore fallen out in the world, and that,  
while superstition and idolatry reigned.

All this, and much more, was written in Latin, and  
entered into Bishop Grindal's Register, by his special com-  
mand to Peter Johnson his Registry, for a perpetual me-  
mory of this fire, and of so great a destruction.

The Queen was deeply affected with this misfortune of the chief church in her metropolis of England; and re-  
solved therefore to have the damage speedily repaired: sending her letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 24th of June, that he, by her authority, would consult with other Bishops and the chief of the Clergy, to devise some expedient way to lay a contribution upon the Clergy of the province; yet neither prescribing what sum should be collected from them, nor in what manner he should proceed

The Queen  
sends to  
the Arch-  
bishop for  
contribu-  
tion to be  
made for  
Paul's,

**BOOK** <sup>1.</sup> therein ; and upon any doubt, to have recourse unto her Council. The very beginning of July following, the Arch-bishop dispatched his letters to the Bishop of London, that he, according to the Queen's commandment above mentioned, should confer with the Clergy of his diocese ; and likewise that the rest of the Bishops should have notice from him to confer with theirs, and to levy upon them a duty, according to their several estates and preferments, towards this good work : and particularly, that he thought it convenient, that the Clergy of London should contribute the twentieth part of their spiritual promotions, and the rest of the diocese the thirtieth ; and those that were in their first-fruits only the fortieth. And that others of the Clergy not beneficed, as Curates and Stipendiaries, should do according as their own good disposition directed them.

**The Bishop diligent therein.** The Bishop of London, answerable to this order from the Archbishop, was diligent to send his letters to the rest of the Bishops of the province, to deal with their respective Clergy in this affair.

**The Arch-bishop's directions herein.** In the entrance into the month of September following, the Archbishop wrote again to our Bishop, with some variation from his former letter ; intimating therein his former

**56** letter, and that he thought meet that all beneficed men within the diocese of London [as well as the City] should contribute the twentieth part ; because, of congruence and reason, the Clergy above others ought to shew their benevolence towards such a work of charity, St. Paul's being their cathedral and head church : and that every man that had any living by the church in the diocese especially, should according to his ability contribute in that behalf : and he thought the least rate that could be expected at their hands was two shillings and sixpence of every of them ; which would declare their good-will among the rest, to the furtherance of such a work. And so he prayed our Bishop with all speed to put it in execution.

**The Bishop proportions the Clergy's charity.** Accordingly the Bishop wrote again to his Archdeacons, that all his Clergy having benefices should pay the twentieth part, excepting those in fruits, who should pay the thirtieth ;

and all Curates, two shillings and sixpence. And that they should use in his name all the persuasions they could to each of them, to extend their benevolence ; that of their voluntary contributions they might rather exceed their several rates in so reasonable a work : whereof he hoped they would find a good number. And that they should make one or two good grave beneficed men in every deanery to be collectors of the contribution, and to deliver the same to them the Archdeacons, or their deputies, on this side the last of November. This he wrote from Fulham, Sept. 6.

The Queen went before in this good work by her own example, and gave, as our City historian relates, a thousand mark in gold, and a thousand load of timber. The City granted a benevolence, and the Clergy were directed to grant theirs, as above is mentioned : and how it was paid by them, we shall hear the next year.

The great and common concourse of people in these days, and before these days, was usually at Paul's, for the sake of walking and talking, and hearing and telling of news, and meeting upon assignation and business, and payment of money, and such like: which occasioned great routs and tumults and quarrels oftentimes, to the profaning of that place, set apart for devotion and the service of God. This, however it was allowed or winked at in the late Popish times, was now altogether disliked : and as the Bishop of Durham, in his sermon before mentioned, took liberty publicly to reprove it; so our Bishop seems to have made complaint of it, and had endeavoured to rectify it, but wanted greater authority than his own. Whence it came to pass, that the Queen set forth in October this seasonable proclamation ; which I choose for the significant importance of it, and relating so near to our Bishop, to lay before the reader, without any abridging.

*A Proclamation made for the reverend usage of all churches and churchyards.*

“ By the Queen.

“ For avoiding of divers outrageous and unseemly beha-

The Queen's proclamation about it.

CHAP.  
VI.

Anno 1561.

BOOK " viours used as well within and near the cathedral church

I.

" of St. Paul in London, as in divers other churches of this  
Anno 1561. " realm; and for the better and speedier reducing of the

57 " same churches to the godly uses for which the same were

" builded; the Queen's Majesty, of her godly and virtuous

" disposition, straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all

" laws and good ordinances, heretofore provided against

" fighting and quarrelling in churches and churchyards,

" shall be duly, and with all severity, executed, according

" to the tenor and true meaning of the said laws and ordi-

" nances. And further, her Majesty's pleasure is, that if

" any person shall make any fray, or draw or put out his

" hand to any weapon for that purpose, or shoot any hand-

" gun or dag within the cathedral church of St. Paul, or

" churchyard adjoining thereunto, or within the limits of

" the four chains compassing the same, or within any other

" church or churchyard, shall receive not only the punish-

" ment contained in the statutes for the same provided, but

" also being thereof convicted, either by the evidence of

" his fact, testimony of two honest and indifferent persons,

" or by their own confession, before her Highness's Coun-

" cil in the Star Chamber, or the Mayor for the time be-

" ing within the city of London; and in other places out

" of the same city, before two Justices of the Peace of that

" country or place, where any of the said offences shall be

" committed, shall suffer imprisonment by the space of two

" months without bail or mainprize; and further, pay such

" fine and forfeiture towards the reparation of the said

" church of St. Paul, or of other churches where the same

" offence shall be committed, as shall be assessed by the

" said Council, Mayor or Justices, before whom such con-

" viction shall be, as is aforesaid.

" And her Majesty further straitly chargeth and com-

" mandeth all and singular her subjects, that none of them,

" during the time of preaching within the said church of

" Paul's, or churchyard of the same, or of any divinity

" lecture, reading, or divine service in the same church, or

" in any other church or churchyard within the realm,

“ shall walk up and down, or use any kind of disturbance, CHAP.  
“ or spend the time in the same about any bargain or VI.  
“ other profane causes, but shall resort unto the Common Anno 1561.  
“ Prayer, preaching, or reading; and there quietly and  
“ reverently behave themselves, as to the duty of Christian  
“ men appertaineth; or else quietly to avoid out of the said  
“ church or place, upon pain of imprisonment, and of such  
“ further fine, as is aforesaid; the fine always to be con-  
“ verted to the repair of the church where the offence shall  
“ be committed.

“ Her Majesty also straitly chargeth and commandeth,  
“ that all persons do forbear to make from henceforth any  
“ limitation or appointment, by writing or otherwise, for  
“ the payment of any sum or sums of money within the  
“ said church of St. Paul’s, or in any other church or cha-  
“ pel, where divine service is or shall be used, and the  
“ word of God preached; or to carry or recarry any  
“ burden, fardel, or other unseemly thing, through the said  
“ churches, other than for the repairing, or other neces-  
“ saries of the same churches, upon pain of imprisonment, 58  
“ and further punishment by fine, as is aforesaid.

“ Provided always, that it shall be lawful as well to any  
“ persons which at this present stand bound by any former  
“ covenant or bond, to make any payment of any sum or  
“ sums of money, in any church or other place aforesaid,  
“ to make tender and payment of the same; as also to  
“ every such person and persons to whom the same is or  
“ shall be due, to receive the same in such place where  
“ it is limited to be tendered and paid; unless the parties  
“ (which is trusted they will for good order sake) shall  
“ otherwise agree, this proclamation to the contrary not-  
“withstanding.

“ And for the better execution of this proclamation, her  
“ Majesty’s pleasure and express commandment is, that the  
“ Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other her officers, and  
“ commons of her city of London, and every of them, do not  
“ only aid and assist, and help the Bishop of the said see and  
“ church of St. Paul’s, for the time being, and other eccl-

**BOOK** “ siasistical officers and ministers of the same, from time to  
 1. “ time, in the due execution of the premises, as need shall  
 Anno 1561. “ require; but also, that the said Mayor of London shall  
 “ appoint, every Sunday and other holidays in the year,  
 “ during such time, and at every time they shall be thought  
 “ by the Bishop or Dean of the church requisite, one or  
 “ two of the Aldermen of the said city of London, accom-  
 “ panied with four or six discreet commoners of the said  
 “ city, and attended upon with a convenient number of the  
 “ sergeants and officers of the said city, to repair unto the  
 “ said church of St. Paul, there to see the premises duly  
 “ executed in all points accordingly.

“ And if they shall find any person disobedient or of-  
 “ fending in any thing, touching the premises, to appre-  
 “ hend and commit him forthwith to prison, there to re-  
 “ main without bail or mainprize, until further order be  
 “ taken with the said offenders, in form aforesaid. And  
 “ finally, her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth  
 “ all and singular her Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs,  
 “ Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, Church-wardens, and  
 “ all other her Highness’s officers, ministers, and subjects,  
 “ that they and every of them, from time to time, endea-  
 “ vour themselves, to the best of their powers, to cause and  
 “ see that this her Majesty’s proclamation and express com-  
 “ mandment, within the limits of their jurisdictions and pa-  
 “ rishes, be put in due and full execution, according to the  
 “ form above mentioned; as they tender her Majesty’s spe-  
 “ cial favour, and will avoid the contrary at their peril.  
 “ Given at St. James’s the 30th of October, in the third  
 “ year of the reign of Elizabeth, &c. *Anno Dom. 1561.*”

**The Bishop visits his diocese.** This year our Bishop entered upon his premier visitation of his church of St. Paul, and his whole diocese, beginning

59 with London, and then proceeding to Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex; which took him up this year, and part of the next.

**St. Paul's visited. Regist. Grind.**

On Thursday, April 17, he began his visitation with his cathedral church of St. Paul’s. The form whereof was

thus: in the forenoon, Alexander Noel, the Dean; John CHAP.  
Mullins, Archdeacon of London; David Kemp, Archdeacon VI.  
of St. Alban's; John Watson, Chancellor of the said church, Anno 1561.  
with William Whitbroke, Sub-Dean, and the lesser Canons  
and Vicars Choral, and others of the church, repaired to the  
great chamber of the Bishop's palace in their surplices;  
where they met the Bishop, and paid him their respects.  
After some discourse together, his Lordship being arrayed  
in his episcopal habit, *viz.* a rochet and a chimere, proceeded  
to the cathedral church, the rest following him, entering  
together by the west door. He was seated in the Dean's  
stall, and the ministers sang the Suffrages or Litany.

The names of the dignitaries of St. Paul at this visita-  
tion were, The Digni-  
ties.

Alex. Noel, the Dean, who appeared in person.

John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, in person.

John Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, who appeared by  
proxy.

Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, by proxy.

John Pulleyn, Archdeacon of Colchester, by proxy.

William Saxie, Treasurer, by proxy.

John Watson, Chancellor, in person.

Henry Harvey, Precentor, by proxy.

The names of the greater Canons were as follow:

Alexander Noel, Prebendary of the prebend of Wyld-  
Lands. Canons.

John Mullins of the prebend of Cantlers, alias Kentish-  
Town, residentiary.

Thomas Watts of the prebend of Totenhall.

John Spendlowe of Finnesbury.

John Pilkington of Mapesbury.

Gabriel Goodman of Chiswick.

John Veron of the Moor.

Edmond Wymmesley. James Grindal. Thomas Cole.

Thomas Penny. John Somers. Hugh Evans. William

Saxie. John Standish. Peter Vannes. John Warner.

Thomas Byam. Elizeus Ambrose. John Braban. David

**BOOK Padye.** — Fleming. Edmond Brygot. Ric. Smith.  
I. David Kemp. John Weal: three Prebends being vacant.

Anno 1561. I omit the names of the lesser Canons, and of the Vicars  
 One Sebastian Choral: the first whereof was Sebastian Wastcote, who  
 tian pre- was presented at this visitation, for refusing the Commu-  
 sented. nion; and upon suspicion of adhering to Popish principles.  
 The Bishop had patience with him, expecting his compli-  
 ance, until July, anno 1563, when he excommunicated the  
 said Sebastian, as we shall hear, when we come to that  
 year.

After all these persons belonging to the church were called for, the Bishop pronounced and declared in English the causes of this visitation: and the schedule being read, the said Reverend Father pronounced those that were cited and summoned, and had not appeared, to be *contumacious*, and reserved the punishment of their contumacy until and as far as he should see convenient; and so departed. After 60 dinner, he returned to the church again, and sat judicially.  
 And finally, the visitation was adjourned till the 29th of May following.

**Wymmesly** At this session of the visitation, Edmund Wymmesly,  
 a Preben- Prebendary of Reculvesland, suspected of bastardy, was  
 dary, warn- warned to appear before the Bishop, for most just causes,  
 ed to ap- at his house: who appearing, was interrogated by the Bi-  
 pear. shop of his birth, name, habitation, and ability; and so dismissed him, if he would bring testimonials shewing his nativity, and the matrimony of his parents, and exhibit them before him; together with letters certificatory of the venerable men, Calfield, Bernard, and Rogers, Canons of the cathedral church of Oxford, concerning his progress, use, and exercise, as well in good letters as manners, &c. being, as it seems, a student of Christ's Church college, Oxon.

**Lesser Canons cited about their marriage.** At which time also appeared Whitbroke, Leke, Haywood, and Pen, Minor Canons. When discourse being had concerning such Canons as were married, after what manner they should be dealt with, it was found by ordinances

of the Dean formerly made, that married Canons should not be bound to be present at the common table in their college of petty Canons, but should be permitted to be by themselves with their families, and to have convenient victuals: and that beside in all dividends and common profits, the same account should be had of the married as of others. And of these orders the Bishop approved.

The further and fuller visitation of this church was ad-<sup>Visits London;</sup>  
journed till the visitation of the diocese were dispatched. The first session of the Bishop, for the visitation of the city of London, was at St. Bridget's, Monday, April 21. The second session was at St. Laurence in the Old Jewry the next day, *viz.* April the 22d. The third session was at St. Stephen Walbroke, on Wednesday, April the 23d. And the fourth session was kept at St. Magnus the Martyr, Thursday, April the 24th. And so he finished his visiting the Clergy of the City in four days.

Then he went into Essex. And the first and second sessions of his visitation there, were on Tuesday the last day but one of April, and Wednesday the last day, in the parish church of Southweald. The third session was at Chelmsford, Friday, May the 2d. The fourth session was at the church of All-Saints, Malden, Saturday, May the 3d. The fifth and sixth sessions were at the parish church of St. Mary's in Colchester, Monday, May the 5th, and Tuesday, May the 6th. Then returning to visit the other parts of Essex, his next session (which was the seventh) was held at the parish church of Braintree, on Wednesday, May the 7th. His eighth session at Dunmow, on Thursday the 8th of the said month. And then he proceeded to Bishops-Stortford, where he held two sessions, *viz.* Friday and Saturday, being the 9th and 10th days of May, to visit the Clergy of that part of Hertfordshire under his inspection. Hertford-  
Middlesex came on last to be visited; which was done at shire;  
two sessions at the parish church of St. Clement's, without Middlesex.  
the bars of the New Temple, on Tuesday and Wednesday, being May the 20th and 21st.

So that in sixteen sessions the diligent Bishop visited his 61

**BOOK I.** whole diocese; and went out from London, travelling all round (with mighty speed and no less toil) his great and comprehensive jurisdiction, and came back to London again, in the space of twelve days.  
 Anno 1561.

The Bishop goes on with his visitation of St. Paul's. Regist. Grind.

The beginning of the next month, the Bishop entered again upon his visitation of his church, which he had before (as was said) adjourned. And appearing at St. Paul's July 2, he there declared, that he was so hindered and detained in and about the necessary business of the reedifying and restoration of the said cathedral, that he was not at leisure further to act in person in this his ordinary and general visitation; and so left it to the management of Dr. Huyck, his Vicar in spirituals, to take cognizance and proceed in the business of the said visitation.

Ambrose and Brabam, Prebendaries. Wymmesly.

The visitation was continued to October 6, when Ellis Ambrose and John Brabam, Prebendaries, not appearing after they had been summoned and called for, were pronounced *contumaces*, and their punishment reserved to the 2d of December following. At this time Wymmesly, having been before warned to bring letters testimonial of his nativity, and now neither producing them nor appearing, he was pronounced *contumax*, and his punishment reserved also to the said 2d of December.

Injunctions to the members of the Church.

The which second day being come, Dr. Huyck, the Bishop (as was said) having committed the visitation to him, admonished all the Prebendaries, and the rest of the church; 1st, That every one of them, diligently and daily, should frequent the Divinity Lecture read in St. Paul's church. 2dly, Personally to be present in the choir of the said church, in the time of the divine services, on the feast of the Nativity approaching; and to make provision, that their cures (if they had any) be served by others. 3dly, To prepare to communicate on this feast. 4thly, That the Verger be diligent in observing the reformation in the said cathedral church in the time of divine service; and that they call for the Mayor of London for their aid.

The Sacristan suspended.

Then was Alexander Smith, the Sacristan, for certain causes the said Dr. Huyck moving, and especially that he

consented not to the Declaration, and because he was noted CHAP.  
VI.  
*abligurire bona ecclesiae*, i. e. to purloin the goods of the church, suspended from any further execution of his office in the said church, until it should seem otherwise convenient to him. Anno 1561.  
Vid. Annal.  
of Reforma-  
tion, p. 211.

The visitation still was in force, being continued to April — 1562, when the Bishop came personally into the chapter-house, and again committed it to his said Vicar General. This visitation continued on to October the same year. And at a session, October 5, the said Vicar General shewed the members of this church of St. Paul's certain injunctions in writing, concerning a certain conformity in the said cathedral church; and, against the next session, to consider them, and to give their thoughts of them. He exhibited likewise to them a Confession, established by public authority; to which then subscribed the Dean, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and divers other Prebendaries, and lesser Canons, except Whitbroke, Sub-Dean, and Mr. Richard Smith, whom the Vicar General permitted to inform themselves from their own consciences, whether they would subscribe or not to the said Confession some time on this side the next session. And so continued to the 16th of November next; and then the Bishop dissolved the visitation Dissolved. A Confes-  
sion. Vid.  
Annal. of  
Reforma-  
tion, p. 209.  
62

Among other things done in this visitation, he appointed Sermons an order for sermons to be preached at Paul's Cross, and in the church, by the Dean, and Dignitaries, and Prebendaries, on all the Sundays and holidays of the year. appointed  
at Paul's.

Dr. Philip Baker, a favourer of Popery, was now Rector of St. Andrew's near Bainard's Castle. This man refused to read and subscribe the abovesaid Confession, that was tendered to all the clergy at this visitation, for renouncing the Pope and his supremacy; and for his refusal, and divers other things, was deprived of St. Andrew's, and Provost of King's college in Cambridge. And here he gave all favour to Papists, and proved an evil governor of the college;

**BOOK I.** whereby a visitation was occasioned anno 1565, by the visitor of the said college, the Bishop of Lincoln; and a few years after, a royal visitation, when he was discharged the Provostship, and fled abroad, as we may hear in the process of our history.

The Commissioners for Queen's college, Oxon, apply to the Bishop.

An application was made this year from the magistrates of the University of Oxon to our Bishop, against divers in Queen's college. The cause was this: The Queen had by her letters mandatory granted the headship of that college to one Francis, who had some time studied divinity, and afterwards physic, and became Public Professor of that science in that University. The Queen's letters were accompanied with those of the Archbishop of York, perhaps their visitor; who had appointed certain of the Heads to place the said Francis: but the collegians being Papistical, refused (on some colour) to obey the Queen's letters, and to receive their new Provost: for when the Heads appointed repaired to the college, (and a great concourse of people was gotten there together, to see the issue of this business,) they were so unworthily and proudly handled by the Fellows, that all tended to tumult and force. Their words, countenance, gait, state, motion, and acclamations, were all far from modesty and respect: and there appeared all the signs of turbulent citizens, as well as impudent youth. In fine, it was evident they had no mind any remedy should be applied to their inveterate disease. But however, after all, Francis was seated in his place conferred on him. This at large the Commissioners, by letters of Marbeck's inditing, then the University Orator, signified to the Bishop of London, praying him, that when nothing else seemed by those men to be intended, than the diminishing of the Archbishop's authority, contemning the Queen's Majesty, and hindering the course of godliness, he would afford them his help and advice what to do, to restrain their mad and enraged motions; lest, by their impunity and example, others might be incited to attempt the like or greater matters. They chose, I suppose, thus to apply themselves to

Grindal, both as he was one of the chief of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and also was a native of those parts, that furnished this house with students. CHAP.  
VII.  
Anno 1562.

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## CHAP. VII.

*The Bishop's proceedings in the repair of St. Paul's. A Synod. Certifies the state of his diocese. Appoints prayers and fasting in London for the plague.*

THE Bishop had his mind bent upon the reedifying of St. Paul's since the late lamentable misfortune that befell it; and no question was much called upon by others to do it, lying so obvious and sad a spectacle to the eyes of all. It being now the year 1562, by this time some of the Bishops and of the richer churchmen had sent in their contributions; and among the rest, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Horn Bishop of Winchester. But others were not so forward; whose backwardness offended the Queen and Council. One of these that was thus behindhand, was Cox Bishop of Ely, a man, who as his bishopric was wealthy, so not commonly backward in any worthy things. Our Bishop wrote his letter to him, exciting him to hasten, and letting him withal understand, how offended the Honourable Council was with him and others. But that Bishop soon sent his answer, excusing himself by signifying his ignorance that any had yet sent up their contributions till he [the Bishop of London] had better informed him; and withal he sent forty pounds for himself.

As to the repair of Paul's the next year, 1563, (that I may lay things of the same nature together, though falling within another year,) there being an old church in St. Bartholomew's, that was run much into decay, the Bishop endeavoured to get leave to take a heavy coat of lead that was upon it, and to clothe the mother church of Paul's with it. The Bishop moves to take the lead of St. Bartholomew's for Paul's.

**BOOK I.** With this his purpose he acquainted the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil, in the month of July, that they  
**Anno 1562.** would use their interest, and forward this business at Court, if occasion should be. He dealt also with the parishioners for their consent; the chief whereof were the Lord Rich, whose house adjoined to the said church, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Walter Mildmay. The good-will of the first he had obtained. To use his interest with the two latter he desired the Secretary, in case they should prove unwilling. He added, that if he had their consents, he doubted not of the consent of the whole parish; and that if he should think it convenient to move the Queen, (as the Lord Keeper thought not amiss,) he prayed him for his help that way also. And for the supply of another church for the parishioners, he shewed him how there was an house adjoining, which was (as they termed it) the *Fratrie*, a very fair and large house, and that needed nothing but purging, and the name of a church,  
**64** being well built of freestone, garnished within round about with marble pillars, large windows, and covered with good slate; and withal assuring the Secretary without partiality, if it were drest up, it would be far more beautiful and more convenient than the other. If he might have the lead, he would compound with the Lord Rich for converting the said *Fretry* (whose it was) into a church: he would supply all imperfections of the same, and not desire the parish to remove till the other should be fit and convenient to go to.

His plea  
for it.

"And methinks," as he added to the rest, "the matter is very reasonable: for what is more reasonable than that the children should clothe their naked parents. Our church," said he, "is *matrix ecclesia*, as the Canon termeth such churches; which is all one with *mater*."

For the further promoting of this business, as he had sent the above-said letter to the Secretary, so he intended to resort shortly himself to him, either at the Court, or at Richmond, or to some other convenient place. But it seems this his design received some opposition, as the Secretary

soon after signified to him ; to wit, that some concerned in CHAP.  
VII.  
Anno 1562. this business, whether the forementioned Lord Chief Justice, Sir Walter Mildmay, or some other, tender of demolishing churches, (which had been too much practised before,) had signified their unwillingness to have St. Bartholomew's pulled down. But the Bishop in some haste replied, " That he meant not to pull down, but to change " a church more commodious than the other : unless," said he, " some strange opinion should arise, that prayer " were more acceptable under lead than under slate." What this came to, I cannot tell, but believe the Bishop could not compass his end ; some perhaps concerned, minding rather to convert both church, stones, timber, lead, and all, to their own use, as occasion served : for it was pulled down, as we learn from Stow, upon pretence of repairing with the materials an old steeple adjoining ; which yet was not done therewith. However, at length, by the Bishop's care, and the Clergy's contribution, and the City's subsidy voluntarily granted, and the benevolence of other well-disposed persons, the church of St. Paul's was covered, and recovered from the damages it had sustained.

Excepting the spire, which remained a great while after The spire  
remains un-  
finished. in the same condition the fire had left it. In so much that in the year 1576, in the month of June, the Queen was very urgent about the rebuilding thereof, and had given some order to the Lord Treasurer and others of her Council, to deal with the Mayor of London thereupon. And soon after she demanded of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain, what was done with the Mayor about the steeple. And when he replied, that the Lords of her Council were so busied in a greater matter, relating to her subsidy, that they had no time that day to deal in that matter ; but that the Lord Treasurer and Lord Keeper did intend speedily to send for the Mayor, and to declare plainly to him her pleasure, and make report thereof themselves at their coming to Court : she then willed the Lord Chamberlain to remember the Treasurer thereof again ; saying, that if she were not satisfied, she would have the 65

**BOOK I.** Mayor and six of the best of his brethren before herself upon the very next Sunday following, though she were then Anno 1562, in a progress, and some distance from London. This the Lord Chamberlain from Court signified in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, and added, that her Majesty was very earnest in that affair. And therefore he prayed him to let her Majesty understand, as soon as he might, what was done therein; for he thought she meant to have them before her, and stayed the sending for them only till she received an answer from him. But however, after all, greater state matters, and the charge, obstructed and deterred from this undertaking: and so it lay neglected ever after.

An evil surmise of the Bishop.  
Stow.

There was indeed a report went, that the monies collected for that use were collected and brought into the hands of this our Bishop of London. And so Stow writes in his first edition; which seeming to have an odious surmise of him, as though he had embezzled it, or converted it to his own use, it was left out in the after editions. This probably was invented by some of his ill-willers. But there is no question, but that a man of his integrity and virtue was a good and faithful steward of whatsoever came into his hands in trust for this work.

The Bishop ordered to have the Queen's recovery declared at St. Paul's Cross.

Having said all this concerning the condition of St. Paul's, I shall now go back again to the year 1562. In the month of October the Queen had been sick; in which time rumours had been spread abroad in the City, either of her death, or her imminent danger thereof. What tumults might arise hence was suspected and feared: therefore, the Queen indeed being now well recovered, October 17, the Lords of the Council required the Bishop to take care for the publishing of her Majesty's recovery and health; and that by his order it might be declared at St. Paul's Cross the next day, and thanks returned to God for it. The tenor of the letter was this:

Grind.  
Regist.

“ After our harty commendations to your Lordship.  
“ Where the Queen's Majesty is at this present, God  
“ be thanked, after some extremity of sickness, very well

“ recovered, because it may happen that some vain bruits CHAP.  
 “ may be spred abroad of this matter, especially in the city VII.  
 “ of London ; we have thought good to signify these joyful Anno 1562.  
 “ tidings unto your Lordship, and to pray you to take order,  
 “ that the same may be published to-morrow at St. Paul’s  
 “ Cros ; and there thanks to be given to Almighty God for  
 “ this her Majesty’s good recovery, and humbly to pray his  
 “ blessed goodnes to continue the same. And thus we bid  
 “ your Lordship hartily farewell. From Hampton Court,  
 “ the 17th of Octob. 1562.

“ Your good Lordship’s loving friends,

“ N. Bacon, C.S. W. Winchester. H. Arundel. F. Bedford.  
 “ E. Clynton. W. Haward. F. Knollys. W. Cecyl.  
 Amb. Cave. Jo. Mason.”

Johannes Utentovius, a chief member, and the first elder 66  
 of the German church in London, of honourable birth, A Count of  
 and of repute abroad as well as at home, about August this Oldenburgh  
 year signified to our Bishop, that a certain German Count offers his  
 out of his love to religion, would be ready to serve the service to  
 Queen with such a force of soldiers as should be agreed the Queen  
 upon between them. It was Christopher, Count of Olden-  
 burgh, brother to the widow, Countess of East Frisia. Utentovius  
 gave also this further account of him, that he was  
*totus in re Eucharistica noster*; meaning that he was  
 no Lutheran; a great man with Frederic, Elector Palatine Pap. Offic.  
 of the Rhine, a military man many years, and a leader inf. chartas  
 well exercised in war: his age near sixty; his dwelling Ecclesiastic.  
 between Embden and Breme. The learned man desired  
 the Bishop’s judgment, whether this offer of his, if it were  
 made, might be accepted. Hereupon he incloses Utentovius’s letter in his own to the Secretary, requesting to  
 know of him what answer he should return; shewing him  
 that Utentovius, a man both honest and wise, had moved  
 the matter to him, that the said Grave or Count could be  
 very willing to offer his service to the Queen in her wars,

**BOOK I.** especially in any quarrel of religion; and that he was reported to be well able to levy a convenient number of soldiers *juxta formulam pacti*. Grindal conjectured by what he knew of his sister, that his religion was good: he added, that Westphalia, that bordered upon him, brought forth good hardy soldiers, and that it was near our seas for transportation; which things considered, he thought it not amiss to signify thus much to him, (the Secretary,) that he would consider by his wisdom, whether the said nobleman's service might be acceptable. And that he would in three words shew him what he should answer to the motioner hereof.

The Bishop looks after private masses in London.

Hitherto, among the Protestants of the realm, none refused to be present at the public service of God, celebrated according to the order of the Common Prayer lately established; and all gladly and thankfully served God in that form, except some Papists, who though they generally came to church, yet could they not take their leave of the old mass. In London were some persons, at whose houses were these secret meetings, where the said private mass, with its superstitions, was used. Now also collections were made by those that were present at mass, for certain priests and others that were fled out of the kingdom, and were known enemies of the Queen, and settled at Louvain, and other places. One or two of these places where these doings were, coming to the Council's ears; to break this off, they sent their letters, dated March 11, both to the Bishop of London, and Alderman Bond, one of the Sheriffs, that they should consult together for the better expediting this affair; and that the Sheriff should take his opportunity to repair to certain houses where these meetings were, and to seize the persons of all such as they should find present at mass; and likewise all letters, papers, and mass books; and to commit the said persons, in order to their further examinations. The Bishop was required also to speak to the Solicitor General, Mr. Osborn of the Exchequer, and Mr. H. Knolles, to join with the Sheriff, and others also whom the Bishop should think convenient: praying him lastly, to take the

like course, if he should know of other places so used. CHAP.  
VII.  
The minutes of this letter may be read in the Appendix.

This year was that famous synod to be called, wherein divers weighty matters of religion were to be discussed, and the orders and usages of the Church corrected and purged, and a worship settled according to the prescript of the Gospel, and an uniformity in all prescribed. In this our Bishop was much employed, for the giving notice thereof to all the Bishops of the province, and for the summoning of all that had a right to sit there, to meet at St. Paul's for that purpose on the 12th day of January. But this was the least matter he had to do in relation to this synod ; for he was one of those select learned men appointed to prepare and adjust matters for to lay before the synod, against the time they should sit. I have seen his hand in many of the papers drawn up to be debated in that notable convocation ; he being together with Archbishop Parker, Bishop Sandys, Bishop Cox, and some few more, all along from the Queen's first access to the crown hitherto, employed in consultation for the reformation of religion.

The Bishop had now a special summons from the Queen to appear at Westminster with the other Prelates, when the Parliament sat next, having need, as the summons ran, of his counsel, to advise about certain weighty matters concerning the good estate of the kingdom and religion ; with commandment that he should cite the Dean of St. Paul's, and his Archdeacons, to appear in their own persons, and the Chapter to appear by one Proctor, and the Clergy of his diocese by two ; to consent to such things as should there be concluded on by the common advice of the kingdom. The writ to the Bishop was in this tenor :

*Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae  
Regina, fiduci defensor, &c. Reverendo in Christo patri  
Edmundo Episcopo, Londinen. salut. Quia de avisamento  
et assensu consilii nostri pro quibusdam arduis et urgenti-  
bus negotiis, statum et defensionem regni nostri Angliae et Regist.  
Ecclesiae Anglicanae concernentibus, nos, quoddam Parla-*

Anno 1562.  
Numb. III.  
The Bishop  
gives notice  
of a synod.

BOOK I.  
 mentum nostrum apud civitatem nostram Westmonasterii  
 undecimo die Januarii proximè futuri teneri ordinavimus,  
 Anno 1562. et ibidem vobiscum et cum cæteris prælatis, magnatibus et  
 proceribus dicti regni nostri (colloquium habere, et tracta-  
 tum, vobis in fide et dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini,  
 firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod consideratis dictorum  
 negotiorum arduitate et periculis imminentibus, cessante ex-  
 cuseatione quacunque, dictis die et loco personaliter intersitis  
 nobiscum, et cum prælatis, magnatibus et proceribus præ-  
 dict. super dictis negotiis tractatum, vestrūmque ; consilium  
 impensum : et hoc, sicut nos et honorem nostrum ac salva-  
 tionem et defensionem regni et ecclesiæ prædictorum expe-  
 ditionēmque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omit-  
 tatis. Præmonentes Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ  
 Londinen. ac Archidiaconos totumque Clerum vestræ dioc.  
 quod iidem Decanus et Archidiaconus in propriis personis  
 suis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idemque Clerus per  
 duos procuratores idoneos, plenamque et sufficientem potes-  
 tatem ab ipsis Capitulis et Clero divisim habentes prædict.  
 die et loco personaliter intersint, ad consentiendum his quæ  
 tuñc ibidem de communi consilio dict. regni nostri (divina  
 favente clementia) continget ordinari. Teste meipsa apud  
 Westmonast. x. die Novembr. anno reg. nostri quarto.  
 The like writ, I suppose, was directed to all the Bishops.

A precept from the Bishop to the Clergy to the Parliament, soon after a precept came from the Archbishop to him, viz. to summon the whole Clergy of the province to the convocation before spoken of, on the 11th day of January : wherein accordingly the respective Clergy convened and framed the Thirty-nine Articles, and debated divers other weighty matters of religion and discipline. The just history whereof is of too prolix a nature to be here related : but some account thereof hath been already given in another history.

Annals of Reformat.  
 Rights of Convoca-  
 tion,  
 p. 409.

By some specimen of the acts of this synod first published to the world by the Reverend Dr. Atterbury, (as after the whole acts were, in the *Synodus Anglicana*,) we see in

part what business now lay upon our Bishop; who, together with some other of his brethren, were elected Jan. CHAP.  
VII.  
*29, ad excogitanda quædam capitula de disciplina in Ecclesia habenda*; i. e. to devise some chapters concerning discipline to be observed in the Church. Which work being done by him and the rest in committee with him, was sent down to the Lower House; through which it passed, they adding some chapters, and offering it to the Bishops by their prolocutor.

We are arrived now at the fourth year of Bishop Grindal's consecration. The Queen now thought fit to take a particular view of the state and condition of her Clergy; and more especially of the diocese of London. In pursuance of his dio-  
Anno 1563.  
The Queen requires an account of the Clergy of his diocese.  
from the Privy Council, to this tenor:

“ After our hearty commendations to your good Lord-  
ship. The Queen's Majesty, certain good considerations Regist.  
“ moving her to understand in some part the state of your  
“ diocese, hath commanded us to write unto your Lordship,  
“ with all speed possible, and thereby to require the same to  
“ make answer, by writing distinctly to us all these articles  
“ following.

“ I. How many shires or counties your diocese doth contain; or into how many it doth extend.

“ II. Into what manner of regiment the same is divided: whether the same be into archdeaconries, deaneries, or such like; and how many the same be, with their distinct names. Who occupieth those rooms at this present, and where they are, to your understanding.

“ III. What exempt or peculiar places are within the circuit of your diocese, where you have not full jurisdiction as ordinary: and what the names thereof be; and who hath the ordinary jurisdiction thereof at this present.

“ IV. How many churches are within every such arch-  
“ deaconry, deanery, or other regiment, which be parochial, have Parsons, Vicars, or Curates: and whereas the parishes are so large, as they have divers chapels of ease, which

BOOK " have or ought to have Curates or Ministers in them ;  
 I. " to certify how many be of that sort in every such parish ;  
 Anno 1563. " with the names of the towns or hamlets where the same  
 " churches or chapels are so situate.

" V. How many households are within every parish,  
 " or within any such member of any parish that hath such  
 " churches or chapels of ease.

" VI. Wheresoever any exempt places be within the  
 " circuit of your diocese, wherein you have no such juris-  
 " diction as ye can presently make sufficient answer to these  
 " former articles, her Majesty would, that ye should in  
 " writing copy out so much of the substance of these  
 " five former articles as shall seem convenient for the pur-  
 " pose, and with speed to send [them] to such persons as  
 " have the jurisdiction of those exempt places, or their  
 " deputies residing next unto you ; willing and commanding  
 " them in her Majesty's name forthwith to send distinct  
 " answers thereunto : to be sent either to yourself, or by  
 " them to be sent unto us.

" And because the greater part of these former Articles is  
 " such as we doubt not but ye are by means of your visita-  
 " tion able to cause sufficient certificates to be made unto us  
 " with speed ; we require your Lordship to use therein that  
 " you can, and not to defer any time therein ; but either  
 " by this messenger, or within two or three days at the  
 " furthest, to return us answer. And for some such part  
 " thereof as speedily you cannot certify without conference  
 " had with your Chancellor, Commissary, Archdeacons,  
 " Deans, or other inferior officers ; our like request is, that  
 " you do procure information thereof without delay of time ;  
 " and to command in her Majesty's name the like to be  
 " done by all others, having, as above is said, any exempt  
 " jurisdiction ; as her Majesty be amply and certainly  
 " satisfied herein. And so fare your good Lordship right  
 " heartily well. From Greenwich the 9th of July, 1563.

" Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,  
 " Pembroke. Norfolk. R. Duddely. W. Cecyll."

In obedience whereunto, the Bishop soon after returned unto the Council a certificate according unto the import of the letter.

CHAP.  
VII.

Anno 1563.

He returns  
a certificate  
thereof.

First, declaring his diocese to contain the city of London, the counties of Middlesex and Essex, and part of Hertfordshire. To the second article he answered, that in the same diocese were divers regiments; first, the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, and certain churches, as well in the city as in the country, subject to the same, were of the peculiar regiment of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's: that certain churches, as well in the city as in the country,<sup>70</sup> were wholly under the peculiar regiment of the Archbishop of Canterbury: that the college of Westminster, and certain churches subject to the same, were under the Dean and Chapter of Westminster: that the hospitals of St. Katherine and the Savoy were under the several masters of the same: and that the rest of the diocese was whole only of the Bishop's jurisdiction; and was divided into five archdeaconries: shewing the present Archdeacons thereof, and their residences; *viz.*

John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, then at Theydon <sup>Archdea-</sup><sub>cons.</sub> Garnon, twelve miles from London; and for the most part lived at London.

Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, Rector of High Ongar, then at East Ham, about four miles from London.

John Pullan, or Pulleyn, Archdeacon of Colchester; who then lay at Thurring, six miles from Colchester.

Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex; then at Fulham; but for the most part remained at London.

David Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Albans; and lay at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, sixteen miles from London, being parcel of the said jurisdiction of St. Albans.

That of these archdeaconries, three were divided into deaneries by name: but thereof had been no Deans within the memory of man: whereof the archdeaconry of Essex was divided into seven deaneries. The two remaining not divided into deaneries, were London and St. Albans.

Besides these ecclesiastical officers, was the Bishop's Chan-

The Bi-  
shop's  
Chancellor.

**BOOK** cellar; whose jurisdiction was general over the whole diocese.

**I.** **Anno 1563.** There were also in Essex two Commissaries, whose jurisdiction was in some points above the Archdeacons, and in some points equal with theirs.  
His Com-missaries.

After this, in the said certificate, followed the names of all the incumbents in the parishes of London, in the county of Essex, and throughout the whole diocese ; too long to be here inserted, but may be read in the Register.

**Prayers en-** The English nation being in war with France, had, by joined by means of the French Protestants, gotten into their hands the Bishop for the plague.

New-Haven, an important seaport town in France, lying near Boulogne ; which place might have been to England instead of Calais, lost in the last reign. And the English were resolved to maintain it against all the strength of France. But it pleased God that the plague got in among the English army there, and prevailed very much, to the great weakening of the Queen's forces ; so that she was fain to make terms with France, and to surrender the place. Her soldiers being transported hither, brought the plague into England ; first spreading itself in Kent, where they landed, and proceeded as far as the metropolitical city, where it raged this year, and in other places of the realm. These unsuccesses were justly looked upon to proceed from the punishing hand of Heaven ; and therefore as the Archbishop for the city of Canterbury, so our Bishop for London, framed certain suitable prayers to be used on certain days of the week, besides Sundays and festivals. The Bishop of London sent his precept to his Archdeacon, that the 71 people of every parish should be exhorted not only to meet on those days, religiously to pray, and implore God's compassion and pardon ; but also at home in their own houses with their families, to use fasting and abstinence. And this he ordered prudentially as well as piously ; that so in those resorts to the parochial churches the assemblies might not be crowded, nor too numerous ; which might occasion the contagion to spread the more. But this was prevented by the frequency of these assemblies, and the liberty and counsel of serving God at home as well as in public.

And for the making this the more known to all, the Bi- CHAP.  
shop wrote to his Archdeacon Molins in this tenor : VII.

Anno 1563.

The Bishop  
to his Arch-  
deacon.

Grind.  
Regist.

“ *Salutem in Christo.* Forasmuch as it hath pleased God to visit divers parts of the city of London with the sickness of the plague; considering the frequent and great assemblies of people for public prayer and preachings (which in common calamities and afflictions have been most commendably used) in this contagious time, might be occasion to spread the infection of the disease: these are therefore to require you to give order to all Pastors, Curates, and Ministers within the city and suburbs of London, being under your jurisdiction, that they on Sunday next earnestly exhort their parochians diligently to frequent the common prayer in their several parish churches, during this time of God’s visitation; and that not only on Sundays and holidays, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays: and further to exhort them in their private houses and families to use private prayer, fasting and abstinence, with other the fruits of faith and true repentance: most earnestly praying to Almighty God, that it may please him to remember us in his mercy, and to turn away from us, if it be his blessed will, this his plague and punishment, most justly poured upon us for our sins and unthankfulness. I commend you to God.

“ From Fulham the 22d of July, 1563.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ Edm. London.”

Upon this the notification following was sent to the respective Curates: “ For avoiding peril of infection, which might grow, if in this time great assemblies of people should be made at Christ’s Church for general prayer, as hath been accustomed in time of unseasonable weather, &c. and yet for the exciting of people to repentance and godly prayer in this time of God’s visitation; it is ordered by the Bishop of London, that all Curates, &c. shall on Sunday next monish and exhort their parochians diligently

The Arch-  
deacon’s  
notification.

Grind.  
Regist.

**BOOK** “to frequent common prayer in their parish churches on all

**I.** “Sundays and holidays, and also on Wednesdays and Fri-

Anno 1563. “days: and beside, to be diligent in private prayer in their

“private houses, joined with fasting and abstinence; praying

“most instantly to Almighty God for the ceasing of this in-

“fection: which God grant, if it be his holy will. Amen.”

**72** In this very juncture came a letter from Sir Will. Cecil

**Consults with the Secretary about an office for the plague;** the Secretary, to our Bishop, for this very thing, *viz.* to consult concerning a fast for the judgment of the plague then lying upon the nation: to whom he answered, that it was in his thoughts to provide some common prayer for

that occasion, before his letter came; and that he had sent

to the Dean of Paul’s, to compose an homily meet for

the time; which the said Dean had accordingly done:

yet the Bishop signified, that he meant it but for his

own cure. But upon the Secretary’s letter, wherein he

admonishes him to get a form of prayer to be used through-

out England, he proceeded further by the help of Mr.

Dean, and soon sent the Secretary a copy of what he had

done, desiring, after he had perused it, to convey it to the

Archbishop then at Canterbury; and so to return it after

his review, to the print. Then he propounded these things

to be considered by the Secretary. 1. In what form the

fast was to be authorized, whether by proclamation, or by

way of injunction, or otherwise; because it must needs pass

from the Queen. 2. Whether any penalty is to be pre-

cribed to the violators thereof, or no. 3. Whether to

have it general throughout the realm, or but in this pro-

vince. 4. To add, diminish, or amend the form and cir-

cumstances of the fast, as they are there devised.

**And concerning the fast.** He signified moreover to the said Secretary, that because

it was not safe for great assemblies now to meet, lest it

might spread the infection, therefore he had ordered the

fast to be on certain days of the week, when the parishioners

should assemble in their respective parishes: and that he

had sent orders to London to the Ministers, to exhort

their people to come diligently to their parish churches on

these days; and also for private prayer and abstinence.

Some he found were offended, that he had not appointed general assemblies, as were used, it seems, in the late time of unseasonable weather; which he thought not meet, for fear of spreading the infection: and therefore he put it to the Secretary, in the drawing up the Queen's order for the fast, that an admonition should be annexed, that in towns and places infected, general concourses be forbore; and moderate assemblies, as of those that be of one parish, to meet at their parish churches, to be more commendable. And whereas by this fasting, which was to be enjoined on the appointed prayer days, *viz.* Mondays and Wednesdays, there would be considerable quantities of provision spared, he advised that a good portion thereof should be weekly bestowed in the back lanes and alleys of London, and among the poor strangers, who were the sorest visited.

The form being finished, and some suitable sentences of Scripture, or a psalm added by the Secretary's advice, and passed the review of the Archbishop, it was soon printed by Jugg, the Queen's Printer, and entitled, "A Book of "Prayers to be used for the Plague, and War, and other "Calamities:" and it began in August to be used in London on Wednesday, and so continued Mondays and Wednesdays, till some abatement of the plague, and till by God's goodness it ended in a thanksgiving for peace and health. And the same day it began at London, the Bishop provided it to begin at Fulham also, where he now was. 72

Grindal pressed much the religious exercise of fasting; the great neglect whereof he blamed Protestants for: and that it might be matter, wherewith the adversaries the Papists might reproach us; saying, "Surely my opinion hath been long, that in no one thing the adversary hath more advantage against us, than in the matter of fast; which we utterly neglect: they have the shadow." This caused him to put in those words into the said office; "For some beginning of order herein," [that is, in the business of fasting,] "a command was now issued from her Majesty for observing a fast to accompany the days of prayer, during the continuance of it." And by the Queen's order it was

CHAP.  
VII.

Anno 1563.

Urges the  
duty of fast-  
ing.

**BOOK I.** enjoined throughout the whole province. And the Archbishop sent his mandate to our Bishop, to notify the Queen's pleasure herein to the rest of the Bishops; which was done accordingly.

**Causes the prayers to be printed in form of a manual.** This book of prayers Sir William Cecil thought fit to be printed, for the use of private persons and families, in form of a manual, which he signified to our Bishop; who before Anno 1563. was of the very same mind, and had talked with Jugg the printer about it; and it was now in a good forwardness. He also had delivered to the printer a short meditation, (*viz.* of the shortness and uncertainty of human life, and of the great sins of the nation calling down God's judgments,) proper to be used in private houses.

**Consults what assemblies were convenient.** Finally, he consulted with the Secretary, whether he held it convenient, notwithstanding the infection, that he should send to the Lord Mayor to have common assemblies twice or once a week, with his brethren and liveries in London, whereat he would see sermons made accordingly; or that he thought it better to be used in every parish church privately, and no common assemblies at all. And this question he asked, because, as he said, it was a matter mixed with religion and policy. But what the advice was from the Court hereupon, I know not.

**Concerned for the Queen's safety.** But the distemper increasing much this summer, the Bishop was much concerned for the Queen's safety, and urged to the Secretary her removal; she being not yet gone, and the air now in July very hot, and more infectious. And he put the said Secretary in mind of a proverb, which he had learned in Germany, for direction in time of a plague; viz. *citò, procul, serò*: expounding the *ænigma* thus, *citò fuge, procul fuge, serò revertere*; *i. e.* fly soon, fly afar off, return at leisure.

**Comforts the Secretary.** The nation now was in ill case, by reason of this sweeping plague; as also of the late miscarriage at New-Haven, and the war with a powerful neighbour kingdom, and the jealousy of Scotland. These things stuck close to the heart of the careful Secretary, and created him much discouragement of mind, which was in danger of having an

influence upon his body, as indeed it had at this time. But CHAP.  
Grindal perceiving this, seasonably and piously exhorted VII.  
him, “praying him not to hurt his health with too much co- Anno 1563.  
“gitations of evil successes of things, which were in God’s  
“hand, and without our compass: and that he knew how 74  
“to direct them to the best end.”

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## CHAP. VIII.

*The Bishop’s charitable mediations. Zanchy, Professor at Strasburgh, consults with him. His letter to the Lord Robert Dudley about his excommunicating of one Sebastian. His advice to the Secretary concerning his disease. Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, applies to him. Office for the plague abated.*

I SHALL mention a few remarks more concerning our Bishop, which fell out within the compass of this year.

Remarkable was his gratitude and care of innocence, in a matter that now fell out. There was one Leache, a Scotch-Interposes man, who had in the former reign lived in good credit in the case of an honest at Spires in Germany, and was Grindal’s host when he once came as a traveller there, to whom he gave very kind reception; and the same being a good Protestant, joyfully returned home with the exiles. This man’s occasions led him to Ireland; where this year were great and dangerous matters laid to his charge, as though he had spoken treason against the Queen. For this he was laid up in prison, and in danger of his life; being prosecuted and sworn against by some Irish, whether out of some private grudge or hatred to him for his good-will to the reformed religion, or no, I cannot tell. This matter came to Grindal’s ears, who was very much affected with it, and the rather because he knew this Leache to have been a hearty lover of the Queen, and one that rejoiced at her access to the crown.

**BOOK I.** The poor man had made a shift to get a letter sent into England, wrote by him to some friend relating his condition: **Anno 1563.** which letter, coming to the Bishop's hand, he sent inclosed to the Secretary in one of his; compassionately and seasonably thus interposing for him :

“ That he could affirm nothing of his case. But this  
 “ he could say, he knew the man well, and that he was his  
 “ host at Spire in Germany : that he was of good religion,  
 “ honest, and one that ever wished to live to see the Queen’s  
 “ Majesty come to the crown ; and that for declaration of  
 “ his affection herein, he forsook Germany, where he was  
 “ in good estimation, and good case to live, and came  
 “ over amongst them, exiles. That he could not believe he  
 “ would speak any dishonour of the Queen’s Majesty ; and  
 “ therefore, if I should die this hour,” said the Bishop, “ I  
 “ think he is wrongfully accused. I pray you therefore be  
 “ good to him, and help that the matter be not hastily  
 “ judged, but may be thoroughly examined. I fear me it is  
 “ too easy a matter, either in Ireland or in Wales, to get  
**75** “ false witnesses to swear, &c. I pray you be good to the  
 “ poor man, and obtain him at least some time. God will  
 “ reveal the truth, I doubt not. God keep you. Ult.  
 “ July, 1563.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ Edm. London.”

Nor was this letter all the intercession he made for Leache, but soon after he sent to one Quintin, the Secretary’s servant, to remember him of that poor man’s case.

Intercedes  
for some  
French re-  
fugees.

Yet again about the same time the good Bishop found it necessary to use his interest in the behalf of distressed innocence. The persecution being very hot in France, many poor Protestants fled thence daily hither, and planted themselves with their goods and effects at London. And there having been hot war this year between England and France, many Englishmen’s goods and merchandizes had been seized by the French. Whereupon certain proclamations

were issued out in like manner to seize Frenchmen's goods, CHAP.  
VIII.  
Anno 1563.  
and to make them prizes. Some evil disposed men took  
occasion hence to take several poor French Protestants who  
were coming hither for sanctuary from their own country,  
and made them prizes, as they now were at London. Grindal  
looked upon their condition as his own, (for he remembered  
himself an exile for religion not long ago,) and therefore  
like a good Christian made earnest application to Sir Wil-  
liam Cecil in their behalf; “praying him, that among his  
“ weighty affairs (as he might) he would remember to give  
“ the Lord Mayor, and some other godly, honest persons,  
“ order for those poor, afflicted French, exiled for religion,  
“ that they might not be taken as prizes, (as they then  
“ were at London,) by virtue of the late proclamations,  
“ wilfully wrong understood. *And let that be,*” said he,  
“ *one mean to mitigate God's ire.*”

In the very beginning of August, I find the Bishop, Goes to  
Farnham.  
having left the book of prayers for the plague in some  
readiness, and appointing the printer to wait upon the  
Secretary with it, went to Farnham, and took Dean Nowell  
along with him; taking harbour there for a time with the  
Bishop of Winchester, his fellow exile, the better to avoid  
the pestilence. But he returned in ten or twelve days.

Hierom Zanchy, an Italian by birth, was now public Reader of Divinity at Strasburgh: with him Grindal was acquainted ever since himself lived there; and since his departure kept a correspondence with him. This year letters certain matter. Zanchy writes to our Bishop for his judgment in a  
Confession about this time began to be pressed vigorously, and particularly in the said town of Strasburgh, upon all the reformed there, or no abiding for them. This was the cause of great contests and debates between the learned Lutherans in the school there, and Zanchy, who in the matter of the Sacrament, and predestination, and some other things, could not accord with their Confession. But at last, for peace sake, this year the difference was composed, and he did subscribe (yet with some exceptions and conditions) in these words, *Hanc doctrinæ formulam, ut piam agnosco: ita etiam recipio ego HIERONYMUS ZANCHIUS.*

**BOOK I.** This being so large a concession to the Lutheran doctrine, he saw, might justly make the reformed in other parts to wonder at his subscription. And therefore in an epistle he

**76** at large declared the reason of what he had done, to our Bishop, adding, that he had also the opinion of Calvin therein. And he believed, he said, that Grindal, such was his piety and prudence, would have done no otherwise than he had done, had he been in the like circumstances. Yet herein he desired to know the Bishop's thoughts, and so, recommending himself to him, and likewise to Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knolles, and Heton, persons of eminence, formerly exiles at Strasburgh, and his acquaintance, praying the Bishop to communicate his case to them, and to have their judgment of it, he concluded.

His answer; and discreet judgment.

Grindal answered Zanchy's letter in one dated in August from Fulham: wherein he signified, that the gentlemen his friends mentioned by him were absent at that time from London, being dispersed by reason of the plague. "But as "for his own part, he attributed so much to Zanchy's "piety and prudence, that he had a good opinion of all his "actions; especially since he had the opinion of such a "learned man as Calvin in what he had done: this," the Bishop said, "much confirmed him; being apt to attribute "much to his judgment. That he feared only one thing, "that his adversaries, [*viz.* the rigid Lutherans,] unless "he imposed a silence upon himself in those controversies, "which at that time it would be hard to do, when the "truth was repugned by certain books newly set forth,) "would make a way by that composition of Zanchy to raise "new disturbances, and urge his simple subscription, "which they would produce under his hand; and in the "mean time take no notice at all of those exceptions and "protestations, which were made by him only *viva voce*, "and not written. But a judgment," he said, "of future "things was uncertain. And therefore these matters he com- "mended to the Lord, who he doubted not would give him "a mouth and wisdom, which the adversaries of the truth "could not resist." We shall find by and by, Grindal's conjecture of the inconveniences of this subscription to be

true, and of the quarrel that notwithstanding happened between Zanchy and the Lutherans, which made the place too hot to hold him.

CHAP.  
VIII.

Anno 1563.

Now did one Sebastian [his surname was Westcote] create some disturbances to our Bishop. He belonged to the choir of St. Paul's, being the first Minor Canon, and master of the choristers there; but being a Papist, came not to the Communion, and held transubstantiation, and perhaps not without other faults: and persisting therein after divers complaints, the Bishop had excommunicated him. But it seems he was favoured by the Lord Robert Dudley, a great courtier and favourite, who wrote an earnest letter to the Bishop in his behalf, shewing that he was not obstinate, and that what he did was out of zeal; and that haste in such cases might be hurtful. The Bishop well knew what a man he had to deal with, being very haughty and impatient of denial, and apt to resent. And therefore he composed an answer at good length, which might seem rather an apology than a letter. And besides, that he might have another friend at Court to represent him aright in case of any complaint to the Queen against him, he sent a copy of his said answer to the Secretary; which it may not be amiss here to set down, *viz.*

“ Please it your good Lordship. Being at Farnham The reasons whereof he writes to the Earl of Leicester.  
 “ with my Lord of Winton, I received your Lordship’s letters for Sebastian, who at this present standeth ex-communicate. I will open to your Lordship some circumstances of the matter, and then I doubt not but your Lordship will well approve my doings therein. Sebastian was complained of in my visitation, now more than two years past; and that not by one or two, but by a good number of the best learned of my church, that he utterly abstained from the Communion. The said Sebastian being examined by me, confessed the same, and alledged, partly that his conscience was not fully satisfied, but chiefly, that he was not in charity, because of certain actions of debt and suretiship between him and Sir Wil-

BOOK I. “ liam Garret, &c. I answered, that the latter allegation was merely frivolous, as it was indeed. The first was Anno 1563. “ worthy of consideration: and therefore I gave him a good long day for the better instructing of his conscience; willing him in the mean space to frequent sermons, and to confer with Mr. Dean, and others of the church, offering also mine own labour therein.

“ When his day appointed came, I found him as far off as at the first. That notwithstanding, I gave him a longer day: and so from day to day till July last past. I also one day conferred with him myself: and perceiving that he sticked much at the matter of transubstantiation, I shewed him testimonies not only of the Scriptures, but also of the old Fathers, most evidently against that error; and gave him then time to think upon the matter. But all in vain. And therefore I was at length compelled to pronounce him excommunicate, who afore in doings had excommunicated himself. And these were the causes that moved me so to do:

“ First, The discharge of mine own duty and office, to whom not only the word of exhortation, but also the sword of excommunication is committed: whereof neither can be omitted in his time and place, without offence against God.

“ Secondly, I seek herein his reformation: for excommunication in such disobedient persons is the ordinary mean taught by the Holy Ghost, to reduce men to God. Therefore, saith St. Paul, *Tradatur Sathanæ ad inferitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini Jesu.*

“ Thirdly, He hath been of long time very offensive, not only to the godly of my church, but also to all other well-affected persons frequenting common prayer there; seeing such an one joined with us in common prayer, which refused to join with us in the Lord’s Supper, as one accounting our form of administration heretical and schismatical. Whereas communion of prayer and sacraments ought to be one, saith Chrysostom.

“ Fourthly, (which is a matter of great moment,) There CHAP.  
“ is committed unto him the education of the choristers, or VIII.  
“ singing children: he remaining therefore in the mind he Anno 1563.  
“ doth, with what conscience can I commit youth to his in-  
“ struction?

“ Your Lordship thinketh him not to be obstinate; but I  
“ pray you remember, that obstinacy is better known by  
“ doings than by sayings. Ye think also he doth it of zeal.  
“ Admit it be so, he is not therefore excusable, especially  
“ after so long toleration. Though not communicating  
“ with God’s Church in Christ’s institution, ceaseth not to  
“ be a grievous sin against God, although it do proceed  
“ from an erroneous zeal. And yet I assure your Lord-  
“ ship I doubt much of his zeal: for now after so long  
“ trial, and good observation of his proceedings herein, I  
“ begin to fear, lest his humility in words be a counterfeit  
“ humility, and his tears crocodile tears, although I myself  
“ was much moved with them at the first.

“ Last of all, where your Lordship thinketh, that haste  
“ in such cases might be hurtful, and time might win him,  
“ it may please your Lordship to understand what time he  
“ hath had already, and how long I have borne with him;  
“ which is no less than all the time since my first entry,  
“ being now almost four years: and therefore I am afraid  
“ I have rather been too slow than too hasty; and that I  
“ have an account to give to God for all those corrupt les-  
“ sons of false religion, which he the space of two or three  
“ years hath instilled into the ears and minds of those chil-  
“ dren committed unto him. Wherein, no doubt, he hath  
“ been too diligent, as hath appeared by his fruits.

“ If Sebastian will acknowledge his fault and amend, I  
“ am ready most willingly to receive him. If no, I dare not  
“ absolve an impenitent sinner; for that were to loose him  
“ whom God bindeth, and to abuse the keys of the Church.  
“ I am content, because your Lordship writeth so earnestly  
“ for him, to forbear prosecuting the penalties of the laws  
“ against him, till after Michaelmas, or Hallowentide;  
“ that he may yet have more time to search and to under-

BOOK " stand, praying God in the mean time to open his eyes.

I.

Anno 1563. " Thus being bold to trouble your Lordship with a long letter, because I wish your Lordship should be fully satisfied in this matter, I commit the same, &c." In this letter he shewed the piety, the meekness, and yet the resolution of a Bishop.

**Watson,** Dr. Watson, late Bishop of Lincoln, was one of those late Bishop, that were appointed to dispute some points of religion in removed controversy in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; from the Bishop.

79 Dr. Watson, late Bishop of Lincoln, was one of those that were appointed to dispute some points of religion in controversy in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and for his morose behaviour at that time was committed to the Tower: whence after a while he was removed to our Bishop's house, where he lived conveniently and easily. Now in the month of October, the Bishop got himself released of him: and by order of the Council he was sent to the Bishop of Ely, who received him favourably, and said he was welcome for their sakes that sent him, otherwise not for his own: and for very good reason, being naturally a sour and churlish man. Our Bishop had not yet conferred much with Dr. Watson, having otherwise been hitherto much taken up partly in his visitation, partly in the synod, and other matters relating to the reformation of religion: but he told him now, that if he had tarried with him, he would have been willing to confer with him in divers points. But he answered, that he would not enter into conference with any man: and his reason was, because he would not incur the penalties of laws. But our Bishop replied, that there was but one law penal, [which was that of denying the Queen's supremacy,] and that might be forborne. But he persisted in his opinion.

His dis-  
course with  
him.

**Fecknam,** The Dean of Westminster, Dr. Goodman, had with him and another, at the Dean of Popish Bishop besides. Bishop Grindal now interposed with the Secretary, that the Dean might be released of them, as he himself now was of Watson. And particularly, that Fecknam might be sent to Horn, Bishop of Winton: and the rather because he heard that Bishop, being lately at his house, say, that if he should have any, he could best

deal with Fecknam ; having in King Edward's days taken some pains with him in the Tower, and brought him to subscribe to all things, saving the presencee, and one or two articles more. Our Bishop therefore thought it would do very well (in his opinion) to ease the poor Dean, as he out of pity styled him ; and to send the other also to some other Bishop, as Sarum, or Chichester : adding, that it was more reason that the Bishops should be troubled with them than he.

Fecknam, according to Grindal's advice, was trans-  
planted to the Bishop of Winton's. But however that Bi-  
shop chose him before any other Popish guest, yet it was not long but he became weary of his Abbot ; finding him in his conferences with him, not answering his opinion of him : which occasioned a falling out. And Fecknam dispersed a paper, giving a partial account of some discourses between himself and that Bishop ; who thereupon was fain to vindicate himself at large in print.

Secretary Cecil was in October fallen sick : and though at length his disease diminished, yet it hung long about him. It was a sore pain in his back. This was the beginning of a severe gout, which by fits afterwards bore him company as long as he lived. Cecil, about a year ago or better, upon some heat in his back, fearing the stone, caused his doublet to be cut and voided in the back, and so went abroad, and rid very cool. Whence at length he might have contracted too much cold in those parts, and that might give occasion to his present pains. And to this cause Grindal conjectured this distemper to be imputed ; he himself having now and then a great indisposition in his back, which he caught by the same course ; and therefore made use of a contrary means, to cure the said disease, keeping himself always varm. This he thought convenient to acquaint the Secretary with, thinking his own experience 80 might be of some service to him. And therefore thus he wrote to him from Fulham, October 15.

“ It is said your pain is in your back. I will be bold to His letter  
to the Se-

BOOK "communicate unto you my conjecture of the cause there-  
 I. "of, and of the means to avoid the like hereafter; not by  
 Anno 1563. "any art of physic, but upon some experience of mine own  
 cretary, ad- "body in the like case. When I came first from beyond  
 vising him about his "seas, I felt great heat in my back, and feared the stone:  
 health. "I cut my doublets, my petticoats [that is, which we call  
 MSS. Ceci- "waistcoats] in the back: I went ungirt; I could not  
 lian. "abide to sit on a cushion, &c. In continuance, I strived  
 "so to cool my back, that I fell into the contrary: so that  
 "a small cold taken on that part by going single, and espe-  
 "cially by riding single, to this day casteth me into a  
 "stitch; which beginneth under the point of one shoulder  
 "or both, and suddenly clasbeth on the small of my back,  
 "and there remaineth fifteen or twenty days. I do re-  
 "member one morning, a year and more agone, ye shewed  
 "me your doublets cut and voided in the back; and that  
 "ye feared the stone. I am surely persuaded, that by re-  
 "sisting heat, (which might come then by some accident,)  
 "ye have cooled your back too much; ridden and gone  
 "single; and so have brought those parts to great imbe-  
 "cility. Surely, I think the only way to avoid it hereafter,  
 "is to go warm, and namely on your back: but specially  
 "when ye ride, though it be in the midst of summer. I  
 "begin every day to like better and better Sir Richard  
 "Sackville's physic, with store of clothes and furs. *Frigus*  
 "nunquam sensi, was a piece of his physic, that said, *Cen-*  
*"tum annis vixi.*

"I have sent you herewith a glass sealed, *sigillo Her-*  
*"metis*, of Thomas Gybson's balsam. It is to be used  
 "outwardly, as an ointment. I dare not advise you to use  
 "it without the counsel of the physicians, for it is very  
 "hot; but it may stand by you. It is very good in aches  
 "that come of cold causes. I have seen the proof of it.  
 "Thus much of physic; whereof all sick men love to hear,  
 "be it never so slender."

church as yet had no fixed statutes: the want of which created great disorders there, and occasioned too much liberty to such as were Popishly affected in that college. Which was so well foreseen, that by the Queen's orders before now, the Archbishop, our Bishop, and some other Councillians of the ecclesiastical commission, were appointed to frame statutes for the said church: wherein he and they had made some good progress: but the Archbishop being gone the last year to his diocese in visitation, and other businesses intervening, the work was not gone through with. In the mean time the Lord Keeper, in the Queen's name, sent them certain injunctions to be observed: but some there took exceptions against them, as not being of sufficient authority, because they came not directly from the Queen. Of this Sampson acquainted our Bishop, and sent him a copy of the said injunctions: who found them to be very good; and in effect but an epitome of the best and most necessary orders, which the Archbishop and he, with the rest, had (as for the first view) allowed in their book of statutes. And Sampson intending ere long to apply himself to the Secretary about this matter, Grindal incited the said Secretary to help him, that he might with sufficient authority from the Queen, (or otherwise as to his wisdom seemed good,) put the injunctions in execution: whereby he would do a very good act: adding, that when the Archbishop and the rest came up to London, they should soon finish their book of statutes, which already was in a good forwardness. Thus did the good Bishop spend his studies and thoughts, to render himself useful for the reformation of the Church and University.

The year being now slidden as far as to the month of December, by this time the plague being abated, Grindal composed another psalm and prayer, upon occasion of the diminution of it; and sent them to the Secretary to peruse, judging it convenient, if he thought good, to have them set forth, and to be used in the churches: being minded also to cause another psalm and prayer to be drawn up, which might be used, when it should please God to send more

CHAP.  
VIII.

Anno 1563.

plies to the  
Bishop  
about their  
statutes.

81

**BOOK I.** health and deliverance from this sickness; (to wit, when the number should be under an hundred a week of those that died;) and at that time to have a suitable sermon preached, and some solemn assembly of the companies at St. Paul's on a Wednesday, to give God thanks: and so to end *jejunium nuper edictum*, *i. e.* the fast on that day appointed, as was shewn before. This day, otherwise not so proper for a thanksgiving, the Bishop chose, because it had been the ordinary day observed before for the plague: that on that very same day on which the people had humbled themselves for God's judgments, they might render him their thanks for the removal thereof. The psalms aforesaid were nothing else but certain suitable sentences or verses gathered out of the book of the Psalms, and put together, with some small variation, and digested into a psalm, which was commonly used to be done in framing these occasional forms of prayer, and to make up a part of the service.

Upon the Bishop's sending the Secretary this his design of composing prayers for the decrease of the plague, he put the Bishop in mind of inserting into the psalm some acknowledgments of thanks for sparing the Queen, and of God's goodness to the nation in preserving her. To which he answered, that he had inserted the said thanksgiving into the collect, which was an apter place, in his opinion, than in the psalm: and so had committed the prayer to the print; and thought to proceed at London to the publication thereof the Wednesday following; which was the seventh day of January.

**82** The psalm composed for this occasion, and which was sent by the Bishop to the Secretary for his allowance, (that we may preserve as much as we can these originals,) may be found in the Appendix.

The psalm  
for this oc-  
casion.

Num. IV.

He is pre-  
paring a  
thanksgiv-  
ing office.

Grindal was now also, in the beginning of January, providing for the form of the solemn thanksgiving to be used in St. Paul's, when the plague should sink under an hundred a week, as was hinted before. And that it might be composed with the maturest deliberation, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, being in commission for ecclesiasti-

cal matters, were consulted with. The Archbishop sent his judgment in writing, and advised, that seeing it was an eucharistic office, to have the holy Eucharist then celebrated, that those of the church, the magistrates of the city, that were then to be present, and other well-disposed persons, might receive the Communion. But to this Grindal did not agree, because, as he told the Archbishop, if it were at that time administered, it would be done so tumultuously and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that would resort thither to see, that the rest of the action would be disregarded. And he thought it good to remain in suspense till they talked with more of them.

C H A P.  
VIII.

A n n o 1 5 6 3 .

Calfhil, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, (entitled the Penitentiary,) either the Bishop's Chaplain, or much about him, received now in February a letter from the Secretary, advising that some politic orders should be devised by the Bishop and others, for the prevention of the infection breaking out again. This he communicated to the Bishop; who thought it very necessary, and accordingly promised the Secretary to do his endeavour, both by exhortation and otherwise; having been ready before this admonition, to have craved his help for that purpose, as being not unmindful of the peril. But he thought one thing especially ought to be remedied: to prevent great flocks of people meeting together; and likewise one thing especially, as he confessed, because he liked not the thing itself, and that was interludes. The players he called, *an idle sort of people*, which had been infamous in all good commonwealths. These men did then daily, but especially on holidays, set up bills inviting to their plays; and the youth resorted excessively to them, and there took infection. He complained to the Secretary, that God's word was profaned by their impure mouths, and turned into scoffs. And by search, he perceived there was no one thing of late more like to have renewed the infection, there being such vast resort thither. And therefore he advised, for the remedy hereof, that Cecil would be the means of a proclamation to inhibit all plays for one whole year. And if it were for

Takes care  
against the  
breaking  
out of the  
plague  
again.The dan-  
ger of in-  
terludes.

**BOOK I.** ever, added he, it were not amiss: that is, within the city, or three miles compass, upon pains, as well to the player, as to the owners of the houses where they played their lewd interludes.

Two things required of him by letters from the Council.

And it being now the beginning of March, the Lords of the Council also sent their letter to the Bishop and the Lord Mayor; wherein he took notice of two things that concerned his office. The one was, for restraining of preachers,

83 who were said to have persuaded the people to break the orders set forth against the spreading of the infection; as keeping within doors, not consorting in great companies, and the like. Whereupon he demanded of the Mayor, if he knew any such persons; who answered, No. Since which he called all the preachers before him, and they all denied, that either they had done it heretofore, thinking it a matter very unfit, or that they intended to do it hereafter. One indeed there was that spake something last summer against the fires then commanded to be made in the streets: but he had been sick ever since of the plague, and had three or four plague sores one after another. "So that God," said the Bishop, "hath sufficiently corrected him." The second thing required of him by the Lords was, that he should set forth an Admonition to be read in all churches of the city and suburbs, by the Pastors and Ministers, to keep the good order made by the Lord Mayor, for avoiding danger of infection; and that the sick should not come into company with the well, nor the well with the sick, and to use convenient means to keep themselves from infection. The Bishop in obedience hereunto soon drew up an Admonition, and caused it to be printed, and read in all the churches: which was to this tenor.

The Bishop's Admonition, to be read by Ministers to their people.

" According to a certain order sent of late from the Queen's Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, to the Reverend Father in God the Bishop of London, our Ordinary; I am by the said Bishop willed to exhort and admonish you that be of this parish, diligently to observe, and obediently to keep those good orders which lately have

“ been set forth by the Lord Mayor of this city, for avoiding the danger of the infection of this contagious sickness, CHAP.  
VIII.  
 “ wherewith God hath of late visited this city, and which Anno 1563.  
 “ as yet is not clearly taken away. And further, on the behalf aforesaid, I do most earnestly exhort and beseech those, whom it hath pleased God to visit with this sickness, and are in the way of recovery, to forbear to company with the whole, for such convenient time, as is by order of the said Lord Mayor appointed in this behalf, or longer, if need so require; that thereof no infection increase to others by their occasion; considering that even by the rule of charity all men are bound in conscience not to do any thing that by common judgment and experience may bring a manifest peril and danger to their brethren, or neighbours, as may well appear by the law of God, in separating the leprous persons from the Levit. xiii. clean; wherein Ozias being a king was not spared; the <sup>2</sup> Paral. xxvi. disease of leprosy being nothing so dangerous for infection as this is.

“ And likewise I exhort, as afore, those that be whole to use convenient means and helps, being not against God’s word, to keep themselves from infection, and not to resort to places infected, whereunto by their duty and vocation they are not bound to resort; lest, by rash and wilful entering into companies or places of danger, they tempt God, casting themselves into unnecessary perils, which is against his express commandment: *and by loving peril* (as the Wise Man saith) *perish in the same.*

“ This thing therefore being both so charitable and 84 godly, and also very like to be profitable for this afflicted city, I trust all godly men will gladly embrace and receive, the rather for that it may be easily observed, the number of the sick (thanks be to God) being now but small: and for that also by the godly order now set forth by the said Lord Mayor, those that be not of hability are sufficiently provided for in this case.

“ *4 die Martii an. Dom. 1563.*”

**BOOK I.** The Bishop had now finished an office of thanksgiving

Anno 1563. Composes an office upon the plague's ceasing.  
for the ceasing of the plague, according to his purpose mentioned before; and about the 7th of March sent both the psalm and the collect composed for this purpose to the Secretary, who in some places added his own corrections to the said collect. And because it may be acceptable to some to read the manner of the devotions in those days, I shall here insert them in the Appendix, as I did the psalm used upon the abating of the infection.

Num. V.

Moves the keeping of the term at Westminster.

By what hath been above said, we easily observe how the Secretary, out of his great care of the public, was much concerned about this infection of the plague: and now being greatly decreased, all means were used that it might not increase again with the coming on of the spring. He accordingly sent many messages to our Bishop for this purpose; and now once again in March, he sent to him to confer with the Dean of Westminster about it: and the Bishop promised on his part, that all diligence should be used, thanking God that the peril was past for that time. And withal, like a careful father of the people's temporal, as well as spiritual welfare, moved the said Secretary, that the next term might not be kept but at Westminster only, (whence it had been of late removed,) and that he would procure a proclamation to be issued out to that purpose: which he said would be a great comfort to many poor men.

His care for the Queen.

And when the Secretary had expressed his fears of the Queen's safety, as an impediment to the keeping of the term according to the Bishop's desire; and prayed him to take care against the spreading of the plague now in so fair a way of ceasing; he signified back again, that he did his diligence for avoiding the peril of infection: that he trusted that week's certificate had much diminished the fear of the Court. For the Queen's person, he was of opinion, as David's subjects were in the war against Absalom, it was good her Highness were in some place, by human judgment, free from peril. But for the Law, he did not see why it should remove for the next term, (it was now about March

the 11th,) the time of the year, the small number dying in CHAP.  
so great a city, and other circumstances considered. VIII.

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Anno 1563.

## CHAP. IX.

85

*His Christian concern for his own country. Uses his interest for the Bishop of Carlisle. Forwards the settling our merchants at Embden. His gratitude to Germany. Barton of Abchurch. Coverdale. Velsius, a sectary. Nowel's Catechism.*

TO proceed now to some other matters relating to our Bishop, happening within the compass of this year.

Grindal's care for his own country appeared upon every turn. Best, the Bishop of Carlisle, had often complained to him for want of preachers in his diocese, and that he had no help at all of his cathedral church: that the Dean, Sir Thomas Smith, was busied in the Queen's Majesty's affairs, and so was necessarily absent; and all the Prebendaries were ignorant Priests, or old unlearned Monks, put in at the dissolution of monasteries, except one Sewel only, who was discredited by reason of his inconstancy, [having probably been a complier under the late religion.] One of the said unlearned Prebendaries was lately departed: fled abroad perhaps to Louvain, or some other place, as many of the Papists now did. The said Bishop of Carlisle therefore wrote to Grindal, to help as he might one Scot to this place, being that countryman born, well learned, and of good zeal and sincerity, as he [Grindal] knew partly by his own experience. Our Bishop was ready enough of himself to further such things, so behoveful both to religion and to his own country: and therefore he soon applied himself to the Secretary, as he told him he used to be bold with him in such cases; entreating him to help the said Scot to this preferment, thinking this man should do much good in his country; and so commended his case to him, which, as he said, was indeed God's cause. He added, that he knew the

Interposes  
for the  
church of  
Carlisle;

**BOOK I.** nature of his country, believed that horse-flesh had not been spared for prevention: but that if it might be stayed Anno 1563. for Scot, he believed he would do most good. Our Bishop stopped not here, but commended him also to the Lord Keeper, doubting whether the presentation pertained to his office, being a Prebend of the new erection, and in value just twenty pounds, as he was informed. And applying again to Cecil, he prayed him, that as he doubted not that the Lord Keeper would be good, if it passed from him, so he would put to his helping hand, if it passed from the Queen.

**And for the Bishop.** It was but the month after, *viz.* in January, he interceded with the Secretary in behalf of the same Bishop of Carlisle, who, since he had been Bishop, had met with very ill dealings in that country, replenished with Papists, and such like: which perhaps was the cause that Bernard Gilpin prudently declined this bishoprick. So that this Bishop was forced to come up, and make his complaint above. And there were two especially of whom he complained.

Grindal thought that if these were touched by the authority of the Lords, it would be a terror to the rest: for, as he said, “there were marvellous practices to deface that Bishop ‘in his lawless country, and by him, the cause:’” meaning, that by defacing him, they intended to deface the *cause* of the reformed religion itself. This business by the pious diligence of our Bishop came at length to this effect, that in March he obtained a commission for the church of Carlisle; wherein he was appointed the chief, if not only, commissioner: but he sent to Smith (*i. e.* Sir Thomas Smith, the Dean, I suppose) to solicit the Secretary, that he might have two or three more joined in commission with him. And this commission, I make no doubt, our Bishop managed with the most earnest application, to do service to his superstitious country, and to give a countenance and authority to the godly Bishop there, in the promoting of good religion.

**The Bishop assists the English merchants oppressed by King Philip.** Something happened about the latter end of the year, relating to the English merchants trading in the Low Countries, wherein the Bishop being solicited to give his assistance, shewed both his gratitude to them who had of late in

Queen Mary's reign been very helpful and charitable to CHAP.  
the poor exiles, and somewhat also of his policy in state af- IX.  
fairs. These merchants, provoked by many unjust and rigor- Anno 1563.  
ous dealings and exactions of the Spaniard upon them in  
Antwerp and other places of his dominions, thought upon  
removing themselves and their effects out of his territories  
elsewhere, where they might have more liberty of religion,  
and fairer usage in their trade. And they esteemed no  
place for this purpose so convenient for them as Embden in  
East Frizeland. The Countess of East Frizeland, with  
her son the Earl, was to be dealt withal in this affair; who  
was not at all unwilling, knowing well the benefit that  
would accrue to her country by this English trade. The  
merchants had dispatched a messenger thither to treat: and  
that the business might succeed the better with the Queen  
here at home, they made the Bishop their friend; who pre-  
sently espoused their cause, and was their mediator with the  
Secretary. Uttenhovius, the chief member of the Dutch  
church, London, (whom we have had occasion to mention  
before,) well known to the Countess, and of good esteem  
with her, being a person of quality by birth, was con-  
cerned in this business from the first. The Bishop and  
he were good acquaintance; therefore the merchants en-  
treated the Bishop to bring them together.

On the 10th of February, I find the governor of the Recom-  
merchants, Heton, one of the chief, (who had been a great mends them  
reliever of the English exiles,) and some others, dining with to Uttenho-  
the Bishop; and took that occasion to acquaint him with vius.  
the particulars of their affairs, praying him to send for Uttenhovius, that they might presently confer with him, and obtain his counsel and aid. But at this time he was not well, but the Bishop encouraged them to repair in his name to his house, and to talk with him there. And the same day the Bishop dispatched a letter to Uttenhovius, giving him to understand, that he had advised the said merchants to come to him, and prayed him to forward them as much as he could by his counsel, pains, and favour; suggesting withal how well that society had de-

**BOOK I.** served of the Church, and how much was owing to them privately from good men : he meant in respect of the exiles  
**Anno 1563.** that had been harboured by them, or had taken up money

87 of them in their necessities. Uttenhovius indeed was a proper person to be applied unto in this matter ; for the Earl of Frizeland, and the Countess his mother, approving this motion of the merchants, had employed him as their agent, to solicit the Queen about it the last year, who had accordingly acquainted the Bishop of London therewith ; and he the Secretary.

Terms of  
the English  
merchants  
settling at  
Embden.

In fine, the terms insisted on were, that the English should have the liberty of their ports ; that there should be a league of friendship between both parties, and that Count John, who was the chief contrahent, should have a pension of a thousand pounds, who in consideration thereof was obliged to find so many arms and ships for the use and service of the Queen. The Countess-mother now governed the country : she had three sons, Edzard the eldest, Christopher the second, who was lame, and lived by pensions and prebends of the church : John was the youngest, who by transaction was to succeed Edzard.

The Bi-  
shop's en-  
deavours to  
bring it to  
pass.

Bishop Grindal was very desirous this business might take effect ; and he was of opinion, that the opportunity of this place (*viz.* Embden) was better for England than any over-sea port that he knew of, and for intercourse of merchandise more : that upon abstinence from Antwerp questions might grow ; and if the merchants should go to any other places thereabouts, their goods could not be conveyed into High Germany, but through West Frizeland, or the borders of Holland by water, which were King Philip's countries ; and so would run a hazard ; which would be prevented, if the settlement were made at Embden. These things were transacted in December.

He declares  
his judg-  
ment fur-  
ther con-  
cerning the  
business of  
Frisia.

It was now March, and Sir William Cecil the Secretary writing to our Bishop to know his mind further concerning this matter of Frisia, he gave him this answer. “ I confess unto you, that I am of no experience in these cases ; notwithstanding, in my poor opinion, to go through with

“ it upon convenient conditions, will be both honourable CHAP.  
 “ and profitable to the Queen’s Majesty. It is honour- IX.  
 “ able for her Highness to be sued unto by such per- Anno 1563.  
 “ sonages, the said suit being so benignly heard, and so li- His letter  
 “ berally considered. Profitable it may be for divers re- to the Se-  
 “ cretary.  
 “ spects. I have read in Livy, that oftentimes *famâ bella*  
 “ *conficiuntur*: so that fame, and probability of aid at  
 “ hand, breeds sometimes as much terror to the enemy as  
 “ the aid itself. But besides, that this contract may admim-  
 “ ister great opportunities and commodities indeed: foras-  
 “ much as Frisia having good ports, is the nearest unto us  
 “ of all the imperial countries on that side, and so openeth  
 “ a very ready way to receive aids, not only out of Frisia  
 “ itself, but also out of Westphalia and Hassia, *in recta*  
 “ *linea*, and so from any the Queen’s Majesty’s allies in  
 “ High Germany; and out of Saxony and Cleveland, being  
 “ collateral parts to Westphalia. The pension of a 1000*l.*  
 “ is very honourable, and will be thankfully received, as I  
 “ perceive by Uttenhovius: and yet the charge thereof is  
 “ not much to be weighed. The Queen’s Majesty most 88  
 “ prudently cutteth off many superfluous charges, which her  
 “ predecessors have used to burden themselves withal. Mo-  
 “ ney in these cases may be better spent than spared.”

There was one thing more our Bishop thought worthy to be had in remembrance, and accordingly reminded the Secretary of; namely, that considering Count John, the party contrahent, was but the third brother, however the second in succession, it was adviseable that both the Countess and Edzard should enter into some assurance for performing the pacts on the part of the said Count John. And it was thought they would do this most willingly.

Utenhovius was often with Grindal, who had stayed him till this time, until he might hear from Cecil; which the Bishop prayed might be with expedition. And though the Queen were now almost at the point of adjusting the affair in the Netherlands, on the behalf of the merchants, yet the Bishop advised that this matter of Frizeland, as to Count John’s pension, might go on: and he trusted the conclu-

**BOOK** sion of the other great matter would not hinder this,  
 ————— which might be profitable *in omnem eventum*. That the  
 Anno 1563. pension was no great matter in the Queen's coffers, and that  
 the strait surveying of one or two evil officers' accounts  
 might peradventure yearly discharge that matter.

There happened a mistake in the management of this affair, which gave it some stop: for the Secretary, by an error, dealt with the Queen expressly for the pension to be allowed to the eldest brother Edzard, instead of the youngest, which put him to a perplexity; thinking that the Queen, when she understood her pension was to be bestowed upon him, would make a demur at it. But Bishop Grindal endeavoured to remove this, by shewing the Secretary, that there would be no manner of prejudice come to the Queen by her settling the said pension upon Count John, though the youngest: for, as he proceeded in his discourse with the Secretary, the case was not in his opinion altered the value of a farthing, in regard of the Queen's and realm's service; and that this gentleman, though he were the younger, yet was he of better credit both in Frisia and High Almain, than his elder brother. Besides, that the said John was more wise, more personable, more martial, more dear unto his mother, who had still the chief government there. That to this might be added, that the confirmation and assurance both of the mother and elder brother would be offered for performance of the articles which should be agreed upon; and that there were evident reasons to induce them thereunto. As first, the natural affection of the mother and brother towards the preferment of the said Count; secondly, that his elder brother might be eased in charge, if his brother should be thus provided for. So that in fine his opinion was, that proceeding this way, the Queen should have the same, or rather more assurance, by contracting with the younger brother than the elder; and her service executed by a man of more skilfulness and sagacity, and in all points be answered both for ships, soldiers, and the commodities of the havens, &c. He added, that he knew Count John himself

The advan-  
tage there-  
of to the  
Queen,  
shewed by  
the Bishop.

at Strasburgh, and that he was then a goodly young gentleman ; and, as was known in Germany, the younger brother used always to serve, and not the elder.

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Grindal still hung upon this matter, being earnestly desirous it might take place ; and fearing the disappointment thereof, thus he reasoned with the Secretary.

And urges  
it to the  
Secretary.

“ I suppose still this offer would not be neglected ; and “ the rather, considering these times, and the practices of “ the Cardinal of Arras : and I think the Queen’s Majesty, “ upon the assurance aforesaid, would not mislike the matter, being one in substance with the first motion. And seeing it is gone so far, (I pray you pardon me, if I talk unskilfully in things that are besides my book,) I suppose it were better to try the sequel for a couple of years, seeing the Queen’s Majesty by the articles is at liberty upon six months’ warning, than thus to break off *ex abrupto* ; which might diminish a great deal of good affection towards us in that country. And if our merchants speed well in traffic there, they were better be contributary to the pension, than that so good an amity should not take place.”

I cannot give a complete relation what followed upon all this intercession of our Bishop, but it is certain the English merchants removed to Embden, by means of Granvel, the Cardinal of Arras mentioned above, who hated the English for their religion, had practised to blow the coals between the Low Countries and them, to spoil their ancient commerce, by fomenting jealousies and complaints one against another. And the Duchess of Parma, governess of the said Low Countries, being of the same disaffection towards the English nation, at length forbade all English cloths to be imported : whereat the English, partly resenting this dealing, and partly out of fear of the inquisition now brought in, departed with their effects to Embden. But an ambassador sent from Spain to the Queen, of a more grave and wise

**BOOK I.** head, moderated these differences soon after, and set the trade on foot again between both people.

**Anno 1563.** In truth, the remembrance of the former kindnesses received by him and the rest of the exiles in Germany, under His respect to the Duke of Wirtenburgh's agent.

Queen Mary, stuck close upon his grateful mind ; and he thought he could not sufficiently express it upon all occasions ; which he shewed again towards another German prince, *viz.* the Duke of Wirtenburgh, who about this time had sent his gentleman into England to the Queen. This Duke had been very kind unto the English exiles, having at one time bestowed among them at Strasburgh four or five hundred dollars, besides more given to them at Frankfort. This gentleman being to wait upon the Queen, the Bishop put the Secretary in mind to move the Queen (if he thought it convenient) to make some signification to him, that she had heard thereof ; that it might appear the said Duke's liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion, or else at least that some remembrance of it might pass from the Secretary's mouth ; which he said might do good. As for the gentleman himself, the Bishop shewed him all respect at his

**90** own house ; having been student of the Civil Law in Strasburgh, when he was there, and now recommended also to him by some friends of his in Germany : and being a learned and ingenious man, he liked his company very well, and entertained him as became him, and entered into friendly communication with him ; and particularly they talked of Brentius's *ubiquity*, which he held and approved, but so did not the Bishop : but this without heat ; and they were contented to hear one another's arguments, and each to suffer other to abound in his own sense. And when he departed, the Bishop gave him favourable letters to Sir William Cecil.

**Severe to-wards a scandalous minister.**

**Barton of Abchurch.**

Towards the latter end of the year I find our Bishop much concerned about two clergymen in London, the one a very bad man, and the other a very good one ; earnest for the preferring of the one, and as desirous of deposing the other. This latter was one Barton, Parson of Abchurch,

who had been guilty of some gross misdemeanor, and of so foul a nature, that the Bishop was resolved to punish him, either by deprivation, or a long suspension: but intercession was made by a friend of this Barton's to Sir William Cecil in his behalf, and he got a supplication presented into his hand by that friend, signifying to the said Cecil, that the Bishop did not sufficiently understand his case. But the Bishop let Cecil know, that he understood it but too well, and that though the act was not finished, yet the circumstances, he said, were so vile, that severity must be used, or else God would be offended, and the mouths of the adversaries opened. This was in July; and in December following, Cecil seems to have mentioned Barton's case to the Bishop with favour: but his fault was such, that he could obtain no favour at his hands; telling the Secretary, that Barton was *dederus nostri ordinis*, i. e. the disgrace of the order, and slanderous to all good men, that knew his vile doings. And to Lock, his friend that stirred for him, he said, that he being of the Secretary esteemed an honest man, should not have been so importunate for a man not honest.

His crime in truth was foul, as I find elsewhere: for this man having solicited a certain woman to have his pleasure of her, and tempting her with money, she pretended at length to comply with his suit, and a place in Distaff-lane was appointed, where they both met. But she had made her friends privy to it, who according to appointment stood in a secret place at hand: and when the unclean leacher had made himself unready, put off his gown and jacket, his hose being about his legs, they brake in on a sudden upon him in this shameful posture; took him and carried him away to Bridewell, with an hundred people at his heels. And, which aggravated the rest, he was a preacher, and had a wife: but because the act was not done, he found, it seems, some friends, who had interest enough with the Secretary himself, to prevail with him to intercede for some favour to be shewed to this scandalous man. But the circumstances being so heinous, and the crime so open, and re-

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Anno 1563.

**BOOK I.** flecting upon the whole body of the Clergy, the Bishop would not be persuaded to remit any thing of the severest **Anno 1563.** censure.

**91** Old Miles Coverdale, D. D. formerly Bishop of Exon, and an exile, famous for translating the Bible into English in the reign of King Henry VIII. and other good services to religion, had been hitherto without any place or pre-ferment, living privately in and about London, and often preaching in the churches there. For this very reverend man, that had so well deserved of religion, our Bishop had a great concern: and it troubled him much to see such an

one as it were cast by, without that notice taken of him that was due: and once cried out about it, “I cannot ex-“cuse us Bishops:” but somewhat, he said, he had to speak for himself, that he had offered him divers things, which nevertheless he thought not meet for him to accept of. This man, notwithstanding his great years, had gotten the plague this year, and recovered; as though God had some more work for him to do in the Church before his death. Grindal acquaints the Secretary herewith; telling him, that surely it was not well, that Father Coverdale, as he styled him, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*, i. e. “who “was in Christ before us all,” should be now in his age without stay of living. And therefore Landaff being void, he recommended him to the Secretary for that see, if any competency of living might be made of it, after it had been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent; putting him in mind here, that it would be well, if any means might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored. But I suppose Coverdale cared not now to enter upon the charge of a bishopric, considering his own age, and his want of strength and activity required to execute such an office. But in fine, in the month of Fe-

**Collated to St. Magnus.** bruary, our Bishop collated Coverdale to the parish of St. Magnus, at the Bridge-foot; and withal sued to the Secretary to obtain the favour of the Queen to release him his first-fruits, which came to sixty pounds and upwards. And the venerable man pleaded himself for this favour to be

shewn him, for these reasons; *viz.* that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away from him, (which was upon the death of King Edward,) and that he never had pension, annuity, or stipend of it, for ten years now past: and that he was unable either to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the same living; not able to live over a year, and going upon his grave. And lastly, adding these words, “That if poor Old Miles might be thus provided “for, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast.”

And he enjoyed his request.

There was now in January, and after, one Justus Velsius, a  
sius, of the Hague in Holland, appearing in London, and  
making some disturbance about religion. He was a learned  
man, but hot-headed, and enthusiastical, and held peculiar  
opinions, and had some followers and admirers: and being  
very forward to discover himself, he drew up a certain sum-  
mary of his religion under this title, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. that is, “The Rule of a Christian Man, ac-  
cording to which every one ought continually to try him-  
self.” It was composed by way of question and answer.  
The first question was, “What is a Christian?” To which  
the answer he framed was, “One who by participation and  
“grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Christ  
“was, and is, of himself, and by nature.” The next de-  
mand being, “What Christ was and is of himself, and by  
“nature,” it is answered, “God in man, and afterwards  
“Man-God.” He writ also in this *Norma*, that “while  
“the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, he brought  
“down God from heaven to us, joined and united him  
“to our possible nature. And that by his glorious re-  
“surrection the flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in  
“God, and lifted up man to God.” He spake of a double  
regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the  
external. And that the one made Christians *God in man*  
in this world; and the other made them *Men-Gods* in the  
world to come: and divers other such kind of odd and  
blasphemous expressions did his writing contain. And in  
the conclusion he affirmed, “That he knew no other rule

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secretary,  
arises.

His sum-  
mary of  
religion.

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**BOOK I.** “for a Christian man but this; and that he, and all that would not deceive themselves, were to examine and try themselves by. And that because out of true affection and charity he endeavoured to bring men to this rule, he was served as the Psalmist speaks of himself, *They requited him evil for good, and hatred for his love.* But his beloved in Christ [some particular persons of his own sect and party] he diligently warned and exhorted, that they never put away this *rule* from the eyes of their minds, but to try and direct their whole life by it: for so alone they could be saved.” And to this he subscribed his name. You shall find this paper of Velsius in the Appendix.

**Num. VIII.**

The Bishop confutes his book. The Bishop of London was concerned with this man, both as he was of the Dutch congregation, and had made disturbance there, over which our Bishop was superintendent;

as also because his opinions came as far as the ears of the Court: for he presumed in the month of March to write bold letters to the Secretary, nay to the Queen herself, superscribing to the Queen, *Ad proprias manus*, sending withal this his book to them; which he did also two months before to the Bishop. And he avowed it to be by him conceived and writ from the enlightening of the Spirit of Christ. The Bishop therefore thought very fit, and that upon the Secretary’s advice also, to write shortly some animadversions upon it. Therein he observed, first, that he set forth no confession of faith, as he ought, but prescribed a rule, according to which he would have all consciences to be tried: nor was there any mention of *faith*: and that he craftily passed over *justification* by *faith*; and also, what he thought of the powers in man and *free will*; and what concerning *works*. That in those things it was most certain, he had in foreign parts desperately erred, and disquieted men’s consciences, and taught matters contrary to orthodox doctrine; and that there were witnesses then in England of it. He shewed moreover, that his definition of a Christian contained the greatest absurdity, and most wide from our faith, *viz.* that a Christian is he, who by grace is

made that which Christ is of himself, and of his own nature; subjoining, that Christ of himself, and of his own nature, is God in man, and Man-God. What follows hence, Anno 1563. CHAP. IX.  
that a Christian is *God* in man, and Man-God? But the Scripture, said our Bishop, speaks not so: for those things 93 that properly and only agree to Christ our head, cannot be attributed to the members, without sacrilege and blasphemy. Therefore no Christian ought to be called *God in man*, or *Man-God*: for Christ alone is Immanuel, alone Redeemer, alone Mediator. Nor doth he communicate this dignity, these offices to his members. *I will not give my glory to another*, saith God. To the members indeed are distributed the efficacy and fruits which they partake of by faith. Thus they are the children of God, the temple of God, and the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them: but by no means to be called *Gods in men*, nor *Men-Gods*. That where he styles Christ the *initiator* of a Christian, he derogates much from his majesty and power: for by this he only attributes to Christ, that he introduceth us, and as it were teacheth us the elements; and that we, after this entrance, may make to perfection by our own strength. Again, that whereas he makes regeneration twofold, one of the internal, and the other of the external man; he had it not from Scripture; which commands the whole man to be renewed. In that he saith, that the regeneration of the inward man constitutes *Gods in men*, it is quite different from the manner of speaking used in Scripture: for it is no where said, that we are made *Gods* by regeneration, either in this world or in the next. But that hence it appeared, why he had said before, we are that which Christ is, and the Christians are rendered *Gods in men*; because he had a mind to affirm *perfection*, which he feigned to be in a Christian, and that all Christians were *Gods*, that is, free of all spot and fault: which arrogance, how detestable it is, there is no pious man but sees. That it was not less strange and impious, that he saith a Christian shall be *God* in the world to come: for Christ saith not, ye shall be *Gods*, but ye shall be happy, ye shall be blessed, ye shall live, ye shall

Velsius asserted perfection.

**BOOK** have eternal life. That in saying, he acknowledged no  
<sup>1.</sup> other rule of Christian religion, therein above all he be-  
 Anno 1563. trayed himself: for he could not more openly reject the  
 doctrine of faith, and remission of sins; and so set up a new  
 Gospel. These sober and learned animadversions of the  
 Bishop, (together with Velsius's book,) I found in the Paper  
 Office. The Bishop's paper is set down at length in the  
**Num. IX.**

Velsius  
comes be-  
fore the  
commis-  
sion.

But to give a little further account of this foreigner. He fancied himself endued with the spirit of prophecy, and that Christ dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon him to denounce judgment upon persons and places; and particularly upon the Queen and the kingdom, (and that in his letter to her,) unless she and her people received his doctrine. He solemnly, by a writing, excommunicated Peter Delocene, Minister of the Dutch congregation, and delivered him up to Satan, because he would not allow of a challenge to a public disputation which he made to one Nicolas, a preacher there. This man was cited before the ecclesiastical commission; where the Bishop of London and Winchester, and the Dean of St. Paul's, conferred roundly with him, exposing the errors of his book before mentioned; which he stubbornly endeavouring to vindicate, they at last charged  
**94** him in the Queen's name to depart the kingdom. This he complained of with very rude words to the Queen; telling her that their order he could not obey, pretending some miracle from God to confirm his doctrine. And further I cannot go in this story.

Nowell's  
Catechism  
finished.

Now was finished that notable Catechism compiled by Alexander Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, in elegant and pure Latin. Which having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected by the Bishops and Clergy in the Convocation last year, and subscribed by the Lower House, was designed to be set forth, as by them allowed, and recommended as their own; serving as a brief tract, containing the sum of the religion lately reformed in the English Church. And this not only for the standing use of this Church, but to put to silence its enemies abroad, who hi-

thereto had objected to the Protestants here, that nothing touching religion was with any authority or consent of any number of the learned here set forth : but that a few private persons taught and writ their opinions without any authority at all. But being dedicated by Nowell to the Secretary in manuscript, and the keeping it the longer in his hands, the better to consider it, and to consult with other learned men about it, that it might be very exact before it came forth, it remained partly in his, and partly in the author's hands a great while after, till the year 1570, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Grindal, then Archbishop of York, called upon the Dean to publish it. And so it was : but the dedication altered. Which then ran, *To the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm.*

## CHAP. X.

*The Bishop takes the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Zanchy presents a book to the Bishop. Declares his case to him. His proceedings with such as neglected the habits. Preaches at the Emperor's funerals at St. Paul's. Lays the Strand to the Savoy. Bonner writes to the Queen.*

IT was not before the year 1564, that our Bishop was created Doctor in Divinity, who had contented himself hitherto with the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. He now supplicated the University of Cambridge (whereof formerly he had been a member) for the said degree: setting forth that he had studied twelve years after his said degree of Bachelor taken in the said faculty, and had preached two sermons, one *ad Clerum*, and the other at St. Paul's Cross, within a year after his admission ; and praying that it might suffice for him to begin in sacred theology ; and that he might be admitted by the Vice-Chancellor, or some other Doctor in that faculty substituted by him. Accordingly, Edward Hawford, S. T. P. and Vice-Chancellor, 95

CHAP.  
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Supplicates  
the Univer-  
sity for the  
degree of  
Doctor.

**BOOK I.** gave power and authority to Miles Coverdale, Professor of Divinity in the said University, to admit him the said reverend father, having first taken the oath of supremacy to her Majesty, and the oath for the preservation of the privileges of the University. The instrument of this was dated at Cambridge, Apr. 10, 1564. The copy whereof Matthew Stokes, the University Registrar and Public Notary, transcribed and attested, as is entered into the Bishop's Registry.

Registrar.  
Acad. Cantab.  
Rev.  
Tho. Baker.  
Dr Joh.  
Soc.

And in the University Registry it is thus entered; *Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus London. Episcopus admissus, S. T. D. in palatio suo London. per Doctorem Coverdale, April. 15, an. 1564. a Domino Procancellario substitutum item, concionatus est ad Clerum 4. Julii, die comitiorum, per Magistrum Johan. Young Capellatum suum.*

A new church consecrated.

At Woodham Waters in Essex, Thomas Radcliff, the right noble Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, (whose seat was at Newhall,) having built a new church there, whereof he was patron, and desiring to have it consecrated, the Bishop gave commission to the Archdeacon of Essex to perform the consecration; which was accordingly done, and certified by the said Archdeacon, Apr. ult.

Recommends a servant of his to the Dutch congregation.

Having an honest servant, a German by birth, who could not well understand English, the Bishop by a letter to Uttenhovius recommended him to be received into their congregation, upon his said servant's desire: writing thus unto him :

“ *Sal. D. Martin, my servant, desireth to be received into your Church, as not well enough understanding our language, being a man of Coleyn. What he understandeth of the principles of our religion, you may easily know by examination. As to his life and manners, indeed he hath now lived with me almost a whole year honestly and soberly: so that neither I nor mine have ever seen any crime in him. I pray therefore that he may be received into your congregation. Farewel. From my house at Paul's. Mar. 25. 1564.* ”

“ *Edm. London tuus.* ”

Zanchy, (of whom we heard somewhat before) lately CHAP.  
 Public Reader of Divinity at Strasburgh, now minister of X.  
 the Church of Clavenna, (lying in the entrance out of Ger- Anno 1564.  
 many into Italy,) did now in August send a treatise of Zanchy  
 his unto our Bishop, by the hands of Henry Knolles, Bishop his  
 former acquaintance, whom he called his compere, now sends the  
 agent, as it seems, in those parts from the Queen. The book ; with  
 the cause of his leaving  
 book was called, *Zanchii Judicium de Dissidio Ecclesiarum* Strasburgh.  
*in Cœna Domini.* A piece which the truly learned John  
 Sturmius, and others, urged him to publish. This he pre-  
 sented the Bishop with, as a testimony of his observance  
 towards him; promising him hereafter a writing, as he  
 hoped, of more value; and likewise another tract, shewing  
 the reasons of his departure from Strasburgh. In short, he  
 could not subscribe to the Augustan Confession any other-  
 wise than he had done before, that is, with some protesta-  
 tion and reservation. And that was the reason also that 96  
 the French Church there brake up; for which our good Bi-  
 shop had so heartily interceded, as was shewn before.  
 For the Senators of the town were now come to that resolu-  
 tion, that they would not allow any to profess divinity pri-  
 vately, nor to preach there, unless he subscribed that Con-  
 fession, and would agree with their preachers without any  
 dispute, in all things and by all things, as to the under-  
 standing of that Confession, and as to the interpretation  
 of the Scriptures.

There was some one busy man, who was the author  
 of all this stir, and whom the Bishop well knew, as Zanchy  
 told him. And so in a deep concern, he prayed God to  
 have mercy on that town. And that for his part he did  
 every thing he could to keep his station, only for this cause,  
 that he might retain at the schools the ancient doctrine  
 of that Church which he knew to be Christian. But, as he  
 concluded, “ what should one do, when the Lord will  
 “ punish any people for their iniquity ? ”

Zanchy at the same time recommended a certain business  
 of a relation of his, viz. Laurence Limacius, to the Bishop’s  
 care.

**BOOK I.** It was not long after the Bishop kindly answered Zanchy,

Anno 1564. The Bishop's answer. — thanking him for his book, and sending him a present ; commanding him for his constancy which God had endued him with, in defending a good cause.

Zanchy writes again to the Bishop, concerning the stirrs for Lutheranism. — The same learned Professor and Confessor wrote yet again unto our Bishop, explaining to him more at large the cause of his departure from Strasburgh, and relinquishing his Professorship ; and that it was the tumult of some Lutheran Ministers, by whose authority and talk the ignorant and unlearned people were possessed with much displeasure against him. For these Ministers raised calumnies, both publicly and privately upon him as they pleased, and easily persuaded the vulgar sort thereof ; especially he being a foreigner, and ignorant of their language, and having little or no sway among them. " Yet this in the mean time," he said, " comforted him, that truth is wont ever to overcome : " that the Senate was just, and would do nothing rashly : " and that Sturmius, the chief head of that school, and the " visitors, and the rest of the Professors and colleagues of the " Chapter, defended his cause, as far as they could, knowing " it to be good, and joined themselves with Zanchy himself " in the maintaining thereof : that the Bishop nor none " of his friends would imagine, how much Satan for two " years past had vexed and weakened the church and school " there ; all the ancient men being dead, excepting two " that remained, whom the younger sort could not endure." Thus the learned man unfolded his case to Grindal, who having formerly lived there himself, knew well the constitution and condition of that church and school.

The Bishop required to press uniformity ; — Hitherto a due agreement and uniformity among the Clergy, in wearing the same habits, and using the same rites in divine service, was neglected, and especially in London ; not a few rejecting the orders of the Book. And the plague of late spreading itself in London, and other places, the Bishops could not take that cognizance, and exercise the discipline requisite for this purpose. But this year, towards the latter end of it, by a peremptory command from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habits

and ceremonies was required of the Clergy : whereas many CHAP.  
 hitherto, she said, had taken a liberty of varying from her X.  
 injunctions in this regard. The Archbishop therefore, having Anno 1564.  
 received this commandment, forthwith dispatched his letter By the Queen's let-  
 to our Bishop, to signify the Queen's mind and resolution to ter.  
 the rest of the Bishops of the province ; and that they should  
 see the laws and ordinances, already established, set forth  
 and complied with every where ; and to send up those of  
 their Clergy that were incompliant. The greatest difficulty The city  
 was to correct these neglects in London, where were not a Clergy.  
 few that wore neither surplice, tippet, nor square cap, and  
 did not use the other ceremonies prescribed in the Book of  
 Common Prayer. And this work lay upon our Bishop,  
 whom it cost a great deal of labour and pains to redress  
 these matters among the city Ministers ; after whose ex-  
 amples the Clergy in the other parts of the nation would be  
 apt to govern themselves. So that through this and some Sits often in  
 of the next year, Bishop Grindal frequently sat in ecclesi- commission  
 astical commission with the Archbishop and other Commis- for this  
 sioners, for the regulating the city Clergy, and trying by all purpose.  
 fair means to convince and bring them to conformity. Many  
 the Bishop reduced to compliance ; but some were deprived.  
 A work in truth this was, the Bishop went tenderly about,  
 knowing the scarcity of Ministers at that time ; and therefore  
 used all gentleness and meekness with them : but afterwards  
 observing the ignorance and obstinacy of some, and the  
 dangerous principles of others, striking at the very ecclesi-  
 astical order itself, he proceeded with more resolution.

In the beginning of this work the Archbishop of Canterbury thought convenient to excite and quicken our Bishop now and then, to set diligently upon reforming his London Clergy especially ; otherwise slow in his proceedings against them : and by the Secretary's means the said Archbishop procured a special letter from the Queen to him, to look particularly after uniformity in those under his charge in London. Which accordingly, seeing the necessity thereof, he did.

In the month of January (the plague slacking) Arch-

In a visita-  
 tion, uni-  
 formity  
 urged.

The Queen  
 writes to  
 him to see  
 to uniform-  
 ity.

**BOOK I.** deacon Mullins, by the Bishop's commission, visited at St. Sepulchre's church. Whither the Ministers being cited and appearing, he signified to them the Queen's pleasure, which was, that all in orders should wear the square cap, surplice, and gown. And that there came lately a special order from the Privy Council, charging the Archbishops and Bishops for that intent, to quiet those stirrings and contentions that

In Biblioth.  
D. Johan.  
Episc. Eli-  
en.  
then were among the parochial Ministers. They were therefore prayed in a gentle manner to take on them the cap, with the tippet to wear about their necks, and the gown; (which Earl, one of these Ministers, incumbent of St. Mildred's, Bread-street, in a journal of his yet extant, describes to be a Turky gown with a falling cape;) and to wear in the ministry of the church the surplice only. And lastly, they were also required to subscribe their hands, that they

The success. would observe it. Accordingly an hundred and one, all

98 Ministers of London, subscribed; and eight only refused, if the account be true, which I transcribe out of the foresaid journal. But of the subscribers he makes many to be such as had said mass in Queen Mary's days; and such as would not change their custom of old *Pater Noster*, and shaved their faces, and wore long hair; which was accounted ruffian like in those days, and not suitable to the gravity of a Minister.

The Clergy  
appear at  
Lambeth. On the 24th of March following, this reformation in Ministers' habits began, when the use of the scholar's gown and cap was enjoined from that day forward: the surplice to be worn at all divine administrations; and the observation of the Book of Common Prayer, as was appointed by the statute, and the rubric of the said Book: and subscription required to all this; or else a sequestration immediately to follow; and after three months standing out, deprivation *ipso facto*; which was afterward executed upon some. This was done at Lambeth, the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and others of the ecclesiastical commission, sitting there; when the Bishop's Chancellor spake thus: "My Masters and the Ministers of London, the

The Bi-  
shop's  
Chancel-  
lor's words  
to the Cler-  
gy. "Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of

“apparel like to this man,” pointing to Mr. Robert Cole, CHAP.  
X.  
(a Minister likewise of the city who had refused the habits Anno 1564.  
a while, and now complied, and stood before them canonically habited,) “as you see him; that is, a square cap, a “scholar’s gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a “linen surplice: and inviolably observe the rubric of the “Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen’s Majesty’s in-“junctions; and the Book of Convocation, [that must be “the Thirty-Nine Articles.] Ye that will presently sub-“scribe, write *Volo*. Those that will not subscribe, write “*Nolo*. Be brief; make no words.” And when some would have spoken, the answer was, “*Peace, peace*. Apparitor, call “the churches;” [that is, the names of each parish church; and each Minister to answer when his church was named.] “Masters, answer presently, *sub pœna contemptus*; and set “your names.” Then the Sumner called first the Peculiars of Canterbury; then some of Winchester diocese, [*viz.* such whose livings were in Southwark;] and lastly, the London Ministers.

By these resolute doings many of the incumbents were Some se-  
questered,  
and some de-  
prived. mightily surprised. And the above mentioned journalist, who was one of them, thus wrote of it: “Men’s hearts were prived. “tempted and tried. Great was the sorrow of most min-“isters, and their mourning, saying, We are killed in the “soul of our souls for this pollution of ours; for that we “cannot perform in the singleness of our hearts this our min-“istry.” Many upon this were sequestered, and afterwards some deposed and deprived. Among the rest, of the chiefest account, were Dr. Turner, Dean of Wells, (who had revived the strife by a book written and copied, and dispersed abroad,) Mr. Whithead, Mr. Brakelsby, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Wyburn. Mr. Whittenham<sup>a</sup> and Mr. Becon refused Whitting-  
ham, ut vi-  
detur. at first, but afterwards subscribed, and were preferred; as were others that did the like; namely, Robert Cole before mentioned; on whom was bestowed (besides Bow) Alhal-lowes, by the Archbishop: Will. Clark had Hony-lane 99 and Newington: Becon had Walbroke and another benefice in London: and Whittingham had the deanery of Durham.

**BOOK** <sup>1.</sup> On this memorable 24th of March, the number that appeared at Lambeth as aforesaid was 140. Whereof only **Anno 1564.** thirty did not subscribe. Of which number was my journalist; who, with many others, afterwards yielded, and subscribed. Many of those that were suspended and deprived were such as had wives and children; who, upon these censures, laboured under great poverty. Some of the deprived betook themselves to secular occupations, as did one Sheriff; some to husbandry, as Allen and Wyburn. Some went over sea: and these were Papists chiefly; for among these non-subscribers were some Papists. Some had favour shewn them from the requests of noble and honourable persons. And some afterwards were put into prisons, for their disobediences. We shall hear more of this pressing of conformity in the ensuing years.

The Emperor's funerals celebrated at Paul's.

The funerals of the Emperor Ferdinand, lately deceased, were appointed by the Queen to be celebrated in St. Paul's church, as was customarily done in those days, out of honour to the neighbouring crowned heads. Which was done accordingly October 3. There was erected for the solemnity in the choir, an hearse richly garnished; and all the choir hung in blacks, with the escutcheons of his arms of sundry sorts. The principal mourners and assistants were, first, the Marquis of Winchester, who represented the Queen's person. Of ecclesiastical persons, mourners were, first the Archbishop of Canterbury; then the Bishop of London, who preached the funeral sermon, and the Bishop of Rochester, chief Almoner to the Queen; attended with the Dean of St. Paul's, and the whole college there. The mourners of the Laity were Lords, Counsellors, and Knights of the best account: that is to say, two Earls: Thomas Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Captain of the pensioners; and Henry Earl of Huntington. Five Lords: Henry Lord Strange, eldest son to the Earl of Derby; Henry Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of Pembroke; Henry Lord Darly, eldest son to the Earl of Lenox; John Lord Lumley, son-in-law to the Earl of Arundel; and Henry Lord Hunsdon. And five Knights:

Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household; Sir Francis Knolles, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary; Sir Richard Sackville, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir Nic. Throgmorton, Chamberlain of the Exchequer: to whom was joined Sir Geo. Howard, Master of the Armoury.

CHAP.  
X.

Anno 1564.

In the sermon made by our Bishop, he set forth with much eloquence the Emperor's quality and his virtues. "That he descended in a direct line from sundry Emperors: Fredrick the Emperor of that name, his great grandfather; Maximilian his grandfather; Philip King of Spain, father to the last Emperor Charles, and to him. His mother, the daughter and heiress of the King of Spain. His father's mother was the only daughter and heiress to *Carolus Audax*, i. e. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Lord of all the Low Countries; a Duke by style, but when he lived terrible to the mightiest Kings of his time; he himself descending lineally from the Kings of France. As to the Emperor Ferdinand himself, the Preacher said, that to the dignity and honour of his state he ascended by steps and degrees. First, he was created Archduke: soon after crowned King of Boheme: then elected King of the Romans: after that, King of Hungary: and last of all, Emperor of Rome. As to his virtues, that he was a lover of all justice, a lover of truth, and a hater of the contraries; full of clemency, humbleness of mind; no proud man, no hasty man; humble, mild, and full of affability. He was not unlearned; but in Latin and all other vulgar tongues so skilful, that he was well able to treat in the same with the most part of the nations in Christendom. But that particularly he was noted for three virtues. 1. His fortitude, travels, and continuance in wars against the Infidels and the sworn enemies of the Christian name, the Turks. 2. His peaceable government. Ever since he was created Emperor, his wars with the Turks once compounded, he after studied to maintain public peace. He attempted not (as other men did) to enlarge his dominions with the effusion of Christian blood.

The Bishop  
preaches the  
funeral ser-  
mon.

**BOOK** " He stirred not up any civil wars under colour and pretence  
 1. " of religion, or for any other titles; but rather peaceably

**Anno 1564.** " governed, nourishing concord and amity among all the  
 " states of the empire: so that Germany more flourished  
 " then with men and wealth, than it had done any one time  
 " an hundred years before. 3. His chastity. A chaste  
 " prince; a prince that did truly, and, as they say, precisely  
 " keep his wedlock. A notable virtue in any man, but  
 " more notable in a prince, and most notable in so great a  
 " prince, especially in that loose and licentious age. And  
 " behold ! I beseech you," (as the Right Reverend Preacher  
 proceeded,) " how wonderfully God blessed him for his  
 " chaste observation of matrimony. For where other princes  
 " living heretofore in incontinency, have been plagued of  
 " God with sterility and want of royal issue of their bodies,  
 " and so the direct line of succession hath been cut off after  
 " them; God had not only given unto this prince plenty of  
 " honourable children, both sons and daughters, but also,  
 " according to the verse of the psalm, caused him to see

**He had fifteen children; four sons, and eleven daughters.**  
 " *filios filiorum*, his children's children, to a very great  
 " number." Thus did the Bishop set forth the Emperor.  
 He added, " That he was not so addicted to the Roman  
 " religion, as appeared by some particulars. He was con-  
 " tented to be crowned Emperor without a mass, which no  
 " Emperor before him was for a great many years. Further-  
 " more, before his coronation he promised the princes elec-  
 " tors, that he would never be crowned of the Pope. And  
 " he never was; remaining so long in the empire without  
 " the Pope's approbation; which before-time was used.  
 " Besides, there was an oration pronounced by the Em-  
 " peror's ambassador in the Council of Trent; wherein  
 " request was made by the Emperor, that liberty might be  
 " granted to have the Communion ministered in both kinds.  
 " And but in August last past, the Bishop added, that

**101** " he saw written by a man of good credit, that Ferdinandus  
 " the Emperor not long before his death gave licence to  
 " all his own countries to have the use of the Sacrament  
 " in both kinds." I have exhibited so large a portion of

this sermon, having been delivered upon so solemn an occasion ; and being, I think, the only discourse of our Bishop (except one) that saw the light : and however it was printed by the old printer John Day, yet by this time, after near an hundred and forty years, this and such like pieces must needs be very rare, and not to be met with, unless perhaps in some such singular library as that of my Lord Bishop of Ely, whence I acknowledge I had a view of this.

CHAP.  
X.

Anno 1564.

The inhabitants of the Strand, London, formerly belonged to a parish church, called St. Mary at the Strand Cross, church for which was pulled down in the beginning of the reign of the King Edward VI. by the Duke of Somerset. It stood, it seems, in his way, when he was about to build Somerset place ; and the stones served for his buildings. The inhabitants being destitute of a church, had resorted, some of them to St. Clement's, in the precinct whereof the Strand lay ; and divers others, perhaps that dwelt nearer to the Savoy hospital, repaired thither to church, though that was as yet no parish church. But that part of the Strand that lay more distant from St. Clement's, was looked upon to fall into the jurisdiction of St. Martin's in the Fields. There happened now-a-days great contests and disorders between these parishes and this extra-parochial people, upon account of parish duties, or the like. The Bishop of London had tolerated them to go to the church of the Savoy ; for which also they had the leave of the master there. The matter had been in hand some good while, for the better creating of peace and quiet, to join them to some parish. But the business had its difficulties and impediments. The Bishop now at last, to effect this good and useful work, resolved to put some conclusion to it ; and so, in November, writ to the master of the Savoy his resolution ; certifying him, of the Savoy for " that whereas the taking order with the parishioners of the Strand, to unite them to some parish or parishes, had hung long in suspense ; now for the reforming of such points as were out of order in that behalf ; as also for the ministering of justice to them that complained of the in-

**BOOK** “juries they suffered through the same disorder ; he would,  
 1. “God willing, according to his office, join them to some  
 Anno 1564. “place or places. In the which order-taking, they, he said,  
 “that were not lotted unto St. Clement’s, the next parish,  
 “and within the precinct wherof the said Strand was  
 “situate, must be united unto St. Martin’s in the Fields,  
 “except they did otherwise desire, and procure, that they  
 “by lawful order be appointed to the Savoy. Which then,”  
 as he added, “must be done by way of composition from  
 “him as the Ordinary, and from the Right Honourable  
 “Sir William Cecil, patron of St. Clement’s, of which pa-  
 “rish the Savoy was an hospital, and by consent of him,  
 “the master of the Savoy, and also by consent of the Par-  
 “son of St. Clement’s.”

Wherefore, because that by his the Bishop’s toleration, many of them resorted to hear divine service in his the master of the Savoy’s house ; the Bishop requested him by 102 this his present letter, that upon Sunday next, at service and time convenient, the Minister should declare unto the said parochians of Strand, that after one month he would no more admit them to come to his church. And this also he required him to do ; and to will them in the mean while to consult among themselves, to frame to some good order for the better leaving thereof. And that if they would, they might to the same end come with him, and with the Parson of St. Clement’s, or Vicar of St. Martin’s. And that the more willingly they conformed themselves to decent and lawful order, the less need there would be to use any compulsory means.

Bonner,  
late Bishop,  
writes to  
the Queen,  
excusing  
his swearing  
to her su-  
premacy. Give me leave here to insert a passage of this Bishop’s predecessor, of the same Christian name, but of nature and judgment infinitely differing. I mean Edmund Bonner, the late bloody Popish Bishop, now a prisoner in the King’s Bench, for refusing of the oath of supremacy ; mercifully, I may say, laid in there, to defend him from the rage of the people, whose fathers and mothers and relations he had cruelly caused to be imprisoned or to be burnt to death. Now, in the month of October, did he think fit to address a

letter in Latin to the Queen, with all the oratory he could ; C H A P.  
X.  
to declare to her the reason why he could not comply with her law to swear to her supremacy ; [though he had allowed Anno 1564.  
well of and sworn to the supremacy of the two former  
Kings.] And he who, when he was in his prosperity, had  
so little regard to conscience, but tyrannized over it, and re-  
jected the pleas of it, now pleads conscience mightily him-  
self. He writ, “that he would not detract any thing from  
“her Majesty’s supreme power ; but acknowledged and  
“contended, as was fit, it should be by all means preserved  
“and maintained. That the study of the Civil Law had  
“taught him, that it was a kind of sacrilege to judge other-  
“wise of a prince’s actions, than the prince himself judgeth.  
“But if her Majesty should then demand of him, why he  
“refused to take the oath, he would render her this an-  
“swer ; that an oath was then to be taken, when it might  
“be done without danger of eternal salvation ; and when it  
“had its companions, *viz.* truth of conscience, judgment of  
“discretion or deliberation, and justice ; that that which is  
“sworn be lawful and just. And that an oath is not to be  
“taken when it is not thus. And since it was written, that  
“an oath was not found out for a bond of iniquity ; and  
“that *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, as the Apostle  
“testifieth ; and that he that doth against his conscience  
“edifies to hell ; and that it was certain her piety, however  
“others urged her, would not ensnare her subjects either  
“with mortal sin or perjury : he persuaded himself there-  
“fore in her virtue and lenity, that he in this action, being  
“led by an honest conscience, neither displeased God nor her  
“most excellent Majesty. And that she would so think  
“and speak of him, and interpret his doing, he humbly  
“and reverently beseeched her.”

To his letter he also subjoined certain allegations out of St. Hierom and St. Augustin, in the case of princes commanding things unlawful ; that then they are not to be obeyed. This letter may be read in the Appendix.

Numb. X.

*Thanksgiving in St. Paul's for the deliverance of Malta.*

*The Bishop deals again with his Clergy for conformity.*

*The Book of Advertisements. Bullinger writes to him concerning this matter: and he to Bullinger: and to Zanchy. Censures one of the Dutch Church. Beza sends him his Annotations.*

Adviseth  
with the  
Secretary  
about a  
thanksgiv-  
ing for the  
success at  
Malta.

THE Turks, with a great army, had long besieged Malta by sea and land; a place of great import, lying near Sicily and Italy, and was, as it were, the key of that part of Christendom. Therefore a form of prayer was used every Wednesday and Friday, in the city and diocese of London, for the deliverance of that place and those Christians. Now about the month of October joyful news was brought, that the Turks, with all their forces, were beaten off, and gone with great loss, shame, and confusion. This occasioned great joy and triumph in Christendom; and England joined with the rest in its resentments of this good news. The Archbishop had given the Secretary certain advertisements about it; as that it were convenient to turn their prayers now into praises, and that some public thanksgivings should be made to God in St. Paul's church; and that the Bishop of London should, against the next Lord's day, appoint an office to be used for that occasion. And of the same judgment was the Secretary. And so he wrote to our Bishop. But the grave man was not for doing it in such haste, for fear of some after-clap of news, which might clash with and confute the first tidings. He wrote therefore to the Secretary, "that it were good to defer it eight days longer. " And that for two causes. One was, that more certainty "of the matter might be known; which seemed, by the "advertisement he received, uncertain: urging prudently, "that it was less inconvenience to defer a week, than to be "hasty to make solemn gratulations, if the matter should "prove untrue, as it had been once in this very case of

“ Malta; and as in the birth of Queen Mary’s first son CHAP.  
 “ it heretofore appeared. The other cause was, for that XI.  
 “ nothing in so short a time could be devised and printed Anno 1565.  
 “ for that purpose.” And this he sent by Mr. Watts, his  
 chaplain; signifying withal, that if the Secretary devised  
 otherwise with him, he would do what he could. But  
 he ended, that he distrusted the news. This letter of  
 the Bishop to the Secretary was dated October 12. But  
 when afterward the truth of this victory was confirmed,  
 then an Office was framed for this occasion: which as it be-  
 gan at Paul’s, so it was used for six weeks, Wednesdays  
 and Fridays, not only in London, but throughout the  
 whole province of Canterbury, by the Archbishop’s di-  
 rection.

Notwithstanding the Clergy of London had been the last 104 year so spurred up to conformity, many of them were still backward towards it. Insomuch that the Archbishop warned the Bishop about this matter; and giving him notice of a session of the ecclesiastical commission at Lambeth, advised him to be there; and the rather, in order to the dealing with some Ministers of his own diocese. And what our Bishop’s thoughts now were, and his disposition to prosecute this business, I will give in his own words to the Metropolitan.

“ *Sal. in Christo.* Whereas your Grace putteth me in <sup>Writes to</sup> <sub>the Archbi-</sub>  
 “ remembrance for the state of my cure, I heartily thank <sub>shop con-</sub>  
 “ your Grace. In very deed my purpose was, after this <sub>cerning re-</sub>  
 “ week ended, (wherein I take some physic for my health,) <sub>ducing</sub>  
 “ to have prayed your Grace’s advice and aid for the same. <sub>things to</sub>  
 “ For I must confess, that I can hardly reduce things to <sub>conformity</sub>  
 “ conformity, if I deal in it alone. On Friday afternoon, by <sub>in his dio-</sub>  
 “ God’s grace, I will attend: wishing that my Lords of <sub>cese.</sub> MSS. C. C.

C. Vol. E-  
 “ Winton and Ely may be there. I suppose it best to  
 “ have no appearance that day, but only to confer *de modo*  
 “ *rei peragendæ.* I wish your Chancellor present to direct  
 “ us in matters of law. Wood the Scotchman is a factious  
 “ fellow, as I shall declare to your Grace at my next coming.

**BOOK I.** “God keep your Grace. 13. Jan. 1566. [anno ineunte, as it seems.] Your Grace’s in Christ,

Anno 1565.

“Edmund London.”

The Bishop sits in commission at Lambeth.

The Bishop soon after sitting in commission at Lambeth with the Archbishop, and the rest, all the London Ministers, who had been cited before, made now their personal appearance. And after some serious discourse with them, and exhortation, they were severally asked, whether they would conform themselves to the ecclesiastical orders prescribed. Sixty-one promised, thirty-seven denied. Who were forthwith sequestered, and suspended *ab officio*, and within three months after to be actually deprived, unless they would comply. Within that time many did: but some were deprived.

The Archbishop sends the Advertisements to the Bishop.

The Archbishop now backed this attempt for conformity, by a book called the Book of Advertisements, which consisted of divers articles, which the Clergy should be bound to observe, by virtue of a letter from the Queen. These articles were, for their doctrine and preaching, for administration of prayers and sacraments, for certain orders in ecclesiastical policy, for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical; with a protestation to be made, promised, and prescribed by the said persons, as not to preach without licence, to use sobriety in apparel according to order; and to observe and keep order and uniformity in all external policy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by laws and good usages were already provided and established. This Book of Advertisements the Archbishop sent to Bishop Grindal, that copies thereof might be dispersed and conveyed to all Bishops, to see them duly executed. And withal he required the said

**105** Bishop to be diligent in punishing all recusants in his diocese by censures ecclesiastical, since they [the Bishops] had power and authority by act of Parliament to use them. And this the Archbishop required and charged him to do, as he would answer to God.

And excites him.

The Archbishop thought fit now and then thus to call upon our Bishop, who was not forward to use extremities:

and because of this the Puritan party confided much in him; and gave out, that my Lord of London was their own, and all that he did was upon a force, and unwillingly, as they flattered themselves.

During the aforementioned suspension, divers churches were unserved; and great clamours were made. To supply which defect, the Bishop sent three or four of his chaplains to preach in those churches: and particularly he took order for the administration of the Sacrament on Palm-Sunday near at hand; though by reason partly of the rudeness of the people, and partly the neglect of the churchwardens, who had provided neither surplice nor bread, there were forced to be failures herein: but for the more careful supply of these vacancies at this time, both the Bishop and the Archbishop did consult: and where any churches after all were unsupplied, they allowed the parishioners thereof to resort elsewhere. They appointed one Minister to serve two churches, in the morning performing the Divine worship in one church, and in the afternoon in the other. In fine, by this care the cures were all in effect supplied; only there was a want of preachers; which the Bishop's own chaplains were not sufficient for. But whether it were our Bishop's indisposition in bodily health, or want of ability to go through with this matter, the Archbishop bore a great share in the burden: insomuch that he complained to the Secretary of State, that another man's charge was laid upon him.

Nevertheless Bishop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Dissenters to be satisfied with what was enjoined. And among other means in order hereunto, he set forth now in print an excellent and right Christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the Bishops, *viz.* Horn, Bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, two Oxford Divines, of great note there, the one Dean of Christ

CHAP.  
XI.

Anno 1566.

The Bishop takes care  
of the  
vacant  
churches.

Sets forth a  
letter of  
Bullinger,  
to satisfy  
such as  
scrupled  
conformity.

**BOOK** Church, and the other President of St. Magdalen's college.

I.

**Anno 1566.** The letter was writ with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from Scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that before were ready to leave their ministry; but having read it were satisfied.

Writes to  
Bullinger,  
concerning  
the separa-  
tists.

This I collect from a letter of Grindal to Bullinger, writ in August this year; the original whereof is still extant at Zurich, with many other from our Bishops in those times sent to the learned men there. In which letter the Bishop related, "how some ministers, as Sampson and Humfrey, "continued incompliant, and that the Queen was highly "offended with them: but that if they should comply, it "were easy to reconcile them to her; but otherwise they, the

**106** "Bishops, could prevail little with her to give them coun-  
"tenance: that many of the common sort had taken up re-  
"solutions to separate from the national Church, and had  
"set up meetings distinct by themselves; but that now of  
"late the greater part were come to a better mind: to  
"which his [i. e. Bullinger's] letter had greatly contri-  
"buted. He added, that when they [the Bishops] who had  
"been exiles in Germany could not persuade the Queen  
"and Parliament to remove these habits out of the Church,  
"though they had long endeavoured it, by common con-  
"sent they thought it best not to leave the Church for some  
"rites, which were not many, nor in themselves wicked;  
"especially since the purity of the Gospel remained safe  
"and free to them. Nor had they to this present time re-  
"pented themselves of this counsel: for their churches,  
"God giving the increase, were augmented much, which  
"otherwise had been preys to Lutherans and Semipapists."

And to  
Zanchy  
upon the  
same sub-  
ject.

To this that I have said, I must add, that there is another excellent letter in my possession, of the said Bishop to Zanchy (besides those mentioned already) about the present controversy: which though writ some years after, viz. about 1571 or 1572, I think it not amiss to lay before the reader's eyes in this place, to illustrate the more what

we are now upon. Therein it appeared, that Zanchy had intended to send a letter to the Queen in behalf of these refusers, to entreat that she would not enforce the use of these rites. This intention of his he communicated to Grindal, with whom, as we have seen, he held a correspondence, requiring his advice thereupon; and, as it seems, sent his letter for her Majesty to him to deliver. To which Grindal, December the 18th, wrote him this answer, "That he would speedily consult with learned and godly men for their thoughts thereof." And accordingly soon after he applied himself to men of the best rank both for learning and godliness, and some of high quality: some whereof were in the highest place in the Church, and some Privy Counsellors: among whom we may conclude the Archbishop of Canterbury and Secretary Cecil to be two. And all these did unanimously conclude it best to present no letter to the Queen upon this argument.

And when Zanchy had sent letters away to some other his friends here, with them also did the Bishop consult, either by letter or word of mouth; and he found them all of the same judgment. And they gave him their particular reasons for it. Some said, that Zanchy knew not thoroughly how the case betwixt both parties stood. And by some letters which the said learned man had writ to some of his friends, it appeared, that he perceived not the true state of the matter in controversy. Nor was the explication of it very easy, as our Bishop told him in a letter; and then proceeded to give him a brief account of the certainty, variety, and greatness of this business, and to fetch it from the very foundation, *viz.*

" That when the Queen began first to reign, the Popish religion being cast off, she reduced religion to that condition wherein it was while King Edward VI. was alive. And to this all the states of the kingdom with full consent gave their voices in the great council of the nation, 107 called the Parliament. That the authority of this council was so great, that the laws made therein could not by any

CHAP.  
XI.  
Anno 1566.

Consults  
upon Zan-  
chy's letter  
to the  
Queen.

BOOK " means be dissolved, unless by the same that made them.

I. " That in that form of religion set up by King Edward, there

Anno 1566. " were some commands concerning the habits of Ministers,

" and some other things, which some good men desired

" might be abolished, or mended. But the authority of the

" law hindered them from doing any thing that way: yet

" the law allowed the Queen, with the counsel of some of

" the Bishops, to alter some things. But indeed nothing

" was either altered or diminished. That there was not a

" Bishop, as he knew of, but obeyed the rules prescribed,

" and gave example to others to do the same: and as the

" Bishops did, so did the other Ministers of the Church,

" learned and unlearned. And all seemed not unwillingly

" to yield and comply in the same opinion. But that after-

" wards, when there was a good and fast agreement in doc-

" trine, all the controversy arose from the discipline. Min-

" isters were required to wear commonly a long gown, a

" square cap, and a tippet coming over their necks, and

" hanging down almost to their heels. In the public pray-

" ers, and in every holy administration, they were to use a

" linen garment, called *a surplice*: that when some alleged,

" that by these, as by certain tokens, the Romish priests

" were distinguished from those that ministered the light

" of the Gospel; and said, that it was not lawful by such

" obedience to approve the hypocrisy of idolaters, or to de-

" file their ministry; a more moderate sort, though they

" would not be compelled to obey the prescribed rites, yet

" would not blame others that yielded obedience, nor

" esteemed the use of these things to be ungodly. But some

" there were that so defended that peculiar manner of cloth-

" ing, that without it, they contended that all holy things

" were in effect profaned, and that the ministry was de-

" prived of a great ornament, and the people of good in-

" struction: yet that the greatest part of the ecclesiastical

" order seemed to persist in this opinion, that however they

" thought these might be abolished, and very many desired

" it, yet when they placed more blame in leaving their

“ stations, than in taking the garments, they thought it CHAP.  
 “ better (as of two evils the less) to obey the command than XI.  
 “ to go out of their places.

Anno 1566.

“ Divers things were objected against the administration  
 “ of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and ecclesiastical or-  
 “ ders, and the various officers of the Church. They con-  
 “ tended for a *presbytery* to be set up in every Church by  
 “ the prescript of the Apostles; and that the discipline of  
 “ the Church was in all respects lame and corrupt: so  
 “ that they seemed darkly to disperse such doubts of the  
 “ Church, as though it were no Church at all: for where  
 “ no discipline was, they said no Church was: but that  
 “ when it came to this pass, it was cautioned by ecclesiasti-  
 “ cal authority, that none should take upon him the min-  
 “ istry of the Gospel, or retain it, who would not allow of  
 “ the things before mentioned, and others comprehended in  
 “ a certain book; and that nothing was contained in that 108  
 “ book which was against the word of God; and to profess In the Sy-  
 “ this under his hand subscribed.” nod, anno  
1571.

Grindal having thus shewn the reverend man the state  
 of our Church in these times, added, “ That he did not this Instructs  
 “ to occasion him to write to the Queen, as he had purposed him to write  
 “ to do; for the thing was uncertain how the Queen would to the  
 “ take it from him: but he advised him rather to help these Bishops.  
 “ Churches some other ways. As in these respects follow-  
 “ ing: the Bishops were to be excited to be means to the  
 “ Queen to reform and redress offences that hindered the  
 “ course of the Gospel; and that they should be gentle in  
 “ exacting punishments upon their brethren and fellow  
 “ members; especially those on whom lay the weight of  
 “ conscience; and to be more propense to forbearance.”  
 More to this purpose may be read in the Bishop’s letter.  
 All the misery is, we have not the whole; for it is in some  
 places defective. But all we have of it, as also the former  
 letter to Bullinger, are preserved in the Appendix.

Num. XI.  
XII.

Somebody of the strangers’ church, and he as it seems Sends to the  
 one of their ministers, had been guilty of uncleanness, or church of  
 strangers

**BOOK I.** some other scandalous crime; which deserved the severest ecclesiastical censure. It was incumbent upon the Bishop **Anno 1566.** (who was their superintendent) to inflict it: but being minded for some-what to be extracted out of their register. to proceed herein according to that Church's custom, privately sent a letter to Johannes Cognatus, *i. e.* Cousin, the chief minister of the French Church, dated October 12, 1566, to this tenor:

**E. Bibliothec. Eccl. Belgic.** “*Oro ut cures, &c.* I pray you to transcribe for me a short account of what was done with Michael Angelo Londini. “Florentinus, [Florio,] who was deposed from his ministry “which he had in the Italian Church here at London in “the reign of Edward VI. of happy memory, for deflower-“ing a maid, as it was reported. I believe the book of “those acts is with Mr. Gottofred Wing, and the elders “of the Dutch Church. Write out also the short form of “public penance which the same Michael underwent: but “both by themselves in different sheets. I desire also that “the same be signed underneath by the testimony of three “or four of you; and to do this business as soon as conve-“niently you can. It will be best also, that not any thing “in this matter be divulged. 12 Octob. 1566.

“*Tuus in Christo, E. London.*”

Cousin, according to the tenor of this letter, dealt with Wingius that he should send him the said book, or write out himself what the Bishop required. But Cousin, the same day, *viz.* October 12, wrote back to the Bishop, that they had searched, and could not find any such books; and that some of the elders thought that Martin Micronius had carried the books of Acts along with him to Embden, when the congregation brake up under Queen Mary.

**109** We heard before, under the year 1560, of a Church of Two Spanish exiles sue to the Bishop. Spaniards set up in London. It was about this or the former year, that two of that nation, exiles for religion, named Franciscus Farias, and Nicolaus Molinus, who had been now eight years in England, made their humble application to our Bishop to be their friend and patron in a present danger

that threatened them. The case was this: A certain man, CHAP.  
an enemy to the Gospel, who had fled from Spain for certain XI.  
causes, and now dwelt at London, that he might get into Anno 1566.  
favour again with that King, framed some lying reports of  
them, and treated with the Spanish ambassador and the  
Governess of Flanders, to procure the King of Spain to  
have them delivered over and carried to Spain; and that he  
should command the Spanish inquisition to take informa-  
tion against them for certain great crimes. To which in-  
formation was added another against a Spaniard that was a  
very ill man, (with whom they had nothing to do,) who had  
fled from Flanders for robbery and other misdemeanors;  
and dwelt now also in London: that King Philip should  
write to the Queen, that they (without any distinction)  
should be delivered to his ambassador, to send them to  
Spain. And the man who was the manifest malefactor in  
Flanders was put the first in rank with them; that so no  
doubt might be made concerning them, but that they were  
like him, or worse. But as to any just criminal accusation  
that could be brought against them, "they called God to  
"witness, for whose sake," they said, "they suffered ba-  
"nishment, that no information could be brought against  
"them, which, if true, would not redound rather to their  
"commendation than dishonour." They added, "that PaperOffice.  
"more than six thousand crowns had been laid out by the  
"inquisitors from the time of their departures, and of other  
"pious Spaniards, from Spain, for inquiry after them. By  
"reason whereof, no doubt need be made, but that false  
"witnesses enough might be found: and so lay upon them  
"all crimes whatsoever they had a mind to. Lastly, they  
"earnestly prayed the Bishop, that they might by his  
"means know whether there were any such informations  
"brought to the Queen against them, as thereby to incur  
"the danger of being delivered up to be sent to Spain: for  
"if so, they would timely escape to some other country,  
"where such calumnies might not take place." And no  
doubt the good Bishop espoused as much as he could so  
just a cause, remembering what an exile he himself once

**BOOK** was upon the same account. These Spaniards' letter therefore he sent to the Secretary, recommending thereby the cognizance of their case to him. This letter I have exemplified in the Appendix, as containing some matters of remark: as, what hard and unjust methods were then used by the Pope's creatures to bring the professors of the Gospel into jeopardy: how liberal the Spanish inquisition now was of her money, to get into her clutches such as were out of her reach, and fled into foreign countries: what an harvest of men professing the truth there now were even in Spain, a country profoundly Popish; and what a seasonable harbour and retreat God made this nation for these and all other pious strangers.

**110** And (that I may bring these things together, wherein our Bishop was concerned as superintendent of the foreigners' churches in London) it was in this year, or not far from it, that he expressed a particular act of his fatherly care for three members of the Dutch congregation; *viz.* two men and a woman: who going hence upon their lawful business into Flanders, were seized in their journey, and clapt up either in the inquisition or some other prison, on pretence of being persons that had left the Catholic faith; and hereby came into imminent danger of their lives, and whatever they had besides. The Bishop hearing thereof, speedily, within a month after, procured a letter to be writ to the officers and magistrates, that thus detained these honest people, from the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (whereof he himself was a member,) dealing with them as effectually as they could to get these released. The letter was in Latin: the copy whereof I have seen in the Paper Office; inscribed on the back side by the good Bishop's own hand, "Copy of the letter sent into Flanders for the prisoners of the Dutch Church." And it is therefore likely himself was the composer of it.

**Writ by the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners.** They set forth in this letter, "that these good men came (as they were credibly informed) quietly there about their business; entering into no manner of disputation of religion with any, and so transgressing none

“ of the public laws of the country. That as to their faith, CHAP.  
XI.  
 “ they certainly knew them to be of sound faith in Christ \_\_\_\_\_  
 “ our Lord; for they did confess that he was very God of Anno 1566.  
 “ very God, coeternal and coequal with his Father: and  
 “ that he was true man, of the substance of man; namely,  
 “ of the Virgin his mother; and that he was the only Me-  
 “ diator, Priest, Prophet, King, and Saviour of mankind;  
 “ and the only door of the sheep, which hear his voice;  
 “ by whom whosoever entereth in shall be saved. Which  
 “ faith of Christ, and the other heads of Christian religion,  
 “ the foresaid brethren had publicly professed when they  
 “ were with them; and had submitted themselves to all  
 “ brotherly admonition and correction from the word of  
 “ God, according to the Queen’s Majesty’s pleasure. That  
 “ they were no vagabonds nor idle persons, but faith-  
 “ ful subjects of this Church; and had lived here a great  
 “ while without giving offence to any.

“ Wherefore they prayed them to accept this their testi-  
 monial of these three persons, and to give them their li-  
 “ berty, and to permit them to depart to their friends and  
 “ affairs: since they, to whom the Queen had committed  
 “ the chief authority in causes of religion, had hitherto no  
 “ ways molested any of their countrymen in matters of re-  
 “ ligion, behaving themselves quietly. But if those that  
 “ professed our faith, and were members of our Church,  
 “ were in this manner dealt withal in other countries, they  
 “ should be compelled (which they desired not to do) to  
 “ measure the same measure unto other nations. But they  
 “ promised themselves otherwise from their equity. And in  
 “ the conclusion, warning them to be far from shedding in-  
 “ nocent blood, lest they themselves fall into the most severe  
 “ judgment of the living God, into whose hands it was a  
 “ fearful thing to fall; especially if they shed it after they 111  
 “ knew the truth concerning these persons.” This memor-  
 able letter of the Ecclesiastical Commission is fit to be pre-  
 served, and may be read in the Appendix.

Num. XIV.

Now also it was, or near this time, that the King of Spain

**BOOK I.** made complaint to the Queen of his subjects of the Low Countries that had fled over hither, and were harboured by

Anno 1566.   
The Bishop sends for a catalogue of the members of the strangers' church.

her; and pretending many of them that professed religion to be obnoxious and criminals, and had fled from justice. Hereupon the Queen, to give satisfaction to that imperious Monarch, (whom she did not care to fall out with,) sent orders to our Bishop to take a diligent survey of these strangers, taking their names, and who were entered members of the Dutch Church in London, and held communion with it. The Bishop accordingly sent to the ministers and officers of the said Church: and they soon after sent to him a book signed by themselves, *viz.* by the hand of Gotfridus Wyngius, and the two other ministers, and the elders or overseers of the Church, containing the names alphabetically digested of such, as having been born, and lived in Flanders or Brabant, countries under King Philip, or more lately fled thence, were now of the Belgick-German Church, London, together with a character of their sobriety, amounting in all to the number of three hundred and ten. And because the seeing of the names of these may be acceptable to some more curious, (who from hence may judge of the stock and family of divers persons of good wealth or trade or reputation in England at this day, or for other reasons,) I have exemplified the catalogue from

**Num. XV.** the original; and may be found in the Appendix. Many of these Protestant refugees in those times planted themselves in Southwark, for the conveniency of their trades and callings.

Reviews the parts of Nowell's book against Dorman.

Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, this year set forth his second book against Dorman, in vindication of the Queen's proceedings in religion against the Papists; Dorman, an English fugitive, having in an English book, printed in the parts abroad, against Bishop Jewel, slandered the Reformation in divers matters. Every portion of this book, as the Dean wrote it, he sent to our Bishop, who diligently and carefully examined and perused each sheet; and more than that, he also took care that the Secretary should have a sight of the papers, that the book might be the more cor-

rect, conveying all the book by pieces from himself to the said Cecil, and particularly and especially he sent him a few leaves, which contained an answer to Calvin, by over-sight, uncomely and untruly writing concerning King Henry VIII. and against the title of Supreme Head, whereof Dorman took advantage, and laid to our charge. This material part of Nowell's book the Secretary had not yet leisure to look over; but the Dean prayed him to oversee it, (sending it with the rest of his papers again written out,) and then he should have no cause to stay the printer (calling upon the author) for lack of intelligence of the said Secretary's judgment upon that part.

CHAP.  
XI.

Anno 1566.

Not long before this time a Popish book came forth, en- 112 titled, A Treatise of the Cross. To which James Calfhil, a learned man of Christ's Church in Oxford, set forth an answer. This in this year 1566 was replied to by John Marshal, Bachelor of Law. Which reply being a tedious book in quarto was printed at Lovain. Wherein our Bishop for licensing Calfhil's book is mightily cried out against, as letting pass such and so many false doctrines, which must highly reflect upon the *New Church of England*, (as that author thought fit to style this Church then lately reformed,) and likewise upon the Superintendents of it, as he called the Bishops: for before his reply he has a tract which he calls, A Request to Mr. Grindal, and other Superintendents of the *New Church of England*; beginning thus: "Among other godly counsels of the Wise dal. " Man, this being one, that we should not believe all "that is said, I thought it not convenient to believe the "public fame, that reported unto us, that you, Mr. Grindal, did peruse the Answer made to the Treatise of the "Cross, and allow all the doctrines contained in it, and "privilege it to the print; lest for my light believing you "might with the same Wise Man account me light of heart; "I longing to hear whether the doctrines uttered in the same "book be the doctrines of all the Church of England, &c." And then he did most earnestly require and challenge him, and all the rest of the Superintendents, (for he would not

The Bishop licenseth  
a book of  
Calfhil's  
against  
Marshal.Marshal's  
Request to  
Mr. Grindal.

**BOOK I.** call them Bishops,) to give notice and signification by some pamphlet in print, whether it were the received and approved doctrine of all the *New Church of England*, able to be justified by the plain and undoubted word of God, and by the true and godly Fathers of the Church, and General Councils, within six hundred years after Christ; namely, certain positions which he had (perhaps maliciously and insincerely) drawn out of Calfhill's book. But the good Bishop had other work to do than to comply with such a picker of quarrels.

**Beza sends his Annotations to the Bishop.** Theodore Beza, late assistant to Calvin, and now the chief Minister of Geneva, made a present this year to Bishop Grindal, of his Annotations upon the New Testament. And the same Reverend Father soon after sent him a letter, thanking him for the book, and withal, a gratification. What it was, I cannot tell; perhaps it was the Bishop's picture, or his ring; but Beza called it *longe maximum gratissimumque tui μνημόσυνον*, i. e. "a very great and most acceptable remembrance of himself," which he would keep for his sake. The Bishop in his letter had much commended his Annotations as accurate and learned: but Beza modestly declined the praise, and added, that then they might seem such as the Bishop had charactered them, when they should be critically corrected by him, and such other learned men as he.

**Beza presses to the Bishop subscription to a common confession of faith.** Beza took this opportunity earnestly to press the Bishop, that as the English Church, he made no doubt, agreed in doctrine with the Churches of France, the Church of Geneva, and other reformed Churches; all which the last year, together with those of Helvetia, subscribed a like confession of faith; he would also promote the same practice in England: and the like he wished to be done in Scotland: that so the Papists might have no reason to take advantage, or clamour against the Churches that had left the superstitions of Rome, as though they had no agreement in doctrine among themselves: and to break their councils, who depending upon multitude, rather than reason, laboured the destruction of the Churches: that when the opin-

ion and confident talk of the innumerable differences among the reformed should hereby be sufficiently confuted, many would be excited to embrace the true religion. He judged this a matter very proper for our Bishop, and the rest of his colleagues, to concern themselves about, and to recommend to the Queen as effectually as he could.

In the next place he seemed to argue with the Bishop concerning the religious contentions on foot in England, having heard by certain letters sent hence both into France and Germany, concerning divers Ministers discharged their parishes, otherwise men of good lives and learning, by the Queen, the Bishops also consenting, because they refused to subscribe to certain new rites: and that the sum of the Queen's commands were, to admit again not only those garments, the signs of Baal's priests in Popery, but also certain rites, which also were degenerated into the worst superstitions; as the signing with the cross, kneeling in the Communion, and such like: and, which was still worse, that women should baptize, and that the Queen should have a power of superinducing other rites, and that all power should be given to the Bishop alone in ordering the matters of the Church; and no power, not so much as of complaining, to remain to the pastor of each Church. Thus it seems the noncompliers had represented the present condition of our Church to those abroad. That learned Divine, (as he signified to our Bishop,) upon these reports, writ back to his friends, that the Queen's Majesty, and many of the learned and religious Bishops, had promised far better things; and that a great many of these matters were, at least as it seemed to him, feigned by some evil-meaning men, and wrested some other way: but withal he beseeched the Bishop, that they two might confer a little together concerning these things. He knew, as he went on, there was a twofold opinion concerning the restoration of the Church: first, of some who thought nothing ought to be added to the apostolical simplicity; and so, that without exception whatsoever the Apostles did, ought to be done by us; and whatsoever the Church, that succeeded the

CHAP.  
XI.

Anno 1566.

**BOOK I.** Apostles, added to the first rites, were to be abolished at once: that on the other side there were some, who were of opinion, that certain ancient rites besides ought to be retained; partly as profitable and necessary, partly, if not necessary, yet to be tolerated for concord sake. Then did the foresaid reverend man proceed to shew at large, why he himself was of opinion with the former sort: and in fine, he said, that he had not yet learned by what right (whether one looks into God's word or the ancient canons) either the civil magistrate of himself might superinduce any new rites upon the Churches already constituted, or abrogate ancient ones; or that it was lawful for Bishops to appoint any new thing without the judgment and will of their presbytery. This letter was wrote the 5th of the calends of July; that is, June the 27th.

**Bez. Epist. 8.** To this the Bishop no doubt gave an answer, in all probability now perished and past recovery. But I have seen another large answer of his of the same subject, in effect, wrote by his own hand not long after, to another learned foreign Divine, *viz.* Hieronymus Zanchy; giving therein a true and impartial account of the appointment of these matters in this Church, in vindication of the proceedings here against the refusers of compliance. Which was mentioned at large before.

**Beza writes again.** In the year 1568 Beza wrote again to our Bishop upon the same argument, lamenting the divisions caused hereby. Which we shall take notice of when we come so far.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Bishop's concern with some separatists; convened before him. Beza disliked them. The Bishop's advice about a Bishop of Armagh. Stops unlicensed preachers.*

**Two sorts of Puritans.** **T**HE refusers of the orders of the Church (who by this time were commonly called Puritans) were grown now

into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanour; who indeed would not use the habits, nor subscribe to the ceremonies enjoined; as kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, the ring in marriage; but held to the Communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But another sort there was, that disliked the whole constitution of the Church lately reformed; charging upon it many gross remainders of Popery, and that it was still full of corruptions not to be borne with, and Antichristian; and especially the habits which the Clergy were enjoined to use in their conversation and ministration. Insomuch that these latter separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting together, not in churches, but in private houses, where they had Ministers of their own. And at these meetings, rejecting wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a book of prayers framed at Geneva, for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there. Which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin, and the rest of his divines there; and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Geneva form. And at these clandestine and separate congregations, they had not only prayers and sermons, but the Lord's Supper also sometimes administered. This gave great offence to the Queen, thus openly to turn their backs against that reformation which she so carefully had ordered and established. And she issued out her letters to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; to which letters were subscribed 115 the names of her Privy Council: which were in effect, that they should move these Dissenters by gentle means to be conformable, or else for their first punishment to lose their freedom of the city, and after to abide what would follow.

Some of this sort had hired Plumbers' Hall, upon pretence of keeping a wedding there, but in truth for a religious meeting. Here on the 19th of June about an hundred persons met, but were disturbed by the sheriffs, and about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them taken, and sent to the Compter for their disobedience. The next day several of them were sent for, before the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and others the Queen's Commissioners. Some of them taken at Plumbers' Hall. The Bishop's shop's proof of them.

CHAP.  
XII.

Anno 1567.

The latter  
sort sepa-  
rate.Geneva  
prayers used  
by them.

**BOOK I.** Then the Bishop told them, “ that they had shewed themselves disorderly, in absenting from their parish churches, and the assemblies of other Christians, who quietly obeyed the Queen’s proceedings, and served God in such good order as the Queen and the rest, having authority and wisdom, had set forth and established by act of Parliament. And not only so, but they had gathered together, and made assemblies, using prayers and preaching; yea, and ministering the Sacrament among themselves. And this they had done many times, and particularly but the day before. He then wished them to forbear for the future.” And in fine produced the Queen’s letters aforesaid. The Bishop took notice, how they pretended a wedding, when they hired the said hall for no such purpose. Which when one of them said, they did to save the woman harmless who let it to them; the Bishop shewed them, that by this evasion they were guilty of lying: which was contrary to the admonition of the Apostle, *Let every man speak truth with his neighbour.* And that they had hereby put the poor woman to great blame; and that it was enough for her to lose her office of being keeper of the said hall; which was against the rule of charity.

**He argues with them.**

Then the Bishop declared to them after a grave and gentle manner, how that by thus severing themselves from the society of other Christians, they condemned not only the present members of the Church that held communion with it, but also the whole state of the Church reformed in King Edward’s days; which he affirmed was well reformed according to the word of God; yea, and that many good men had shed their blood for the same: which their doings did condemn. But one of them said, in the name of the rest, that they condemned them not; but that they only stood to the truth of God’s word. The Bishop asked them moreover, whether they had not the Gospel truly preached, and the Sacraments administered accordingly; and whether good order was not kept, although they differed from other churches in ceremonies and indifferent things: which lay in the Prince’s power to command for order’s sake?

**Their plea.**

Then the Bishop allowed them to speak, and asked one

of them that was the ancientst, named John Smith, what he could answer. Who said, that they thanked God for the reformation: and that what they desired was, that all might be according to God's word. When several others of them strove to speak, the Bishop commanded Smith to go on. Who proceeded thus; that as long as they might have the word freely preached, and the Sacraments administered without idolatrous gear about it, they never assembled together in houses; but when it came to this point, that all their preachers were displaced, that would not subscribe to the apparel and the law, so that they could hear none of them in any church by the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale, [for none else, it seems, they would hear, because they wore the habits,] coming not to the parish churches, they began to bethink themselves what they had best to do: and remembering that there was a congregation in the City of London in Queen Mary's days, and a congregation also in Geneva of English exiles then, that used a book framed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together, and use the said book, [laying aside the Common Prayer Book wholly.] And finally, he in the name of the rest offered to yield, and to do penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the Bishop, and the Commissioners with him, could reprove that book, or any thing else that they held, by the word of God.

But when the Bishop still told them that this was no answer for their not going to church; Smith said, that he had as lief go to mass, as to some churches: and such was the parish church where he dwelt; and that he was a very Papist that officiated there. But the Bishop said, that they ought not to find fault with all for a few; and that they might go to other places: and particularly mentioned S. Lawrence, and Sampson and Lever; who preached in London, being dispensed with, though they wore not the habits, besides Coverdale. And when one of them mentioned some that were Priests in Queen Mary's days, and still officiated, the Bishop demanded, if they accused any of them of false doctrine. And one presently answered, he could: and

**BOOK I.** mentioned one Bedel, who then was present. But it was not thought convenient at that time to inquire further into  
 Anno 1567. that accusation, being not to the present purpose.

And the  
 Dean of  
 Westmin-  
 ster's.

But the Dean of Westminster, who was one of the Commission, told them, they would take away the authority of the Prince, (who might appoint the use of indifferent things in God's worship,) and the liberty of a Christian man, which was not bound up in such matters. And therefore, the Bishop added, they suffered justly. But one of them answered, that it lay not in the authority of a Prince, and the liberty of a Christian man, to use and to defend that which appertained to Papistry and idolatry, and the Pope's canon law. And when one of them charged the government, that the Pope's canon law and the will of the Prince had the first place, and was preferred before the word and ordinance of Christ, the Dean of Westminster observed how irreverently they spoke of the Prince, and that before the Magistrates. And the Bishop asked them, what was so preferred. To which another of them answered boldly, that which was upon his [the Bishop's] head and upon his back ; their copes and surplices, their laws and Ministers. And when one of them urged, that the Prince and people both should obey the word of God ; the Bishop gravely answered, that it was true in effect, that the Prince should and must obey the word of God only ; but then, he said, he would shew them that this matter consisted in three points. The first was, that that which God commanded might not be left undone. The second, that that which God forbade might not be done. The third consisted in things which God neither commanded nor forbade. And they were of a middle sort, and were things indifferent. And in such things, he asserted, Princes had authority to order, or to command. Whereupon several of them cried tumultuously, *Prove that*, and, *Where find you that?* But the Bishop at this noise said, he had talked with many men, but never saw any behave themselves so unreverently before Magistrates. Then they urged, that surplices and copes, which the Bishop, they saw, intended to place in the third

rank, were superstitious and idolatrous ; and demanded of him to prove that indifferent which was abominable. The Bishop said again, things not forbidden by God might be used for order and obedience sake.

Then he shewed the mind and judgment of a learned foreign Protestant, namely, Bullinger, chief Minister at Zurich in Switzerland, whom they themselves liked of. He read out of a book what that learned man's opinion was, to this effect, that it was not yet proved that those garments had their first original from Rome : and that though those in Helvetia used them not in their ministry, yet that those in England might lawfully use them, as things that had not yet been removed. But Smith said, he could perhaps shew Bullinger against Bullinger in that thing. The Bishop told him, he thought not : and said moreover, that all reformed churches differed in rites and ceremonies : and that they agreed with all reformed churches in substance of doctrine. To which one of them said, that they should follow the truth, and the best way : and that they [*viz.* who had an hand in the present establishment of religion] had brought the Gospel and Sacraments into bondage to the ceremonies of Antichrist, and defended idolatry and Papistry : and that there was no ordinance of Christ, but they had mingled their own inventions with it : instancing particularly in godfathers and godmothers in Baptism.

The Bishop knowing the reverence they had for the Church of Geneva, shewed how they communicated in wafer cakes, one of the things used then in the administration of the Sacrament, and which they were so much against. One said, they of Geneva did not compel so to receive. The Bishop said, Yes, in their parish churches. But another of their party put that off, by saying that the English congregation there did minister with loaf-bread. And another said, that it was good to follow the best example ; and that they were to follow that Church of Geneva as that followed Christ.

At length the Dean of Westminster told them, all the learned men in Europe were against them. Smith said,

Produces a letter from thence, disapproving their separation.

CHAP.  
XII.  
Anno 1567.

**BOOK** they reverenced the learned in Geneva, or in other places  
 I. where they were ; but they builded not their faith and reli-  
 Anno 1567. gion upon them. The Bishop asked them, if they would be

118 judged by the learned in Geneva, and said, that they were against them, and shewed them a letter that came from Geneva, wherein they appeared to be against them and their practices, in departing away, and separating themselves from the national Church ; turning to a place wherein they wrote thus, that *against the Prince's and Bishops' will they should exercise their office, they [the Ministers of Geneva] did much the more tremble at.* "Mark," said the Bishop, "how he [*i. e.* "Beza, who wrote the epistle] saith *he trembled at their case.*" But one of them said, they knew the letter well enough, and that it made nothing against them ; but rather against the Prince and Bishops ; and that it meant they trembled at the Prince's and the Bishops' case, to proceed to such extremities against them, as to drive them against their wills to that which of itself was plain enough, [*i. e.* Popery and superstition,] though they would not utter them. Then the Bishop said, by these words they entered into judgment against them, [the Magistrates,] and shewed them, how that they of Geneva by this letter counted the apparel indifferent, and not impious and wicked in their own nature. And that therefore they counselled the preachers not to give over their function or flocks for these things. This letter is extant among Beza's epistles, and giving much light to this controversy, I thought it proper to lay it before the reader in the Appendix.

Numb.  
XVI.

A passage  
of Melan-  
thon al-  
ledged by  
them ;

Then one of them said, that before they compelled the ceremonies, so that none might preach or minister the Sacraments without them, all was quiet : which was spoken to justify themselves for withdrawing. The Bishop then bade them see, how they were against indifferent things, which might be borne withal for order and obedience sake. At length one of them, named Hawkins, produced a passage out of Melanthon, upon the fourteenth chapter to the Romans, in answer to something the Lord Mayor had spoken to them, *viz.* "that when the opinion of holiness, of merit,

“ of necessity, is put unto things indifferent, then they CHAP.  
 “ darken the light of the Gospel, and ought by all means XII.  
 “ to be taken away.” To which the Bishop pertinently re- Anno 1567.  
 plied, that these matters whereof they were disputing were Answered  
 not commanded of necessity in the Church. But the same shop.  
 Hawkins rejoined, that they had made it a matter of neces-  
 sity; and that many a poor man felt, [meaning, that had  
 been discharged his living for noncompliance.]

When the Bishop had occasionally said, he had said They accuse  
 mass, and was sorry for it, one of them presently said taunt- the Bishop  
 ingly, that he went like one of the mass-priests still. To for wearing  
 whom he gently said, that he wore a cope and a surplice in His answer.  
 Paul’s, yet had rather minister without these things, but  
 for order sake, and obedience to the Queen. But they  
 presently declaimed against them, calling them *conjuring*  
*garments* of Popery, and garments that were *accursed*.  
 But the Bishop asked them where they found them for-  
 bidden? And where, said another of them, is the mass for-  
 bidden? [as though where the one was forbidden, the other  
 was]. The Bishop then shewed the mass forbidden in  
 Scripture thus; that it was thought to be meritorious;  
 that it took away free justification; that it was made an  
 idol: and all idolatry was forbidden in Scripture. By the  
 same argument one of them attempted to prove the gar-  
 ments forbidden; because they brought the word of God  
 into captivity to the Pope’s garments and his canon law:  
 and therefore they were idols.

When one of the hottest of them (Nixon by name) had They mis-  
 compared the present Bishops to the Popish ones, who call the  
 made the Mayor and Aldermen their butchers, (which ir- Mayor and  
 reverent speech gave great offence,) the Bishop intending Aldermen.  
 to declare how severely this reflected upon the Queen, by  
 whose authority and commission they acted, he asked them,  
 whether they had not a godly Prince, and challenged them  
 to answer, if she were evil. But they replied, that the  
 fruits shewed what she was; and that the servants of God  
 were persecuted under her. And another applied the  
 words of the Prophet, *How can they have understanding*

**BOOK** *that work iniquity, spoiling my people, and that extol vanity?* This somewhat provoked the mild Bishop, that he  
 Anno 1567. bade them forbear, and desired the Lord Mayor to take notice of it.

When some of the Commissioners had urged, that they held the reformation in King Edward's days, one of them said, they in King Edward's days never came so far as to make a law that none should preach or minister without these garments. The Bishop insisted again upon the innocency of them, shewing that St. Paul said, *to the clean all things were clean*; and that which others had evilly abused, we might use well, as not receiving them for any such purpose of holiness or religion. One of them said in answer, however they had received them, they had now exalted them, and brought the word of God into subjection to them.

They delivered a book of the order of their worship.

One of them related how he had delivered a book to Justice Harris, and which was the order they held, [it seems to have been the Geneva book,] and bade any of the Commission reprove the same by the word of God, and they would leave it, and give over. The Bishop said, they reproved it not; but for them to gather together disorderly, to trouble the common quiet of the realm, against the Prince's will, they liked not the holding of that. But they insisted, they held nothing that was not warranted by the word of God. This and divers other things were discoursed and argued *pro* and *con*. And in fine, these men treated the mild Bishop but rudely by their words and carriages towards him: insomuch that much notice was taken of it. And finding them so irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour which he was inclinable to shew them.

Beza liked not their behaviour.

Beza, the chief Minister of Geneva, otherwise a great favourer of this sort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and signified his disallowance of it in an epistle to this our Bishop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience, as we shall see hereafter.

They highly slander the Bishop.

They were very severe upon him afterwards in their prints, by slandering of him in a most high manner. And

therefore it is the less wonder, that this mild and patient man was some years after provoked (observing also their unquiet dispositions) to express himself somewhat severely against them: which we shall have occasion to speak more at large of under the year 1569. But here fell in a matter of another nature, which I shall now proceed to declare.

The Archbishopric of Armagh in Ireland, the chief and 120 highest spiritual dignity in that kingdom, was now void. Upon the sending of a fit man to fill that see, the well-being of religion there did mainly consist. Great friends and interest were made by some, to obtain this high spiritual dignity. Among the rest was Mr. Dorril, one, I think, of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, but corrupt in religion; though otherwise outwardly complying. He had been once complained of before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A certain Irish scholar, but a hearty friend to religion, and zealous towards his country, dreading Dorril's coming into Ireland in the quality of Primate there, applied himself to our Bishop to put a stay, if possible, to it: who forthwith writes a letter to the Secretary, and makes this Irishman the bearer. Therein he shewed the Secretary, that the bringer had made suit to him against the foresaid man, and that it was his opinion he would hinder the course of religion in that country. And the Bishop added, that he was himself of the same opinion, Dorril having been a person that had heretofore been convented before him, and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for sundry misdemeanors. And that therefore he knew him to be an unfit man for so high an office: and prayed the Secretary to talk a little with the bringer, and to hear him. The Bishop proceeded to give his advice in this spiritual matter; *viz.* that he, the Secretary, would be a means, that some learned man of grave and godly disposition might be placed there; who, by doctrine and good example, might win people to Christ. He recommended one person as well qualified, whom he had once before recommended; namely, Dr. Spenser, Parson of Hadly. But that if it pleased the Queen, the Archbishop might be sent to, to bill three or four grave men, out of

CHAP.  
XII.

Anno 1567.

The Bishop  
intercedes  
for a good  
Archbishop  
to be sent  
into Ire-  
land.

PaperOffice.

**BOOK** which she might take her choice. Adding withal this  
 I. seasonable caution, that the men that sued for bishoprics,  
 Anno 1567. did in that declare themselves unmeet for the room. And  
 so referred the whole matter to his further consideration.  
 This letter was dated Nov. the 19th.

**None to preach without licence.** It was shewn before how some Ministers, who, for their refusal of conformity, were not permitted any longer to preach or officiate publicly, did notwithstanding take the liberty to do both, and that in private assemblies; whereby a breach was made in Christian Communion. For the better preventing of this, it was thought fit to permit none to preach in London, without licences taken forth from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London. And all the Ministers in the city, who had benefices therein, were enjoined by letters from the Bishop, not to suffer any unlicensed preachers to come into their pulpits. But what the full import and meaning of these letters were, may be seen by that which one Earl, Minister of St. Mildred's in Bread-street, (who it seems often suffered these unlicensed men to preach,) received from the Bishop. Which was as follows :

The Bishop's letter to that intent.

MSS. Johan. D.  
Episc. Eli-  
en.

121 “ Whereas we understand that divers disordered persons,  
 “ not regarding their due obedience to the Queen's Majesty  
 “ and her laws, have heretofore, and yet do presume to  
 “ preach in the city of London, not being thereunto li-  
 “ censed, neither by the most Reverend Father in God,  
 “ Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, nor me, the Bishop  
 “ of London: notwithstanding also, that divers of the said  
 “ unruly preachers have been by us, the Queen's Majesty's  
 “ Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, expressly com-  
 “ manded in her Highness's name, to forbear the office of  
 “ preaching, until such time as they were thereunto licensed  
 “ by ordinary authority: forasmuch as this contemptuous  
 “ and licentious behaviour tendeth to a very evil example,  
 “ and also may breed division and tumults among her  
 “ Highness's subjects; which appeareth to be specially  
 “ sought by these disobedient persons:

“ We have therefore thought good by these presents, in CHAP.  
XII.  
 “ her Majesty’s name, straitly to charge and command you, Anno 1567.  
 “ that from henceforth ye permit not any person to preach  
 “ in your church, but such as shall have licence in writing  
 “ from the said most Reverend Father, or me, the Bishop  
 “ of London: and the same licence to be dated upon or  
 “ since the first day of March, 1564. as you and every of  
 “ you will answer to the contrary. And that forthwith,  
 “ upon the receipt hereof, you cause a vestry to be had in  
 “ the church, and then and there to give knowledge there-  
 “ of among the rest of the parishioners. So as from time  
 “ to time, at any alteration of churchwardens, they may  
 “ have knowledge thereof; and the like charge given unto  
 “ them. And hereof fail ye not. Given the 10th day of  
 “ January. Your Friends,

“ Edm. London, D. Hughs.  
 “ D. Lewis, Tho. Yale.  
 “ Tho. Huycke.”

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### CHAP. XIII.

*Some Puritan Ministers go into Scotland. Inquiry after strangers affected with heresies or other crimes. The Bishop’s advice therein. Stow’s study searched for Popish books. The Bishop’s concern with Corranus the Spanish Preacher. The case of Geneva. Propositions set forth by the Dutch Church, London. Colleges in Oxford popishly affected. The Bishop interposes for the strangers.*

BY means of the Queen’s Commissioners and the Secre- Anno 1568.  
 tary, the Puritans, that would not be brought to any con-  
 formity here in England, had been encouraged to go and  
 preach the Gospel in Scotland; sending with them, as it  
 seems, letters commendatory to the ruling men there. They  
 went, but they were not long there. They liked not that

Puritan  
Ministers  
repair to  
Scotland to  
preach.

**BOOK I.** northern climate, but in May returned again: and being

Anno 1568. But come home again. come home, they fell to holding their private assemblies, and to pursue their former practices. This Bishop Grindal

disliked of, and thought it advisable (and prayed the Se-

cretary to consider of it) to have them summoned before

The Bi- shop's thoughts thereof. 122 the Council again, to know their meaning, as they had been formerly. One of these was called Evans, (thought to be

of more simplicity than the rest,) who reported that at Dunbar, on Good-Friday, he saw men going to the church barefooted and barelegged, and creeping to the cross; making that an argument for their coming back, which indeed should rather have persuaded them to stay; *viz.* that by their better instruction of them, they might bring them off from those superstitions. But this occasioned these words of our Bishop to a friend of his; “If it be so, the Church “of Scotland will not be pure enough for our men.” Adding, that they were a wilful company, praying God to grant them humble spirits.

The Bi- shop makes search for strangers, Anabap- tists.

Another part of our Bishop’s labour was to guard the peace of the Church and the truth of religion from foreigners, (as well as homeborn,) who infected with Anabaptistical and other odd opinions, (besides others guilty of great crimes,) had in considerable numbers, from time to time, conveyed themselves into England from other parts, out of a pretence of a liberty of professing the Gospel, and had their secret conventicles here: by which means many English people, in London especially, had been corrupted in their principles. The Bishop therefore got divers searches to be made, by order from above, for strangers of this leaven. And for the better effecting this, he drew up Articles of Inquiry into the reasons of their coming into England, and concerning their opinions. There were so many of these strangers in London, even upon the first coming of the Queen to the crown, that in her second year she was fain to issue out a proclamation for the discovery of them, and a command to transport themselves out of her dominions; or else to expect to be proceeded against according to laws ecclesiastical, or others. And again, some years after,

another search for strangers was made ; and this year, 1568, CHAP.  
XIII.  
Anno 1568.  
a third : and this Grindal put Sir William Cecil upon. \_\_\_\_\_  
And to direct him how to proceed, he sent him the Articles  
of Inquiry used in the former search for strangers, and a  
proclamation set forth in the second year of her Majesty's  
reign ; which might minister occasion of matters to be  
thought upon at present : and by these he shewed the Se-  
cretary, that this was a thing that heretofore, and that from  
time to time, had been regarded.

The proclamation ran to this tenor : “ The Queen's Ma- The procla-  
mation a-  
gainst  
them ;  
“ jesty understanding that of late time sundry persons, being  
“ infected with certayn dangerous and pernicious opinions,  
“ in matters of religion, contrary to the fayth of the Church  
“ of Chryst, as Anabaptists, and such lyke, are come from  
“ sundry parts beyond the seas into this her realme, and  
“ speciallye into the citie of London, and other maritime  
“ townes, under the colour and pretence of flying from per-  
“ secution against the professors of the Gospel of Chryst :  
“ whereby if remedy be not speedily provided, the Church  
“ of God in this realme shall susteyne great daunger of  
“ corruption, and sects to encrease contrary to the unitie of  
“ Chryst's Church here established.

“ For redresse whereof, her Majestie, by advice of her 123  
“ Counsayle, having commanded the Archbishop of Can-  
“ terbury, Byshop of London, and other Byshops to see  
“ the parishes in London, and other places herewith sus-  
“ pected, to be severely visited, and all persons suspected  
“ to be openly tried and examined, touching such phanati-  
“ cal and heretical opinions ; willeth and chargeth all man-  
“ ner of persons born eyther in forreigne parts, or in her  
“ Majesties dominions, that have conceaved any manner of  
“ such heretical opinion as the Anabaptists do hold, and  
“ meaneth not by charitable teaching to be reconciled, to  
“ depart out of this realme within twenty days after this  
“ proclamation, upon payne of forfeiture of all their goods  
“ and cattelles, and to be imprisoned, and further punyshed,  
“ as by the laws eyther ecclesiastical or temporal in such  
“ case is provided.

**BOOK I.** " And her Majesty also chargeth and commaundeth

**Anno 1568.** " upon Payne of imprisonment, that no Minister, nor other  
And for-  
bidding all  
~~secret con-~~  
gregations. " person, make any conventicles or secret congregations,  
" eyther to read, or to preache, or to minister the Sacra-  
ments, or to use any maner of divine service, but that  
" they shall resort to open chappels or churches, and there  
" to preach, teach, minister, or pray, according to the or-  
der of the Church of England, except it be in cases of  
" sicknes, or where noblemen, and such others, that have  
" in all former tymes been accustomed to have divine ser-  
vice said in their oratories within theyr houses, for divers  
" necessary respects; upon pain that whatsoever persons  
" or company shall make such secret conventicles, every  
" person to be imprisoned without bayle or mainprize, un-  
" tyl the coming of the Justice for delivery of the same  
" gayls, and then to be punished by their directions.

" Yeven at our Castel of Wynd sor the xxii. day of Sep-  
tember, the seconde yere of our reigne, MDLX."

The Articles  
of Inquiry  
for stran-  
gers.

The Articles of Inquiry were as follow :

*Articles inquired of in the serche for the number of straun-  
gers within the city of London, and about the same, in  
the months of November and December last past, viz.  
anno Domini, 1567.*

1. " First, You shall inquire how many straungers and  
" aliens, as well men, as women and children, are dwelling  
" and resyent, or abiding within your several parishes; and  
" of what nation they be.

2. " Item, How long every of them have been dwellyng  
" or abyding there; and what the names of every of them  
" are; and about what time every of them came first  
" hither.

3. " Item, Of what trade, lyving or occupation they be  
" of; and how many of them are vehementlie suspected or  
" defamed of any evil lyving, or to be setters forward, or  
" favourers of any naughtie religion or sect.

124 4. " Item, Whether they do resort to their parish

“ churches, to hear divine service, and to receave the Sa- CHAP.  
 “ craments, as others of the parishioners do, or are bound XIII.  
 “ to do.

Anno 1568.

5. “ *Item*, How many of them absenteth themselves from  
 “ theyr said several parish churches; and what their names  
 “ be.

6. “ *Item*, How many of them resort to their churches  
 “ appointed for strangers here in the city of London.”

Of the number of strangers, and of these Articles above-said, the Lords of the Council were certified in December last past.

To all this the Bishop added a remembrance of his own to the Secretary, for the more effectual prosecuting of this business in this year 1568. Which remembrance was in these words :

“ I wyshe that the conclusion of this order of straungers The Bi-  
 “ may be, that all such as shall be found culpable, or vche- shop's re-  
 “ mentlie suspected either of heresies or errors, or of other membrace  
 “ grievous crimes, as treasons, murders, felonies, or other concerning  
 “ such like, committed before their coming over into this them.  
 “ realme; and also all others of the French and Dutch na-  
 “ tion (those only excepted which are known merchants,  
 “ and intend not continuallie to remain here) which ad-  
 “ joyne not themselves to the French or Dutch Church  
 “ in London, or else, understanding our language, do not  
 “ orderly resort to the parish church where they dwell,  
 “ shall be commanded to depart the realme within twentie  
 “ days next after warning given to them by the Archbi-  
 “ shop or Mayor, &c.”

The issue of this was, that the list of the names of all the Dutch and other nations was carefully taken through-out every ward in London, with their trades and occupa-tions, and how long they had been come over, and to what churches they resorted. And this when finished was brought to the Bishop, and by him sent up to the Secreta-ry's office. What further followed in this matter I am not able to relate.

BOOK  
I.

Anno 1568.

Stow the  
historian's  
books seiz-  
ed by the  
Bishop's  
order.

Now also it seems an eye was had to another sort of men in the city, namely, Papists, especially such as kept in their possession Popish books and superstitious writings. And particularly notice was taken of John Stow, tailor, the same that was the laborious collector of the Historical Antiquities of London and England. The Lords of the Council had heard of him, how he had been a great collector of this sort of books, under the pretence of making collections for his History, being, I conclude, complained of by some to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: wherefore in the month of February, the Privy Council sent their letters to our Bishop, to send to search his house, and to examine his books, and to seize all books of that nature. Mr. Wattes, Archdeacon of London, and the Bishop's Chaplain went, in whose company also went Bedle, Clerk to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, and one Williams another Divine. After they had made their search, and perused all his books, the same day, being February 21, Wattes gave account 125 thereof to the Bishop. And that he had a great sort of foolish fabulous books of old print, as of Sir Degory Tryamour, &c. a great parcel also of old written English chronicles, both in parchment and in paper, some long, some short: that he had besides, as it were, *miscellanea* of divers sorts, both touching physic, surgery, and herbs, with medicines of experience: also certain old fantastical Popish books, printed in the old time, with many such, all written in old English, in parchment. These they omitted taking any inventory of. But of another sort they did, namely, of such books as had been lately set forth in the realm, or beyond sea, for defence of Papistry, with a note of some of his own devices and writings, touching such matter as he had gathered for chronicles; whereabout, as Mr. Wattes signified to the Bishop, he seemed to have bestowed much travail. But his books, he said, declared him to be a great fautor of Papistry.

Upon this, a day or two after, the Bishop sent his letters to the Council, with the list that was taken of the books; and withal sent this to the Secretary.

“ Sir, I have enclosed in my letters to my LL. of the CHAP.  
 “ Council, sent herewith, a catalogue of Stow the tailor his XIII.  
 “ unlawful books, taken by my Chaplain Mr. Wattes. And Anno 1568.  
 “ that ye may the better understand the disposition of the  
 “ said Stow, I send you enclosed herein Mr. Wattes his let-  
 “ ter to me, concerning him and his books.”

Which letter was, in effect, mentioned before by me. The catalogue of his books may, perhaps, be acceptable to some, and therefore I have exemplified it in the Appendix. Num.XVII.

There was now in London one Corranus, a Spaniard, and native of Seville, preacher to an assembly of Spanish Protestants, though he himself was a member of the Italian congregation, to which one Hieronymus was preacher. This Corranus was a man of good learning, (as Grindal testified of him,) but of an hasty and somewhat contentious spirit. A contest this year arose between this man and Hieronymus; the occasion whereof seemed in part to be this. Corranus of late had caused a table, entitled *De Operibus Dei*, wrote by him in French, to be printed in Norwich, not offering the same to be examined here before it was printed. But the Minister and seniors of the Italian Church had disliked certain doctrines contained in the said table, wavering, as it seems, somewhat from the opinions of Calvin; and therefore they had admonished Corranus to answer the same before them. Thus much Hieronymus the Italian Preacher had told Grindal. The French Church also before this had contested with him, and many high words had passed between them. Hereupon sprang up a great dissension between the said Spaniard, and Cousin the French Preacher, and the elders of that Church: for they gave him no countenance, but required his revocation of his principles, and submission. But Corranus thought himself injured by the Minister and some of the elders, and refused 126 them. And his next appeal was to Geneva, and the Church Appeals to Geneva. there; and wrote no less than seven letters to Beza, together with an apology, relating his own case, and foully ac-

**BOOK I.** cusing not only the French Minister Cousin, and divers of the members of that Church, but the whole bench of elders; nay, and the very Churches of Xantoign in France.

**Anno 1568.** Beza refers the business to the Bishop of London.

Beza did not like the hot accusing spirit of this Spaniard, nor did he think fit to take the deciding of the case to himself; but in the beginning of March laid the business open to the Bishop of London, and withal sends him Corranus's letters. Beza acknowledged to the Bishop, that if the Ministers were such as he had represented them, they were not only (in his judgment) unworthy of the sacred ministry, but deserved severe punishment to be inflicted on them. For Corranus had charged them to be slanderers, suborners of witnesses, dealers in falsehood, and endued with the spirit of Cain. All, as the Bishop might see, in Corranus's writings sent to him the said Beza: besides many shifts and bitter reproaches uttered against some whom Beza knew to be honest men. But that the learned man made no great matter of, knowing it to be the temper of his countrymen the Spaniards.

To whom Beza writes about the matter.

One Galasius, a Minister, as it seems, or a person of reputation of Geneva, sojourning at London, happened to come to Geneva at this time; from whom Beza learned the whole matter. And this very Galasius was one of those Corranus had found fault with. Both he and Beza did now, after deliberation, agree in this, that the matter should be wholly referred to Bishop Grindal: and so Beza wrote to him, God having appointed him there a watchman and judge; leaving therefore the whole controversy to him, according to his prudence to consider and make an end of. And so sent the Bishop the letter, which he had upon this occasion wrote to Corranus in a packet, open for him to make use of, according as he judged expedient: for he thought it not convenient to do as Corranus had desired; which was, to lay the case open before the whole Church of Geneva, that he might spare both Corranus himself, and the French Church also in London. But he added, "that

“ it extremely grieved him, that that Church, which even CHAP.  
 “ necessity compelled to cherish mutual concord, was vexed XIII.  
 “ so often with differences; which must needs cause great Anno 1568.  
 “ offences, and create especially much trouble to him, the The French  
 “ Bishop; who ought rather to receive comfort and joy Church in  
 “ from them, on whom he had heaped so many and so London.  
 “ great benefits. But these that reverend man accounted,  
 “ as he said, Satan’s arts, to hinder or overthrow the Lord’s  
 “ building, and the unanimous consent of the people in the  
 “ confession of one religion. Thus, as he added, it was but  
 “ a few years past, that that spiritual adversary scattered  
 “ the poor French Churches at Wesel, Frankfort, and  
 “ Argentine; making use of those very men to do it, by  
 “ whose means they had been before built up. He further  
 “ shewed the Bishop, that himself was not ignorant by  
 “ what arts the same enemy had laboured the same thing  
 “ among the English, in the time wherein they were  
 “ dispersed abroad, to make them hateful to all.

“ But as for this Church at London, gathered together 127  
 “ chiefly under God, by the favour and assistance of the  
 “ Bishop, that great equity and prudence, he said, where-  
 “ with he was endued, caused him to hope for the best  
 “ things from him; and that this tempest would so season-  
 “ ably be scattered, he sitting at the helm, that that little  
 “ ship might not be dashed against this rock: for the accom-  
 “ plishing of which, he doubted not but God would supply  
 “ him with seasonable counsels. And lastly, for his further  
 “ assistance in this good work, Beza recommended to his  
 “ perusal the letters that he had sent to both the contend-  
 “ ing parties; whereby he might take cognizance of the  
 “ whole matter.” What further proceedings this business  
 had, we shall relate when we come to the next year.

In this correspondence, Beza acquainted the Bishop with Beza ac-  
 the present estate of their city; and that there had been a quaints him  
 plague amongst them for eight months, but favourably, with the  
 not above four hundred dying, and they persons but of the state of Ge-  
 meanest rank. That they had, by the singular grace of neva.  
 God, restored and set up their school, and that with con-

**BOOK** siderable improvement and increase. But that the city did  
 I. \_\_\_\_\_ abound with such a number of miserable exiles, that it was  
**Anno 1568.** incredible so many could be contained in so small a place :  
 and that had not the Churches of Helvetia, by their large  
 beneficence, assisted their treasury, they had not been able  
 to have undergone the charge. And this, as he told the  
 Bishop, he signified to him, because he persuaded himself  
 it would be pleasing to him and all good men to hear ; and  
 that though Christ were so afflicted in the French Churches  
 in those parts, yet with the English nation he found safe  
 harbour, and a quiet station open to him in the very jaws  
 of the lion, [he meant in respect of France, that was so near,  
 where the persecution was very hot.] In fine, he hoped  
 that the Bishop, knowing the state of their affairs, would  
 earnestly commend that little city and school to God ;  
 which hitherto, by the Divine help alone, had not been afraid  
 of the menaces of all the world. And that they in like man-  
 ner would offer up their prayers to God in behalf of Eng-  
 land, to defend it from Antichrist, now a second time so  
 mightily delivered from him.

The Bishop makes a contribution for the persecuted Protestants. In this sad condition stood the Protestant interest at this time in France, the professors of the Gospel unreasonably oppressed by their King ; former leagues of peace, and liberty of their religion, faithlessly dissolved and violated by him. The Queen being thoroughly affected with their case espoused them, and sent over to them both money and ammunition. And perhaps the aforementioned letter of Beza to our Bishop made an impression upon him ; that he be-thought himself, how Geneva also might be relieved, whither such great numbers of these French Protestants were fled, to the overburdening of that city ; for I find him in the month of August contriving a way for a benevolence from his Clergy ; which seems to be for Geneva. He acquainted Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, with what he had devised ; in what manner, and after what proportion to make the collection : which when he understood to be approved by him, he expressed his gladness that he did not mislike 128 his labour. However some, not well affected undoubtedly

to this cause, threatened the Bishop with a *premunire*, as laying a charge upon the Clergy without authority from the Queen. But he was not discouraged in so good an enterprise: and advised the Secretary, that if the matter should be general, and recommended to the Clergy of the whole province, that then it might pass by some exhortation from the Archbishop.

CHAP.  
XIII.

Anno 1568.

The vines at Fulham were of that goodness and perfection beyond others, that the grapes were very acceptable to the Queen: and as the Bishop had accustomed to do, so now the time came on to present her Majesty with some of his grapes, which he hinted to the Secretary now the last day of August but one; and that by the end of the next week she should have the first fruits thereof. If this be too minute a matter to relate, let the reader pass it over.

This year (as before the seeds were sown) arose great differences among the members of the Dutch congregation in London, upon several things: whereof one of the chief was about godfathers and godmothers; which many of the Church would have had to be laid aside: but it having been the custom of that Church, the ministers and officers stood for continuance of it. Many means were used in their consistory for the quelling and pacifying of these disturbances, but to little purpose: so that at last they framed certain *theological propositions*, taken out of the Scriptures, shewing that obedience that is due in matters of controversy about indifferent things, from the particular members of a church to the governors thereof. And for the gaining the more authority to these their Propositions, they sent them by certain messengers to the Church of Geneva, whereof Beza was then chief, for their judgment and allowance of them: who did well approve of them, under the hands of the said Beza, and divers others of the eminentest rank in that as well as in the neighbouring churches, in a letter written in the month of June.

Which when the Church here had received, they shewed them unto Grindal, Bishop of London, their Superintendent; and he encouraged them to make them public; which By the Bishop's allowance they make them public:

BOOK they accordingly did in Latin, and in their Dutch language  
I. too; and because these Propositions might serve also

Anno 1568. to satisfy those of the English Church in these days, that scrupled submission in the ecclesiastical appointments about the ceremonies. They were printed by Jugg, printer to the Queen's Majesty, in Latin and English. But that I may give some account thereof: there was a preface to the reader from the Dutch Church, which related the reason

And why. for the publishing hereof, to this purpose. "That where-  
"as it was well known to all men, almost in all places,  
"that there had been divers controversies stirred up in  
"their congregation gathered together in London, con-  
"cerning certain ceremonies, and external policy of the  
"Church; and namely, touching the witnesses, or god-  
"fathers, in baptism of infants, a ceremony always used in  
"that Church; which controversies afterwards brought  
"forth great and long contention, not without great of-  
"fence of the godly in every place:

"They, the Ministers of the said Church, after they  
"had used divers means for that purpose, and divers con-  
129 "sultations both among themselves, and with certain godly  
"ministers of other churches, found out or knew no bet-  
"ter way to remedy this evil, than if they gathered toge-  
"ther out of the very foundations of holy Scripture, and  
"digested into certain propositions and articles, the prin-  
"cipal grounds of their doctrine, which they had always  
"taught in handling the foresaid controversies; the igno-  
"rance whereof had been the occasion of all that stir be-  
"tween them and other men.

"And that those articles, having been sent unto that  
"notable congregation of Geneva, and other reformed  
"Churches of God, that they might not only approve them  
"as agreeable to the doctrine which they professed at  
"home, but also might, by changing, adding, or de-  
"tracting, correct them, and make them more plain, ac-  
"cording to their godly wisdoms; by this means might  
"be unto them and their Church (which hitherto had  
"peaceably continued under their ministry) a public tes-

“ timony: and that they might also serve to all other CHAP.  
“ Churches, either of their nation or language, or to any XIII.  
“ other private man, which by any means were in mislik. Anno 1568.  
“ ing with them on this account, as a remedy to unity,  
“ truth, and Christian concord, to the common building up  
“ of God’s Church.

“ And because their foresaid articles were, according to  
“ their earnest desire, not only approved, but also returned  
“ unto their hands very plainly and clearly set forth, they  
“ would not bereave God’s Church (unto the which they  
“ owed themselves and all their labours) of them, but  
“ according to their Superintendent, the Reverend Lord  
“ Bishop of London, his counsel, faithfully set them forth,  
“ drawn out of the very copies of the forenamed Church  
“ of Geneva: wherefore they beseeched all ministers of  
“ churches, and especially of their nature and tongue,  
“ and generally all manner of men, whosoever they were,  
“ which by reason of their former dissension had found  
“ any lack in them, that they would diligently read over  
“ those Articles, and advisedly mark them, and maintain  
“ and defend, with them, the doctrine in them contained;  
“ which they had there advouched, by the public subscrip-  
“ tion of certain reformed Churches of God, to the com-  
“ mon utility of the Church, and the advancing of their  
“ common salvation.

“ And in case they had here any matter against them;  
“ to wit, as they had often and openly of their own accord  
“ professed before the congregation, that in prosecuting  
“ this controversy, they had shewed the imperfection of  
“ men, or in some place or other had passed the bounds of  
“ foresight, gentleness, or patience, by any means, they  
“ would herein pardon them even for Christ’s sake. And  
“ so praying, that God, the author of all peace, would di-  
“ rect all their hearts, &c. Written at London, in the con-  
“ sistory of the Dutch Church, the 18th of Sept. 1568.

“ Subscribed, *The Ministers and Elders of the Dutch  
Church of Christ, at London.*”

**BOOK I.** The Church of Geneva sent these Articles abovesaid, by them allowed and corrected, enclosed in a letter, super-Anno 1568. scribed, "To the godly servants of Christ, the pastors and

130 "seniors of the Dutch Church in London, our reverend brethren and fellow-ministers in the Lord, grace and peace from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." And it ran to this tenor:

The Church  
of Geneva,  
to the  
Dutch  
Church in  
London,  
when they  
returned  
them the  
Proposi-  
tions.

"That as it was grievous unto them to understand with what and how great discord the Church committed to their charge was troubled; so it was pleasant unto them to hear, that they not only did their endeavour to establish peace and concord, but took that advice to bring the same to pass, which they judged most profitable and necessary. For whereas the Church was engendered of the word of God, as it were of certain seed, and was not nourished of any other nutriment than that; they [of the Dutch Church] seemed to have judged very well, that controversies already begun might be assuaged; and such as perchance hereafter should arise could be stopped by no other means than by wholesome doctrines once established. Wherefore they [of the Church of Geneva] gladly read over and considered their Propositions, written concerning Christian liberty, and certain other questions annexed to it; as of the lawful use of indifferent things, and finally, of the bounds of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. What their opinion hereof was, since they [of the Dutch congregation] so earnestly required it of them, (who otherwise would never have intermeddled their judgment herein; insomuch that they had thought good to send certain brethren unto them, touching this matter,) they could not but satisfy their desires. Therefore they made answer, that they generally allowed the Dutch Church's doctrine, comprised in the said Propositions, as agreeable to the word of God, and to the writings of godly authors. And for this their consent, with the holy Church, they rejoiced with them in the Lord. Wherein they also most earnestly beseeched them [of the

“ Dutch congregation] constantly to persevere unto the CHAP.  
“ end. XIII.

“ Notwithstanding thus much, according to the prero- Anno 1568.  
“ gative which they had granted to them, [at Geneva,] they  
“ freely and simply confessed unto them, that they found  
“ want of perspicuity in certain points, which they knew  
“ very well to be required in such aphorisms. There were  
“ also some things that seemed somewhat hardly expressed,  
“ others too briefly, and some things not set in their due  
“ place. And to be short, they wished that some things  
“ had been pretermitted ; as they thought good to declare  
“ particularly, that afterwards they might determine on the  
“ whole matter, as the Spirit of God should direct them.”

Then followed the Articles which the Dutch congregation had sent to Geneva, together with that Church's observations and corrections upon each. And then lastly, for the conclusion, “ they wished some good fruit to redound from the “ whole, to the edifying of their Church [in London] by this “ small pains of theirs : and so recommended themselves to “ their prayers. Dated at Geneva, 25. June, 1568. in their 131  
“ general congregation of brethren, gathered together out  
“ of the city and country.”

Subscribed by

Theodore Beza,	Petrus Carpenterius,
Remondus Calvetus,	Johannes de Pleuvre,
Nicolaus Coladonius,	Johan. Perrilius,
Johannes Tremulæus,	Lodovicus Henricus,
Johannes Pinaldus,	Johannes Serranus,
Gasparus Favergius,	Antonius Calvus,
Car. Perottus,	Simon Goulartius,
Egidius Chaussæus,	Johan. Jacomotus,
Cornelius Bertrandus,	Abednago Duplæus.
Franciscus Portus,	

Hereunto also subscribed the Churches of Bern,  
Lausannia, Tigur, and Heidelberg.

The principal matters contained in this book of Articles The sum of  
these Propo-  
sitions.

BOOK (thus approved by these eminent foreign reformed churches)  
I. may be worth setting down in this place; *viz.* What was  
Anno 1568. the Christian liberty. How this liberty was transgressed.

Of private men's judgments in matters indifferent. Of conscience. Things indifferent. Ceremonial laws. The use of things indifferent in general. The use of things indifferent in special. Circumstances in things indifferent be diverse. To forbid or command things indifferent, except for notable causes, do offend: also, they that rashly judge other men's consciences herein. Christian liberty is not to be prejudiced generally, but by circumstances. They are to be reproved who wound weak consciences in things indifferent. Constitutions are; some universal, and some particular. What the Church is; sometimes manifest, sometimes obscure. Every man must join himself to some particular Church, being visible. No superiority in particular Churches. Synods for to decide controversies. Schisms and apostasy from the Church to be avoided. The lawful Ministers and elders represent the Church. Let no man trouble the congregation, but ask counsel of the Pastors. No law to be made, but according to the word, profitable and necessary. Such as resist godly laws, and conspire against God's Ministers, are enemies to the Church. How far the authority and duty of the Ministers and elders of Christ's Church is extended. What excommunication is; and for whom of Christ ordained. All matters of injury to be prosecuted charitably, and with modesty. Excommunicate persons not to be received into the congregation before manifest proof of their unfeigned repentance. Civil magistrates be of God, and to what end of him ordained. Civil ordinances made by civil magistrates are to be obeyed. The godly magistrate, and also the wicked, be God's instruments; the one a blessing, the other a scourge. It belongeth to the civil magistrate to defend the Church of Christ. Every man in his vocation ought to live as a subject: and what to be done in case of oppression and tyranny. Manifest and notorious crimes, (of the inferior magistrate,) only to be punished by the Prince. And herein all pri-

vate men, and others, are rather to suffer wrong, than to CHAP.  
rebel. XIII.

These were the contents of these Articles, or Propositions. Anno 1568. But in compliance to such as may be desirous to see them at length, I have inserted them in the Appendix, being No. XVIII. somewhat rare otherwise to be met withal in English. They 132 are printed indeed in Latin, in Beza's Epistles, with his cor- Epist. 24. rections and observations. They were in number thirty-two. And after some corrections and explanations, being approved by the Church of Geneva, and the other foreign Churches, (to which the Dissenters pretended to give great deference,) it was thought convenient by the Bishop of London, with the advice, as it seems, of other the Queen's Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, to have them put into English, and printed, to instruct them and all people in peace, and submission to the government under which they lived, in indifferent matters controverted in the Church.

These Articles I find Williams Bishop of Lincoln (after-<sup>Holy Table,</sup>  
wards Archbishop of York, and Lord Keeper) making p. 36. mention of, saying, they were approved by Beza, and divers others.

I have one thing more to add of these Articles of the strangers' church in London: that whereas the one and thirtieth article gave some colour for inferior magistrates to resist the highest in some extraordinary cases, Beza and the Church of Geneva thought fit to declare their dissent thereto; as may be seen in his observations upon that article in his epistle to them. And in the next year, viz. 1569, I Epist. 24. find a long letter in French, wrote to John Cousin, [or Cognatus,] (who was one of the Ministers of the French strangers' church,) by some learned man, upon this argument; Whether it be lawful to take up arms against the supreme Magistrate? and the resolution of this Frenchman, whoever he were, makes it not lawful for any cause to do so: wrote perhaps in satisfaction of this Cousin. The letter began, *Monsieur, mon compagnon, j'ay été joyeux, &c.*

Lastly, in the year following, the foresaid thirty-first article being so tender a point, and some controversy still Bishop San-  
dys's four articles ex-  
planatory of

**BOOK I.** remaining about it, Sandys, now Bishop of London, (Grindal being removed to York,) ended this difference, and  
**Anno 1568.** caused the following Articles, as explanatory of it, to be signed December 18, 1570; *viz.*

**submission to governors.** I. That it doth not belong to the common people, without the authority of the Magistrate, to prevent or to change

*The schieden nissen: a MS. in the Dutch Church library.* the public abuses of the Church.

II. That if any one by the impulse of the Holy Ghost should do some act like that of Phinehas, and other such which we read of, we do not condemn it: but on the other hand, we deny that such extraordinary examples may be made use of, as a common rule to follow.

III. The ungodly, and Papists, who are Magistrates, must be owned by the godly for their superiors, and acknowledged as such: and must, if it be required of them, make confession of their faith. And,

IV. It is not permitted to the godly, who are put into fetters and imprisonment by the supreme power, upon account of religion, to break prison by violence, or by any other means, which are contrary to the laws, to deliver themselves, or to release others by the like means.

This was the rather now added, to declare against a late practice of many of the common people in Flanders, who had committed great outrages there, in pulling down images, and ransacking the Popish churches, and were guilty of many such misdemeanors, on pretence of reforming religion.

**Popery in Oxon.** Complaints came up this year concerning the prevalency of Popery in Oxford; and particularly in Corpus Christi, and the New College, and that of Winchester appertaining to it. Wherein were strong parties of such as inclined

**Corpus Christi college visited.** that way. As for Corpus Christi, the Queen appointed one Cole, a learned and a good man, once an exile, to be President there.

But the college would not admit him, and elected another, named Harrison, who had before left the college out of an affectation to the Popish religion. Insomuch that the Bishop of Winchester, the Visitor of that college, was fain to institute a visitation, and placed the

said Cole by force in the said presidentship, breaking open CHAP.  
the gates of the house which they had shut against him. XIII.  
And when the said Bishop had made some progress in visiting the house, in order to the purging it of some of the worst affected Fellows, they were so refractory and abusive, that the visiting Bishop sent a letter to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing that it was his judgment, that the irregularities of this college, as likewise of New College and Winchester, would be better remedied by the Ecclesiastical Commission than his private visitation. The Archbishop signified this to the Bishop of London, and withal sent him Winchester's letter. He considering the stubbornness of these University men, approved of the counsel of bringing them before the Commission, perceiving well what seminaries of irreligion and disobedience they might prove: and sending the letter back again, he wrote his mind at the bottom briefly in these words, " My Lords, I like this letter very well, and think as the writer, if by some extraordinary ready [means] that house and school be not purged, those godly foundations shall be but a nursery of adder's brood, to poison the Church of Christ.

" Edm. London."

We must turn our eyes once more this year to the strangers inhabiting in London. About the month of December, Duke D'Alva, Governor of the Netherlands, had unjustly seized the goods and effects of the English residing in those countries, and had made them prisoners: the reason whereof was, because the Queen had detained some monies conveyed by land from Plymouth, by borrowing it for a time, which that Duke pretended did belong to the King of Spain, but in truth did not so, but to certain Italian merchants. The Queen, in vindication of her subjects, the merchants, thus misused, commanded the goods and ships of such Netherlanders, as lived and traded in England, in like manner to be arrested. Of these Netherlanders, 134 subjects of the King of Spain, there were great numbers now in London: most whereof were such as fled over

**BOOK I.** hither from the tyranny and persecution exercised in those parts. This arrest falling upon the effects of many of these good people, created great disturbances and confusions among them. For their creditors now came earnestly upon them for the payment of their debts: and those who owed them money refused to pay them. So that they were in very evil case; nor were able to keep touch in paying their bills of exchange. For thus did Cousin the French Minister complain in their behalf to the Bishop of London, their Superintendent, in a letter to him:

The French Minister's complaint to the Bishop.

“ Honoré seigneur, suivant l'advertisement que je vous ay donné touchant les plaintes de nos marchans, pour les incommodités qui leur surviennent bien grandes, et journellement en leurs traffiques; je vous supplie d'avoir souvenance des lettres que vous ferez pour la cour de points suivans.

“ Primierement, leur debiteurs sont refus de les payer.

“ Secondement, leur crediteurs ne les veulent supporter, ains les pressent par importunité pour avoir payement.

“ Tiercement, quant aux lettres de change pour ne pouvoir satisfaire promptement, il tombent en reproche et préjudice de leur credit.

“ Votre humble serviteur,  
“ Jean Cousin.”

The Bishop seasonably interposes for them.

Now did the Bishop of London interpose himself, and by his intercession with some at Court, (whereof Secretary Cecil was chief,) obtained, that those who were Protestants, and members either of the Dutch, or French, or Italian Church, or that frequented their English parish churches, might either escape, or be released of this arrest. And that only such as were factors for the King of Spain's subjects abroad, and their effects lying in their hands, should be subject to this arrest.

The names of the members of the foreigners' churches sent in, *viz.* The Dutch;

This proceeded so far, that catalogues of the names of all the members of these foreign churches planted in London were sent in to the Bishop, testified under the respective

Ministers' and elders' hands. And these lists were by him sent to the Court: who accordingly, I suppose, had the desired favour shewn them. The catalogues sent from the Dutch congregation, out of honourable respect to the memories of such good men, that left their countries, or suffered persecution for the sake of Christ, I shall set down in the Appendix, with the testimonial of the Ministers and elders subjoined.

The Ministers and elders of the French Church likewise, in January, gave in the names of all their members, as the Dutch had done, having been born in King Philip's dominions: which were in number four hundred and twenty two; to which eighteen more were added. Those that subscribed to this list were Jean Cousin, Anthony de Pouchel, Pierre Chastellain, who were the Ministers; Michael Chaudron, Gerard de Lobel, and others that were seniors.

Then also was another catalogue brought in of those of the Italian Church in London; being also persons born in Flanders, and other places under the dominion of the said King of Spain. In this Church were both Italians and Spaniards, to the number of about fifty-seven. Among whom these seemed to be of some rank, Dr. Cornelio Spiringus, Dr. Andrea Medico Romano, Cornelio de Vischer, painter, Il Senior Baron, Il Senior de Longwater. Some of this Church were also of Antwerp, some of Gaunt, some of Almain. This paper was signed by Cornelius Spiringus, Gasper Vosbergius, M. de Questor, Baptista Oijens, Marcos de la Palma. The Minister of this congregation was Hieronymus Jerlitus.

It appears that these names were thus diligently taken, (namely, of those that were born in the Spanish dominions,) upon account of the arrest, for the favouring of them that were true Protestants, and the laying of the said arrest chiefly upon Papists, who were in effect but a sort of spies upon the Queen and her government. But as they were tender to take the goods of Protestants, so if any of these were factors for merchants abroad under the King of Spain, the goods in their hands were stayed. And divers of these

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Num. XIX.

**BOOK I.** factors and correspondents were met with in all the strangers' churches. The rest were favoured.

Anno 1568.

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## CHAP. XIV.

*Separatists set at liberty by the Bishop. The Dean of St. Paul's letter to him, upon the poisoning of Dandellot. His care for checking Popery at the Inns of Court. Sir John Southworth committed to the Bishop: and Milerus an Irishman. The Bishop's letter about Bonner's burial. A visitation of King's college in Cambridge by the Bishop's means.*

Anno 1569. THERE were divers separatists kept in the prison of Bride-  
The Bishop wel, for holding private assemblies, and using a form of  
procures li-  
berty for di-  
vers Puritans in pri-  
son. and here they had lain for about a twelvemonth. Their  
great opinion was, that certain of the ceremonies used in the  
public service were Popish, having been used by the Papists,  
and therefore that they ought in conscience not to be pre-  
sent at it. Nor could all the Bishop's endeavours reclaim  
them. And therefore pitying their condition he moved the  
Secretary, that clemency might be used towards them: that  
so by giving them freely their liberty, only with an admonition,  
they might be more prevailed withal to comply with

136 the laws, than by severity: and praying the Secretary to obtain from the Lords of the Council an order to him the Bishop to release them. Accordingly the Lords approved of Grindal's counsel, and in April sent him a letter with a warrant for that purpose: but withal to let them understand, that if after their enlargement any one of them carried themselves factiously and disorderly again, they must expect severe punishment to the example of others. and to give them further admonition according as he should think convenient.

Dismisses  
them with  
exhortation.

Upon this the good Bishop, having them all before him,

gave them to understand the favour of the Council toward them, and withal read their letter to them, adding his own sober advice. And then by a warrant from himself to the governor of that prison, that all the persons underwritten should be discharged ; *viz.*

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Anno 1569.

John Smith,	Thomas Lydford,
John Roper,	Richard Langton,
Robert Hawkes,	Alexander Lacy,
James Ireland,	John Leonard,
William Nyckson,	Robert Tod,
Walter Hynckesman,	Roger Hawkesworth,
Thomas Bowland,	Robert Sparrow,
George Waddy,	Richard King,
William Turner,	Christopher Colman,
John Nayshe,	John Benson,
James Adderton,	John Bolton,
William Wight,	Robert Gates.

Which being twenty-four, besides seven women, were accordingly discharged.

The graver Clergy, especially the Bishops, did use in these days to take their opportunities to exhort and stir up the nobility to take care of religion, and to press them to make use of the power and authority committed to them to consult for the safety thereof in those times, when so many implacable enemies beset it and the peace of this kingdom, where it was openly professed and set up. At this juncture the condition of the reformed religion abroad was but low, and in France especially, where the Prince of Condé with his army met this spring with a great overthrow: and soon after the Admiral Coligni, and his brother Andelot, excellent captains, and the heads of the Protestants, were both treacherously poisoned by the Popish faction, and the villain that did it acknowledged that Katharine de Medici, the Queen, set him on. The latter died, the former narrowly escaped with life after a deadly sickness. This calamity to religion abroad threatened us here: so that there

The danger-  
ous state of  
religion;

**BOOK** seemed great need now to cast off security at home, and to  
I. be more concerned for the assistance of those of the religion,  
**Anno 1569.** and for the prevention of that destruction that seemed to  
 Causes the hang over the nation. This occasioned the good Dean of  
**Dean of St. Paul's to** St. Paul's to signify his mind to the Bishop, and to pray him  
 write to the to set these things home on certain of the chief nobility and  
 Bishop.

**137** Counsellors that were to dine with him at his house, after  
 the hearing of a sermon at St. Paul's, upon some solemn oc-  
 casion or other, as it seems. Which advice, no doubt, the  
 Bishop rejected not, being himself sensible enough of these  
 matters. The Dean's letter to the Bishop may deserve here  
 to be inserted.

The Dean's letter. "After my humble commendations to your Lordshyp."

"Upon occasion given unto me, sincē your Lordshyp's

**Int. epistol. Nowel.** "departing, I have entred into a depe and earnest care

**Decan. D.** "towching the publick state of true religion, and religions

**Pauli, penes me.** "thorowout Christendome, not without extreme feare, that

"the slacknes used, and coldnes shewed in defence of the

"common cause, and ayding of these, who do openly put

"their goods, lands and liefs in hasarde for the same, will at

"the last brede the dredeful daunger of us, that enjoy such

"false securitie in the dailie destruction of so many thou-

"sands of our brethren. Which like a next neighbour's

"fyre, will spedily, if it be not prevented in time, passe

"from them unto us, to our lyke destruction. Whereupon

"I am, as it were, by a certeyn violence, enforced to put

"your Lordship in mind, that after the interteynment of

"those most honorable and wise counsellors with good

"chere, ye wold take occasion, upon the traitorous Popish

"poysoning of the renowned Dandylote, or otherwise, as

"your wisdom shall think good, to move the said most

"honorable aside from other companye, to endeavour by

"their wisdoms, to remove such securitie and slacknes from

"these to whom it is most daungerous; and to stirre them

"up by some spedye, competent aide, to help towards the

"deliverie of our brethren from certeyn destruction, and to

"the depulsion of imminent daunger from our own heddys.

“ A few words will serve to your wisdom: and I wold my- CHAP.  
 “ self have been a present interpreter of my mynde more XIV.  
 “ largely, if I had not alredye taken my leave of your Anno 1569.  
 “ Lordship, and some other my good frends. And thus I  
 “ commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, who de-  
 “ fend his poor flock from the gredye gaping of the roar-  
 “ ing lyons, these bloodthursty Papists. Amen. 6. Junii,  
 “ 1569.

“ Your Lordshep’s to commande,  
 “ Alex. Nowell.”

Our Bishop turned his eyes to the Inns of Court, which Procures letters to the Inns of Court against Popery. had harboured many popishly affected. Of this he acquainted Secretary Cecil, and consulted with him for the reformation of those places; desiring that letters might be issued to them from the Lords of the Council, that the heads would take order for the encouragement of true religion there. And at the same time he had shewed the Secretary a certain letter of the same import; whether of his own drawing, or which had been formerly sent to those Inns of Court; wrote perhaps some time before in this Queen’s, or King Edward’s reign. For this purpose it was, that in the month of May a good letter was drawn up by the said Secretary, and a copy sent to Grindal, for his approbation and judgment of it. Who told the Secretary that he liked it very well; only he desired one clause might be added; which was, that a commandment might be given to the Benchers of every house, that in calling men to the bench or bar, they should reject all those that were notoriously known, or vehemently suspected, to be adversaries to true religion, unless they had sufficiently purged themselves. By which means the ill affected in religion would be restrained from taking any degree in law.

It was not without reason that the Papists were now especially looked to and watched. For this year they were hatching a dangerous rebellion, which brake out in the northern parts in September; and was intended also, in all likelihood, to have appeared as formidable in the west at the

**BOOK I.** same time, had it not been prevented. Sure it is, that in **Anno 1569.** May there was great flocking of gentlemen to the city of Bath, upon pretence of using the waters. Persons they were, that had been noted to be hinderers of God's word and Gospel. And these meetings were chiefly caused by Bonner's disciples and kin, who lived there at Bath. Among these gentlemen, one was called Stradling: another named Jacobine, an Italian, a lame man, (whose abode was most at Southampton,) a person suspected to do much hurt. He had daily intelligence, both from Flanders and Spain: nor wanted for wealth, nor spared for charges to gain acquaintance for his purpose. Sir John Southworth, a Lancashire knight, was another; who tarried at Bath twenty days; during which time he was a great leader of that ring, and no little doer in those parts, remaining in great admiration.

He had been but the year before sent for up from Lancashire, and committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his harbouring Romish Priests in his house, and relieving them, though in his hearing they had spoke against the present state of religion established, and the state of the realm. A form of submission, which the Archbishop offered him from the Council, he then refused. But however, upon some promise, as it seems, not to entertain such guests any more, he then got his liberty.

**The Secretary informed thereof by one Church-yard.** Thomas Churchyard, (in that age an excellent soldier, and a poet,) a man of honest principles, gave the Secretary secret notice of all this from the Bath. And moreover, that in those parts people spake very broadly about the government, and that there was much liberty of speech: nor durst dutiful ears rebuke that they heard. He told the Secretary, that he suspected these troops of gentlemen of some dangerous plot a hatching; which their practices drew him to presume of them. And this indeed was a just suspicion, as appears by what Camden relates concerning the rising in the north, that happened not long after, headed by the Earl of Northumberland; that when he began to waver, the leaders of the rebellion came to him, and urged him among other

**Camd.  
Elizab. sub  
anno 1569.**

arguments with this, that the Catholics were ready prepared all over England to maintain the Roman religion. CHAP.  
XIV.

But upon this, Sir John Southworth before mentioned was taken up and made a prisoner, till in August he was removed, and placed under some easy confinement in our Bishop's house; that if possible, by his learning and persuasion, he might be reclaimed from his religion. The Bishop now conferred often with him; and so, upon the Bishop's desire, did the Dean of Paul's also, who several times had taken great pains with him, and withal had used much courtesy and humanity towards him; and that not without some charge to himself, if perhaps such gentle and obliging usage might bring him to relent: but all to no purpose. For, as the Bishop gave the character of him to the Secretary, "he was altogether unlearned, carried with a blind zeal without knowledge. And that his principal grounds were, that he would follow the faith of his fathers; and that he would die in the faith wherein he was baptized, and such like." But on pretence of his loyalty, he desired the Bishop to permit him to repair to the Court, to sue to the Council that he might be employed in some service. At whose instant request, the Bishop gave him licence so to do. But the Queen did not need such servants.

It was soon after the Bishop seemed to be eased of this guest; coming next under the roof of the Dean of St. Paul's. But being here, he continued stiff in his principles, and refused to come either to prayers or sermon; which made the Dean weary of him; and so the Bishop signified unto the Secretary. But whatever Southworth was, and how little soever he deserved, now about the middle of August, the Bishop made a motion to the Lords of the Council, to spare Southworth's imprisonment for a time, since the prison sickness usually reigned at that time of the year. What afterwards became of him, I know not.

About this time came two packets of letters from the Lords of the Council to the Bishop. The one, for search makes search for of certain Irishmen; concerning whom they had intelligence, Irishmen;

Anno 1569.  
South-  
worth, a  
Papist, con-  
fined in the  
Bishop's  
house;

**BOOK** that they were lately come over, and were private in London;

**I.** suspicious persons at this juncture especially, when there  
**Anno 1569.** were jealousies of some insurrection at hand. The other,  
 And about a monster. for making examination about a supposed monster, that it

seems was much talked of, and portended some dangerous matters to ensue: set up, as it seems, by some Papists, the more at this time to amuse the people. According to these letters, the Bishop soon made secret search for those Irishmen, whose names were Whyte and Creyghe. But they were gone before. And as for the monster, it appeared plainly to be a counterfeit matter. But he, and others of the Ecclesiastical Commission, could not extort confession from them employed therein, concerning the manner of their doings. And so he signified back to the Lords.

**Provides lodgings for the Vidame.** The Vidame of Chartres, a great nobleman of France, and of chief account among the Protestants, a learned and a

very good man, was now in August here, upon some business relating to religion. He was favoured here much by the friends of religion, though not so much by all at the Court. And wanting an habitation for privacy or security, the Bishop of London, and some others, by their instant suit to the Bishop of Ely, obtained the use of his house at Holbourn, for the said Vidame, until Michaelmas, when he came himself. This, as if he expected some notice would be taken of at Court, he acquainted the Secretary with it, and prayed him, that if any thing should be said of it, they might have his patrociny.

**140** The State had now great jealousies from Ireland, the Mylerus, an Irish people being so devoted to the King of Spain and Irishman, with the Bi- the Pope, England's professed enemies, and the Irish Priests shop.

so exagitated with Popish ignorance and zeal. There was one of this sort, called Mylerus, of some considerable account in Ireland, (and of the Clergy as it seems,) so much Irish, that he understood no English. This man was a prisoner in England, and at length committed to the custody of the Bishop of London, (a thing commonly practised in these times towards Papists of the better rank, whether Lay or Clergy; both to shew the gentleness of the government

in such an easy confinement, and that they might have the benefit of our Bishop's instructions.) Mylerus was now brought to great pretended submissions. He acknowledged the Queen's supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical and temporal. And therefore by a petition to the Lords he earnestly sued for his liberty, or at least to be sent into his own country in bonds: where he assured them, he would stand faithful and true to her Majesty; and would give good sureties to the Lord Deputy thereof. But this favour the Lords as yet refused him.

He wrote the contents of this in a Latin letter to the Queen's Secretary, which he prayed the Bishop might be delivered to him. In which letter he shewed the Secretary, "That seeing the Lords thought not good to grant him his petition, but that he should remain yet longer in durance of. " in England, it became him to bear it. For every soul ought, he said, to be subject to the higher powers. And yet, as he added, he could not understand for what cause he should be still imprisoned, since as Virgil saith, *Those that are obedient should be spared, and the proud suppressed.* That for his part, he had wholly submitted himself to the Queen of England and her Council, and had rejected all other authority, as well in temporals as spirituels, besides her authority only, next after God. And Christ saith, [God he should have said,] *In whatsoever hour a sinner repents him of all his iniquities, he will not any more remember them.* And that none might judge this his submission to be done feignedly, or out of fear of punishment, and not with a willing mind, and a purpose of standing to the same, he had offered once before, and did now again, to give hostages of his fidelity into the hands of the Lord Deputy; viz. his only brother, who should be liable to death, if he should do hereafter any thing contrary to his promises: and the Lord M<sup>g</sup>uire, (a faithful servant and subject of the Queen and of the Lord Deputy,) as his surety of his said fidelity. And moreover, he would give it under his own hand, to suffer the punishment of death, without mercy from God or

CHAP.  
XIV.

Anno 1569.

Who con-  
veys his let-  
ter to the  
Secretary.

The con-  
tents there-  
of.

MSS. Ceci-  
lian.

**BOOK I.** “ man, that very hour wherein he should do any thing knowingly against the laws of England. And in the Anno 1569. “ mean time, that the Lord Deputy should detain him in bonds until he had the said hostages in his hands. And “ if these things sufficed not, he neither knew nor had “ what he might further do, though he were detained in “ prison even until his death. And therefore beseeched “ the Secretary, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he “ would propound these his offers to the Council; and, if 141 “ it might be, to her Majesty; and to persuade them to “ send him to the Lord Deputy, to be kept a prisoner by “ him, till he had found the sureties abovesaid;” dating his letter from the Bishop of London’s house.

So fair did these false Irish priests promise, though the Council seemed not over-credulous to them nor their oaths. And though this letter was writ August the 2d, the Bishop retained it in his hands, and thought not fit to send it till at least twelve days after, the man being now fallen very sick of an ague, that his sickness might also plead for him.

Bonner dies. Bonner, late Bishop of London, (whose memory is stigmatized for his cruel burnings of so many Protestants under Queen Mary,) after he had lived divers years in the King’s Bench and Marshalsea, not without often feasting and banqueting there, yielded up the ghost not many days after the beginning of September, having stood excommunicated divers years; and at this time probably concerned in, or at least privy to, the Popish plot against the Queen,

His Popish relations at Bath, plotting. which brake out in the north this month; since his relations and friends at Bath, with a great sort of Popish gentlemen besides, (as we heard a little before,) were so close in their seditious cabals there, and so free in treasonable speeches. Concerning which the forementioned Church-yard in his letter to the Secretary wrote, “ that the unbridled braving and talk of Boner’s disciples (there at the Bath) argued some cureless cares too closely crept into their cankered minds: and most of Boner’s blood and kindred dwelt in that town: and that upon colour of coming to the Bath, many mad meetings there were.”

And of these things the said Churchyard discoursed with CHAP.  
the Bishop of Exon, whose hand he got to his letter. XIV.

Bonner was buried in the churchyard of the parish Anno 1569.  
wherein the Marshalsea stood, however he were excommuni- The Bishop  
cated, and so might have been denied burial either in allows him  
church or churchyard: but the Bishop, and some other of burial in  
the Commissioners, allowed him burial there; but that it the church-  
should be late at night, for the preventing any hubbub yard of St.  
among the people. And of this the Bishop of London sent George's,  
the Secretary word from Fulham, September 9, that the Southwark.  
truth might be known at Court about it, which he imagined  
was apt enough to be misrepresented in such matters as  
these. And it may not be amiss to insert the Bishop's  
letter.

“ Sir, as I doubt not but ye have hearde of D. Bo- His letter  
“ ner’s death, so think I it goode to certifie you of the or- to the Se-  
“ der of his burial. The sayd D. Boner had stand ex- cretary con-  
“ communicate by a sentence in the Arches eight or nine cerning it.  
“ years, and never desyred absolution. Wherefore by the Int. Epist.  
“ law, Christian sepulture might have ben denied him: Grind. pe-  
“ but we thought not goode to deal so rigorously; and nes me.  
“ therefore permitted him to be buried in S. George’s  
“ churchyard; and the same to be doone not in the day so-  
“ lemnely, but in the night prively: which I and some  
“ other, with whom I conferred, thought requisite in that  
“ person for two causes. One was, I hearde that divers of 142  
“ his Popish cousins and friends in London assembled  
“ themselves, entendingy to honour his funeral so moche as  
“ they cowlde: of which honour such a persecutor was not  
“ worthy, and specially in these days. Another was, for  
“ that I feared, that the people of the city, (to whom Bo-  
“ ner in his life was most odious;) if they had seen flockyng  
“ of Papists about his coffin, the same being wel decked  
“ and covered, &c. they wolde have ben mooved with in-  
“ dignation; and so some quarrellyng or tumulte might  
“ have ensued thereupon. By his night burial both the  
“ inconveniences have ben avoyded, and the same gene-

**BOOK I.** "rally here wel lyked. What shal be judged of it at the Cowrte, I cannot tel: it is possible the report of his burial shal not ther be made trulye. But this I write unto you is the very truth."

What happened at his burial.

But however, as it was well observed at that time, concerning Bonner's burial, he was buried among thieves and murderers, carried to the grave with confusion and derision of men and women; and his grave was stamped and trampled upon after he was laid into it: and that was all the persecution he suffered.

Complaints brought up against the Provost of King's college.

That college visited.

At this very time a matter happened, that gave the godly Bishop occasion to shew his concern for the good estate of the University. One Mr. Colpots, Fellow of King's college in Cambridge, was now come up to Town in the name of the college, to make complaint to Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of that University, against their Provost Dr. Baker, one who was very negligent of religion, and of the good government of the college: of which, complaint had been made four years before: which occasioned the Bishop of Lincoln, their visitor, to enter upon a visitation of that college, *viz.* in the year 1565, and to give them certain injunctions to be observed. By them the Provost was enjoined to destroy a great deal of Popish stuff, as missals, legends, couchers, and grails, copies, vestments, candlesticks, crosses, pixes, paxes, and the brazen rood: which the Provost did not perform, but preserved them in a secret corner.

Articles against the said Provost.

At this visitation, these were some of the Articles preferred against the Provost: That he had never made any commemoration of the founder and benefactors either by himself or substitute, when by the statutes he was bound to do it thrice every year. That he never preached at any time there or elsewhere, though a Doctor of Divinity. That he had no regard of Divinity in others; used no kind of exhortation or encouragement thereto, but rather the contrary: nor had caused the Fellows to turn their studies to Divinity, as the statutes required. No Sacrament admin-

istered but once, or at most twice in the whole year. The CHAP.  
XIV.  
Anno 1569. conducts and singing men manifestly Papists, and none others by him admitted: and it was much doubted whether he administered the oath of allegiance to them at their admission. His ordinary guests, the most suspected Papists in all the country; whereof one was Webb, that went over to Louvain, and there remained. He used one Mr. Woolward 143 very extremely, (who was afterward a Fellow of Eaton,) because he would not execute the service at the Communion with his face toward the east and his back towards the table, according to the manner of the mass: for the denial of which he was like to be expelled, and had been, had not one of the Queen's injunctions been his warrant. And one of the conducts then so celebrated the Communion. Had entertained Dr. Heskins, the famous Papist, being brought to his table at Cambridge in the dark, and conveyed away in the dark again. And that he had been deprived of the living of St. Andrew's in London, in the Bishop's visitation, for refusing to renounce the Pope and his doctrine. These and other informations were brought against him to the Visitor; but with admonition, and certain injunctions given him, Baker then escaped.

This man in the year 1569, and not far from the beginning of September, was complained of again, as was hinted before, and that upon a new matter, *viz.* of injustice and wrong. And the person that brought the complaint first thought fit to betake himself to our Bishop, relating the college's business with their Chancellor unto him; who very compassionately recommended it unto the said Chancellor, " praying him to be so good as to hear what the " bringer [Mr. Colpotts before mentioned] could say concerning the miserable state of that house through the " misgovernment of an evil Provost. Informing him, that " he had of late, contrary to the orders of all the houses of " the town, set up a junior Regent to be Proctor, and repelled a senior, much more meet both for religion, learning, wisdom, and experience. And furthermore, because " four of the youngest Fellows would not give their voices

The Bishop recommends the business to Cecil.

**BOOK I.** “at his appointment, he denied them their grace in the

**Anno 1569.** “house to be Bachelors of Art, notwithstanding that they were very well learned: and so belike intended to expel them the college. He added, that all his study was to oppose learning and religion. Truly it grieveth my heart,” said he, “that such an honourable foundation should be so abused. I pray you be a mean one day that it may be reformed. And for the particular case of the Proctorship, if the University at the election should choose the senior Regent to be Proctor, and so restore him to his place, which the Provost and his adherents had by wrong taken from him in his college, his opinion, he told Cecil, was, that it should not be against the good meaning of the composition between the University and that college. And so he prayed him to shew favour unto the senior as occasion should serve.”

Procures a royal visitation of King's college.

More articles against the Provost.

This seasonable interposition of the Bishop, in behalf of the college, soon after brought on a royal visitation of it: and it was done effectually. The Queen's visitors were the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. May, and Dr. Ithel, Heads of the University, and some others. And in the month of November, besides the former articles, divers new ones were by several in the college preferred against the Provost to these visitors. As, that he had neglected their

144 visitor the Bishop of Lincoln's injunctions ever since they were given. That he, to the great infamy of the college, still kept a great heap of Popish pelf, and mass-books, legends, couchers, &c. superstitious vestments, candlesticks, crosses, and the very brazen rood; nor would be persuaded, by either private entreaties or public admonition, to make them away; but preserved these relics in the vestry. And whereas a Fellow of the college was to have kept the key thereof, and to have yielded an account yearly to the Provost and Fellows, he detained the key in his own hands, not suffering any of the company to be privy to what was done there. That in a demise from the college, he was earnest to have a clause, wherein the farmer should be bound to discharge the college against the Pope. Which clause being

misliked of, as derogating from her Majesty's authority, CHAP.  
XIV.  
he answercd, that that which hath been may be again. 

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Anno 1569.  
That the guests he daily entertained, were none but such as the whole country held for notable Papists: and it was vehemently suspected that he maintained and relieved Lou- Louvainists.  
vainists. He confessed to one who was late Fellow, that he would not alter his religion for ten provostships; and to another he brake forth into these words, "I would "every man might keep his conscience, and so would I too." That his stomach was much against those that made profession of true religion, that he grieved them continually by his injurious and partial dealing: so that the Divines labouring, and nothing prevailing, to bring the house into better order, utterly discouraged, had in a manner all forsaken the college. That he allowed one Clark to be absent from the Communion for nine or ten years, licensing him to go abroad at such time as he should communicate, expressly contrary to the statutes: and that this Fellow never had received the Communion but once, namely, the last Easter, fearing lest otherwise it might hinder his suit for the proctorship. That out of the said Clark's window there flew a taunting letter against Divines, abusing the Bishop of London's credit, calling the preachers in derision *great Gospellers*, and their visitation, *a visitation of devils*, instead of *Divines*. That the said Provost never preached, neither at home nor abroad, weltering in idleness, and wholly serving mammon: so that these words were pronounced of him in an open Commencement, *pistori quam pastori similior*; i. e. more like a *baker* than a shepherd. That he rarely frequented sermons, and was continually absent from all disputations: so that in every sermon almost he was cried out of, and sometimes touched by name, to the no small infamy of the college. That by his example a great part of the college were drawn into like contempt of God's word. That when he should dispute at Commencements, two or three days before he commonly fled to Town to avoid it. That he purchased leases with college money, the college in the mean time scarcely able

**BOOK I.** to supply their necessary expenses. That he privily took bribes in letting the college leases. That he kept in his hands by the space of three years such fines as should have been paid to the college; and yet kept them, none knowing what they were. That he was grown to great wealth by hiring others to purchase Privy Counsellors' letters for the college leases, and by passing them to his own custody, and unto his own use. That he rid out to keep the college courts, without any of the company to assist, contrary to their statutes; nor was he at any time accountant to the college for the profits of the courts. That when other Provosts heretofore, riding out in the college affairs, were wont to spend but three or four pounds, he commonly charged the college with twenty. That he raised the charge of the audit of the college to forty pounds, or not much less, which used formerly to amount to no more than four or five pounds. That being desired by the seniors, and earnestly requested by the Bishop of Lincoln, to make plain to the company those college estates, when unto none of them [the Fellows] were privy, he utterly refused to do the same. Lastly, that lately he offered violently to put officers out of their places in a time of common dinner, dangerously in respect of the time, and injuriously towards the persons. Insomuch that a mutiny was made, and they driven to complain to her Majesty's officer, the Vice-Chancellor, to see the peace kept.

The Provost secretly flies.

All which is but an explanation of what the Bishop of London hinted in few words, in his letter before mentioned; *viz.* "the miserable state of that house, through 'the misgovernment of an evil Provost.' In fine, when the Queen's Commissioners aforesaid came to sit and examine these matters, Dr. Baker, knowing belike himself guilty, appeared not, and was fled. He was declared deprived. To whom Roger Goad, who not long before left the college, a man of better principles, succeeded.

**Is deprived.** This visitation [that I may take in this whole matter together] adjourned till February following. The Commissioners (who were the Bishop of Ely, Mr. Vice-Chancellor

that then was; Dr. May, Master of Katharine hall, (if I <sup>CHAP.</sup>  
mistake not;) Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college; <sup>XIV.</sup>  
Mr. Wattes, Archdeacon of London, Bishop Grindal's <sup>Anno 1569.</sup>  
Chaplain; and Dr. Ithel, Master of Jesus) had by the 23d  
of February sat fifteen days: during all which time the  
Provost appeared not, either in person or by proctor. He  
had put away his men, made a deed of gift of his goods,  
and was gone, no man could tell whither. But some  
thought that he was fled to Louvain, the great receptacle  
now for the English Popish Clergy. It was found by the  
visitors, that the Provost had defrauded the college of di-  
vers good sums of money. The Bishop of Ely pronounced  
the sentence of deprivation about the 22d of February.  
And now the college being destitute of a governor, as the <sup>The Bishop</sup>  
Bishop of London had stirred much in this business hi- <sup>endeavours</sup>  
therto, so he thought not fit to leave off, till he saw an able <sup>that Goad</sup>  
and honest man placed. And such an one he thought Roger <sup>might suc-</sup>  
Goad, B. D. to be, late Vice-Provost of the college, but now <sup>ceed.</sup>  
living at Guildford; and therefore endeavoured to get him  
settled there. And thereupon timely moved the Secretary  
for that purpose: that as he, the Secretary, had been a spe-  
cial means to remove an ill man, so he would now perfect  
his benefit towards that college, by helping to place a good  
man in the room: and that Mr. Goad was the meetest in  
his opinion. That Mr. Moor and Mr. Henry Knowles <sup>146</sup>  
could well testify of his learning and virtue. That he was  
not distracted with other livings, as some were that would  
labour for this place. And that he would be resident upon  
the office: and that was no small matter. That the com-  
pany had a good liking of him also, as he was informed.  
That the Queen was to nominate, and the company to elect.  
That it was true King Henry VIII. nominated Dr. Day,  
and King Edward Mr. Cheeke, who had been of other col-  
leges; but that that was by dispensing with the statute. He  
supposed her Majesty would not be so ready to dispense,  
seeing there were fit persons of the same foundation to be  
had. And lastly, he prayed the Secretary to be a mean to  
her Majesty herein, and in favour of the said Dr. Goad.

**BOOK I.** And according to the Bishop's desire, Goad succeeded. If  
 Anno 1569. I have made too long a digression in this matter, it will  
 be excused in a thing wherein our Bishop was so instrumental.

Presents  
 the Queen  
 with his  
 grapes.  
 And what  
 happened  
 hereupon.

But let us return a little back. There happened in the month of September a matter committed by the Bishop, which, though slight, I will mention, because it had like to have created him a great deal of trouble. So tender and cautious ought those to be, that have to do with the courts of princes. The business was this: the grapes that grew at Fulham were now-a-days of that value, and a fruit the Queen stood so well affected to, and so early ripe, that the Bishop every year used to send a present thereof to her. Eight days were past in September, but these grapes were not yet in case (so backward it seems was this year) to be presented to her. Of which Grindal gave an hint in a postscript to the Secretary. But withal that the next week he hoped to send some to the Queen. And accordingly he did so; and sent them by one of his servants. But the report was, that at this very time the plague was in his house; and that one had newly died of that distemper there, and three more sick. By which occasion both the Queen and Court were in danger. And well it was that no sickness happened here: for if it had, all the blame would have been laid upon the poor Bishop. The Bishop understanding this, thought himself bound to vindicate himself. Which he did forthwith, in a letter to the Secretary, to this tenor:

His letter  
 to the Se-  
 cretary,  
 upon a false  
 aspersion.

“ I hear that some fault is fownde with me abroad, for  
 “ the sending my servant lately to the Courte with grapes,  
 “ seyng one dyed in my house of the plague, (as they  
 “ saye,) and three more are sick. The truthe is, one dyed  
 “ in my house the 19th of this month, who had lyen but  
 “ three dayes: but he had gone abroad languishing above  
 “ twenty dayes before that, being troubled with a flyx;  
 “ and thinking to bear it out, took cold, and so ended his  
 “ life. But, I thank God, there is none sick in my house.  
 “ Neither would I so far have overseen my self, as to have

“ sent to her Majestie, if I had not been more assured, that CHAP.  
 “ my man’s sicknes was not of the plague. And if I su- XIV.  
 “ spected any such thing now, I would not keep my howse Anno 1569.  
 “ hold together, as I do. Thus moche I thought good 147  
 “ also to signify unto you. God keep you. From Fulham,  
 “ 20. Sept. 1569.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ Edm. London.”

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## CHAP. XV.

*The Bishop further concerned in Corranus’s business. The ground of the French Church’s complaint against him. The Bishop of Ross, Milerus, and Hare, Papists, committed to the Bishop’s custody. His care for St. John’s college.*

A DISTURBANCE in the French Church in London, occ- Anno 1570. casioned by Corranus, a Spanish preacher, was touched on before. We then left the cause between them, referred by Corranus. Beza to our Bishop. I proceed to some further relation of this affair. Upon complaint therefore made by the Ministers and seniors of the said French Church, that Corranus had unjustly defamed and slandered them, (as was said before,) the Bishop, with certain other Commissioners, took cognizance of it. And after sundry judicial hearings, the fault was by sentence pronounced to be in Corranus. And he for his punishment was suspended from preaching and reading. At the time of hearing, and before and after sentence, he used many contemptuous and contumelious words against the Commissioners; and since, touching his state. For these, or words of like effect, he then uttered: *Apparet vos Anglos, non solum civile, sed et ecclesiasticum bellum gerere contra Hispanos: civile, capiendo ipsorum naves et pecunias; ecclesiasticum, in persona mea:* i. e. “ It is evident that the Englishmen do not only wage civil war

The Bishop suspends

**BOOK I.** “against the Spaniards, but ecclesiastical also : civil, in taking their ships and money ; ecclesiastical, in my person.”

**Anno 1570.** Cecil writes to the Bishop in his behalf. It was not long after, that he found considerable friends at Court, (whom his learning and abilities seemed to have procured him,) and among the rest, Secretary Cecil ; who thought him perhaps somewhat too hardly dealt with. He

in a letter to the Bishop commended his learning, and hinted as though too hard terms were put upon him ; and prayed the Bishop to compound and finish the controversy between Corranus and the French preachers, as soon as possibly he could. The Bishop had already made some steps herein, and had offered some terms to him for his restoration. But they consisted of such submissions and acknowledgments which he would not comply with : which shewed his high stomach. But there was another impediment, *viz.* a jealousy of the soundness of his doctrines : whereof the Italian preacher Hieronymus had taken notice, out of a late tract of his printed, entitled, *De Operibus Dei*, and required him to answer the same before the Church, *viz.* the said Hieronymus and the elders ; as was mentioned before.

**148** But however, the Bishop promised the Secretary, that,

Endeavours to compound Corranus's cause. according to his request, he would labour to compound and finish the business as soon as possibly he could. But that there were some impediments of expedition at that present :

partly, because he could not well finish it, except himself remained at London two or three days ; whither he was somewhat loath to go hastily, the plague being most stirring near his house there : and because the French preacher had buried one out of his house of the plague but a few days before. But to put the business in some forwardness, he would send for Corranus, and talk with him first, and after with the other parties. He added, that if any thing had been offered to Corranus on his part, that had been too hard, he was well contented to refer the moderation thereof to the Secretary's judgment. He acknowledged that Corranus had good learning: “but I have no good liking,” said the Bishop, “of his spirit and of his dealings ;” whereof

he had had good experience. Lastly, the Bishop let the Secretary know, that if the controversy with the French (which was only about offence in manners) were compounded, he could not see but his restitution to reading or preaching must be deferred, till he had cleared himself before the governors of his own Church in matters of doctrine: which was a matter of far greater moment. He as yet knew not the particular matters, but he had willed Hieronymus to translate the table of *the Works of God* [i. e. Corranus's book] into Latin, and to send him a copy, that some conference might be used in it.

This then was the ground of the quarrel of the Italian Church against him: the beginning and rise of the controversy between him and the French Church was not so plain to the Secretary. Of which therefore the Bishop sent him this account, *viz.* Anno Dom. 1563 a packet of letters was directed to a French merchant of London, being a member of the French Church: and under the direction were written words to this or like effect; *For matters of great importance touching the Church of God.* In the said packet was found a letter from Antonius Corranus, the Spanish preacher, then being in France, written to one Cassiodorus, another Spanish preacher, not long before remaining in London. The said Cassiodorus being accused a little before *de peccato sodomitico*, fled the realm upon the accusation, no man knew whither. The said packet directed as above was brought to the Minister and seniors of the French Church, who after some consultation, considering that the title was, *For matters of God's Church*, concluded to open the said packet, and also to break up the letter directed to Cassiodorus. And finding no public matter in it, but only for the impression of the Spanish Bible, they wrote answer to Corranus, that Cassiodorus was departed out of this realm, and, as they thought, was gone into Germany. And by chance, (as should seem,) rather than of any purpose, they kept still Corranus's said letter in their custody. After the great troubles in Antwerp, Corranus came to London, and de-

CHAP.  
XV.

Anno 1570.

Acquaints  
the Secre-  
tary with  
the ground  
of the quar-  
rel between  
Corranus  
and the  
French.

**BOOK** sired to be admitted into the French Church. The Con-  
 I. sistory called him before them, and burdened him with the  
 Anno 1570. said letters; which ministered great occasion of suspicion,

149 (as they thought,) that the said Corranus did not think well in some principal articles of Christian religion. He answered, that his letter was written by way of questioning, and not of affirmation. They replied, that such kind of questioning was not meet in these times for a Minister of God's Church; but in the end offered, that if he would subscribe to true doctrine, and acknowledge that those letters were *imprudenter scriptæ*, he should be received into the Church. Corranus answered, that the letters were written in good and lawful manner; and that he did not repent the writing of them; and that he would (if need were) set them out in print, with a defence or apology annexed. Whereupon the Minister and seniors of the French Church would not receive him. Corranus thinking himself injured herewith, and offended with certain speeches uttered by some of the French Church in Lombard-street, [where merchants met before the Exchange was built,] and at tables in London, (as he often declared unto the Bishop, who always advised him to condemn them,) wrote a pamphlet, which he called *an Apology*, but indeed a sharp invective, containing many slanders against the Ministers and seniors of the French Church, and also sundry untruths of the Bishop's own knowledge. Which Apology was communicated unto divers, and a copy thereof sent to Beza, to Geneva. It was long and tedious; and the principal points of it were contained and answered in a letter of Beza to Corranus; which is published among his epistles. Whereupon the Ministers and elders complained against Corranus, before the Bishop and Commissioners Ecclesiastical, for defamation, as was said before.

The conclu-  
 sion of Cor-  
 ranus. But, to make an end concerning this Spaniard: at length, by the favour chiefly of the Earl of Leicester it was not

long, (but not before Grindal was removed to York,) Corranus brake through these clouds. For in the year 1571

Reads at the he was preferred to be Reader of Divinity in Latin at the Temple;

Temple; and some years after he read Divinity at Oxford, having first purged himself of certain doctrines formerly charged upon him. And becoming a member of the Church of England, obtained a prebend of St. Paul's church, London; and having published several tracts, died, and was buried in London about the year 1591.

CHAP.  
XV.Anno 1570.  
and at Ox-  
ford.

The nation was now in a great ferment, and the Queen's hands were full. The power of Spain threatened her. The Queen of Scots, that pretended a right to this crown, had many friends in England, and endeavours were used to set her at liberty, and to make a marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, without Queen Elizabeth's knowledge: jealousies of Papists every where: a rebellion brake out in the north, wherein two earls, and most of the eminent families in those parts were concerned: upon the Queen's compassion to the miserable and almost desperate case of the French Protestants, she permitted some of her subjects to go into France to defend the common cause of religion. Hence she drew the French King upon her, who, together with the Spaniard and the Pope, complotted against her peace and life: and in Scotland the French raised disturbances against her. Lastly, in Munster, in her kingdom of Ireland, some of the chiefest nobility rebelled. This present condition, wherein England now stood, employed all the wise heads of her Counsellors. Those who in this juncture had a concern for the Queen and religion, had their eyes upon the counsels of the Court, and hearts full of trembling, what would be the issues of these matters. Bishop Grindal was among this number. In this interval Secretary Cecil sent him a kind letter in October, to know how he did, and to hear of his health, fearing some indisposition or sickness, because he had not heard from him of late. The good Bishop soon answered him, "That he was well, *"pro more suo*, [that is, according to his constitution, which was none of the best,] and so was his household also. And that he had not written to him of late, because he would not trouble him, being otherwise occupied in affairs of greatest importance. That he, and such poor

150

gers, the  
Bishop's  
behaviour.

**BOOK I.** “men, prayed daily unto God, that he would give the

**Anno 1570.** “Lords, and all them of the Council, the spirit of wisdom  
“and fortitude, that they might *bene explicare consilia*,  
“for the Queen’s Majesty’s safety and surety.”

Ross, the  
Scotch Bi-  
shop, taken  
up, and  
committed  
to him a-  
gainst his  
will.

In these times, Lesly, Bishop of Ross, a busy, active, crafty man, was Mary Queen of Scots’ great agent here; who was privy to the practice of the marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and her: and under the name of Morgan Philips, set forth a book, in answer to some others, to maintain his mistress’s title to the succession, and for his arguments making use of the opinions of Sir Anthony Brown and Carel, two learned lawyers, Papists. He privately promoted the northern rebellion; kept a secret correspondence with the Pope; and distributed twelve thousand crowns sent from the Pope, to some of the chief rebels fled to Scotland. This Scotch Prelate, to make himself the more popular, and to be taken notice of, in October shewed himself in St. Paul’s (which was a common walking place) with as much splendor and retinue as he could make. Whereof one thus writ to the Bishop; “The Bishop of Ross mustered “this day in St. Paul’s church, in a gown of damask, with “a great rout about him, and attending upon him, as it “were to be seen and known to the world,” &c. Grindal liked not the man, nor his communication: and therefore thought convenient to signify this to the Secretary; saying, that he referred to his judgment what might be gathered of such doings. It was not long after, divers treasonable things came to light, to have been practised by this Bishop; whereupon he was taken up: and in February there was an intention to commit him to the Bishop of London. But he was afraid of the man, and whose company he professed utterly to dislike, and begged Cecil that he might not be forced on him, being a man of such qualities as he liked nothing at all. That if he must needs have a guest, he had rather keep Hare still, (a Papist gentleman lately committed to him, of whom we shall speak presently.) And that the Dean of St. Paul’s was commonly with him at meals, his wife and family being then at Hadham, intimat-

ing thereby that he had guests enough : “ and to be plain,” CHAP.  
XV.  
 at length added he, “ surely I think it were good that such \_\_\_\_\_  
 “ as deserve to be committed, should be sent *ad custodias* Anno 1570.  
 “ *publicas.* And that experience had declared none were 151  
 “ reformed that were sent to him and others: and that by  
 “ receiving of them, the punishment light upon the Bi-  
 “ shops rather than them :” but all this could not prevent  
 our Bishop’s receiving of Ross; and under his roof he  
 came; till the next year, when the Bishop was delivered of  
 him; and then he fell to his practising again.

Milerus, the Irishman, (of whom we spake before,) re-His coun-  
sel about  
Milerus the  
Irishman.  
 mained still with the Bishop. And having harboured him now a quarter of a year, or thereabouts, he was very weary of his guest; and together with a petition of the said Milerus, which he sent withal, he in a letter to the Secretary prayed him to get him discharged of him: adding, that in his opinion it were good he were sent by a pursuivant at his own charges to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, there to be ordered as they of the Council should send instructions, or as the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishops of the Council there should think requisite. For which he subjoined Cyprian’s judgment, who would have things judged in the countries where the faults were committed.

Another Popish guest put upon our Bishop by the One Hare, Council, about this time, was Michael Hare, Esq. whom a Papist, committed they sent to him, November 15, with an order prescribed to the Bi-  
 by them, and brought by those that were the bringers of shop.  
 the said Hare; which was to this effect, that the Bishop should according to his prudence and learning deal with him to bring him to conformity in the religion established. He was a gentleman of an obliging behaviour, modest in his words, shewing no obstinacy in discourse with him, but yet fast enough in his principles. After he had been now about six weeks with the Bishop, time enough for the Bishop to know him, he signified to the Secretary first, that he found him very gentle-natured, but nothing relent-ing in religion; and yet very ignorant in the Scriptures.

**BOOK I.** And Jan. 14 following, the Bishop wrote to the Lords  
 Anno 1570. concerning him : " that he had conferred and travailed with  
 him, (as his other businesses would permit,) to persuade  
 him to resort to Common Prayer, and to communicate  
 with them in the Lord's Supper, and generally to assent to  
 all points of godly religion by law established in this  
 realm. That he found the said Mr. Hare in all other  
 matters very courteous and tractable ; but could not yet  
 persuade him ; alleging always, that he was not yet  
 satisfied in conscience ; and that for conscience sake only  
 he forbore so to do ; and not of malice. That the princi-  
 pal ground whereon he most stayed himself in all con-  
 fferences was the long continuance of the contrary re-  
 ligion in the times that had gone before : notwithstanding  
 sundry allegations by the Bishop made, and divers au-  
 thorities shewed, that the most ancient times agreed with  
 us. Thus much he thought it his duty to signify to their  
 Lordships according to their order prescribed him, and  
 referred the rest to their wisdoms."

**152** In the midst of this care and watchfulness against the  
 Examina- Papists, many Popish gentlemen being known to reside in  
 tion of Pa- the Temple as students of the law, the Council by their  
 pists in the Inns of letters appointed the Bishop, (in whose diocese they were,)  
 Court. with the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to call for  
 several of them before them : and to put interrogatories to  
 them, concerning their frequenting the Temple church and  
 the Communion there ; concerning their going to hear mass  
 celebrated in the Temple, in White Friars, and the Spital :  
 concerning their having and reading the books of Harding,  
 Dorman, and others, against the Queen's supremacy ; and lastly,  
 concerning divers bad speeches and expressions uttered by  
 them against religion and the preachers. Some of these  
 after examination were committed to the Fleet.

**Differences in St. John's college, Cambridge.** The Bishop had his eye often upon the University,  
 knowing what an influence it was like to have both upon  
 religion and the state. St. John's college in Cambridge, a

member of which the Secretary once was, (and ever a great patron and friend,) that had bred up the best wits, and many that were now, and of late, of admirable use in the realm; this college was lately much pestered with intestine variances and heats, partly about conformity in the habits, and partly about the election of a new governor. There was great bandying and party-taking, accusing and recriminating: some were for Dr. Kelk; some, and they a considerable party in the house, favouring Puritanism, laboured for Dr. Fulk. But at last, by the counsel and pains of Cecil, they, waving both, unanimously fixed upon Nicolas Shepherd, B. D. one of their own house, for their Master; whom, in their letter to Cecil their patron, they styled their Ποιμένα, *Shepherd*, alluding to his name, *Qui perturbantem rem per restituere tanquam alter Camillus reversus est*: i. e. "Who like another Camillus returned to restore their shattered commonweal." Shepherd, presently after his election, came up to make his address to the Secretary, and to our Bishop; who, glad of so hopeful a governor of this great college, once so famous for learned and pious men, gave his own recommendations in Shepherd's behalf to the said Secretary in these words:

" Sir, this bringer, Mr. Shepherd, Bachelor of Divinity, Recom-  
" is with great consent of the company chosen Master of new Mas-  
" St. John's college in Cambridge. He is one that I con- ter to Cecil.  
" ceive good opinion of. And surely I trust, by his pro-  
" vidence, indifferency, and good government, he shall  
" restore that house to the ancient fame it had in your  
" days and mine. I pray you let him have your patrocinie  
" in all his lawful sutes, as ye have always been, and ever  
" must be, patron of that house and the governors thereof.  
" God keep you. From Powles, *ultimo Decembbris*, 1569.

" Yours in Christ,  
" Edm. London."

## CHAP. XVI.

**153 The Bishop's dealings with Bonham and Crane. The Separatists complain of the Bishop. The Council writes to the Bishop concerning them. The Bishop's account of them to the Council; and vindication of himself. His advice.**

The Bishop's dealing with Bonham and Crane, two Ministers, separatists.

THE separatists, who in the beginning of this year had the favour shewn them to be set at liberty by the Bishop, did, it seems, continue their former practices of using private assemblies, and performing religious offices in a way of their own, different from what was allowed and enjoined; notwithstanding the Bishop's admonition to them at their dismission, and the threatenings of the Council read to them, if they did move any more disturbances on that behalf. Their chief teachers were Bonham and Crane; who at these house-meetings did use to preach and expound the Scriptures, to baptize, administer the Communion, marry according to the Geneva book, (which they styled *the most sincere order,*) and withal very vehemently would inveigh against the government and religious usages of the Church of England: for which they had been taken up; but obtained their liberty again; yet with some promise to carry themselves with more moderation and forbearance for the future. Bonham promised under his hand before the Bishop's Vicar General, that for the time to come he would neither preach nor be present at any preaching in private, contrary to the laws of the land: after which the Bishop granted him liberty to preach. But Bonham little regarded his promise, but married and baptized according to another form. And Crane also, who had promised the like, proceeded to do as he had done before. Whereat Bonham was taken up again by the Bishop's order, and Crane was forbid to preach any more in his diocese.

Schismatics complain against the Bishop to the Council.

Upon this, the Londoners of their party, who also had been under confinement at Bridewell, and set at liberty, as was shewn above, were much displeased with Grindal,

and took the confidence to make a complaint against him to CHAP.  
XVI.  
 he Privy Council, as though he had broke his word with Anno 1569.  
 them, as having allowed them not to resort to their parish  
 churches, and tolerated their different ways and modes of  
 divine service, and given licence to Bonham and Crane to  
 hold private lectures. For to this tenor ran their supplica-  
 tion to the Council :

“ We beseech your Honour for God’s cause favourably Their peti-  
tion.  
 “ to consider of these few lines. The effect is to certify MSS. Ceci-  
lian.  
 “ you, that whereas a certain of us poor men of the city  
 “ were kept in prison one whole year for our conscience  
 “ sake, because we would serve our God by the rule of his  
 “ holy word, without the vain and wicked ceremonies and  
 “ traditions of Papistry ; and being delivered forth the 23d  
 “ of April last past, by authority of the honourable Coun- 154  
 “ cil’s letter, as the Bishop declared to us all at his house  
 “ the third of May, saying, that means had been made to  
 “ your Honours for our liberty : the effect thereof, he said,  
 “ was, that we were freed from our parish churches, and  
 “ that we might hear such preachers whom we liked best  
 “ of in the city : also, whereas we requested to have Baptism  
 “ truly ministered to our children according to the word  
 “ and order of the Geneva book ; he said, that he would  
 “ tolerate it, and appoint two or three to do it ; immediately  
 “ after, at our request, he appointed two preachers, Bonham  
 “ and Crane, under his hand-writing to keep a lecture.

“ But now of late, because Bonham did marry a couple,  
 “ and baptize one of our children by the order of the said  
 “ book, which is most sincere, he hath commanded him to  
 “ be kept close prisoner ; and Mr. Crane also he hath com-  
 “ manded not to preach in his diocese.

“ By these means we were driven at the first to forsake  
 “ the churches, and to congregate in our houses. Now we  
 “ protest to your Honour, we never yielded to no condition  
 “ in our coming forth of prison, but minded to stand fast in  
 “ the same sincerity of the Gospel, that we did when we  
 “ were in prison, approved and commanded of God in his  
 “ word. And therefore we humbly beseech your Honour

**BOOK I.** “to let us have your furtherance and help in so good a

**Anno 1569.** “cause: that our bodies and goods be no more molested for standing in this good purpose, which we most heartily desire to see flourish throughout this realm, to God’s high honour, the preservation of your honourable personages, and safeguard of this realm.”

The Council send a message to the Bishop hereupon.

Hereupon the Lords wrote a letter to the Bishop, and sent withal the said supplication; and required to know of him, what his proceedings had been with these men; and lastly, what course, in his opinion, were fit to be used with them. This accusation wherewith they had charged him in their supplication touched the reverend Father somewhat closely: for therein he saw they had wrongfully represented his doings with them, and thereby dealt very ingratefully with him, who had used gentleness and mercy towards them; hoping by that means the better to bring them off from their singularity.

His answer to the Council, shewing what he had done with these men, and what he thought were best to be done with them.

Int. epist. Grind. penes me.

“It may please your Honours to be advertised, that I have received your letters of the 29th of December last, and withal a bill exhibited to your Lordships for maintenance of singularity in religion, in certain disordered persons. In which letters also your LL. require to know, in what sort I have heretofore proceeded towards them, and also to know, what order in mine opinion is best to be taken with them.

**155** “For the first. In April last past, I wrote my letter to Mr. Secretary, declaring unto him, that if the said disordered persons were then after a year’s imprisonment, simplie, and without condition set at liberty, saving only an earnest admonition to live in good order hereafter both I, and many other that were their friends, and yet

“ conformable subjects, had conceived very certain hope, CHAP.  
“ that taste of liberty, and experience of your clemency, XVI.  
“ should in time work good obedience in them; which by Anno 1569.  
“ compulsion of imprisonment could not be wrought. And  
“ that if by tryal it were found, that this proceeding did no  
“ good, then might they easily be committed again. The  
“ motion of these letters shewed unto your LL. was ap-  
“ proved by the same, as appeareth in your letters of the  
“ 28th of the said April. Wherein also your LL. referred  
“ the order of them to my discretion. I thereupon calling  
“ the principals of them, read unto them your letters,  
“ wherein, amongst other things, is contained this admoni-  
“ tion following :

*Letting them understand, when you shall release them, that if any of them, after their enlargement, shall behave themselves factiously, or disorderly, they shall not fail to receive such punishment, as may be an example to others of their sort hereafter : and so with such further admonition as you shall think convenient, your Lordship may deal with them, as you shall see cause.*

“ And after the reading of your said letters, with further  
“ and earnest admonition by me given to like effect, in the  
“ presence of a good number, I caused them to be enlarged.  
“ And herein your LL. may easily perceive how untruly  
“ these men burden me. For how could I say, that your  
“ LL. had exempted them from the laws, when as by the  
“ letters, read unto them openly at that very instant, the  
“ contrary did manifestly appear? And whether I licensed  
“ Bonham or Crane to preach to them according to their  
“ fantasies, that may appear also by a promise made by the  
“ said Bonham, sent herewith in writing, before he had my  
“ license to preach, the said license being granted afore  
“ their enlargement, and not after, as they suggest. And  
“ furthermore, Crane was admitted only by word of mouth  
“ upon like promise. But now of late, perceiving that  
“ these disordered persons, and their preachers, did keep  
“ no promise, but began to enter into open breach of the

**BOOK L** “ laws, and disturbance of good order, I have imprisoned,

**Anno 1569.** “ and discharged some of them, as is alledged; and was appurposed now in the end of these holidays to deal with more of them to like effect, though your letters had not come. Wherein my Lord of Canterbury and I have had divers conferences.

“ But now that the matter is opened unto your LL. and that by their own means, mine opinion is, that all the heads of this unhappy faction should be with all expedition severely punished, to the example of others, as people 156 phanatical and incurable: which punishment, if it proceed by order from your LL. shall breed the greater terror. And because all prisoners, for any colour of any religion, be it never so wicked, find great supportation and comfort in London, in my opinion, (under your LL. correction,) it were not amiss that six of the most desperate of them should be sent to the common gaol of Cambridge, and six likewise to Oxford, and some other of them to other gaols near hereabouts, as to your wisdoms shall be thought expedient. The names of those that were enlarged by me, I send to your LL. in a schedule annexed. And thus praying pardon for troubling your LL. with so long a letter, I commend your good LL. to Almighty God, who ever have you in his blessed keeping. From my house at Powles in London, this 4th of January, “ 1569.

“ Your LL. in Christ,

“ Edm. London.”

The names of those that were enlarged were specified before. The promise of Bonham, sent with the above letter, was as follows :

Bonham's  
promise,  
which he  
breaks.

“ Memorandum, That I, William Bonham, do faithfully promise, that I will not any time hereafter use any publick preaching, or open reading, or expounding of the Scriptures: nor cause, neither be present at, any private assemblies of prayer, or expounding of the Scriptures, or ministring the Communion in any house, or other place,

“ contrary to the state of religion, now by publick authority CHAP.  
“ established, or contrary to the laws of this realm of Eng- XVI.  
“ land. Neither will I inveigh against any rites or ceremo- Anno 1569.  
“ nies used or received by common authority within this  
“ realm.”

This promise was read and declared by the said William Bonham, before Thomas Huick, Doctor of Law, and Vicar General to the Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund Bishop of London, at his house in Pater-noster Row in London, the first day of May 1569. For the performance whereof, the said William Bonham hath faithfully promised for to observe the same: being also present at the reading thereof, Thomas Jones, Deputy to Mr. Bedell, Clerk to the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. Thus the foresaid promise was certified to the Lords.

And thus we have brought our good Bishop to the last year of his care of the diocese of London. And now, by the disposition of Divine Providence, he was to be removed to exercise his godly wisdom and pains in another part of the Church, planted more northerly; as we shall hear in the ensuing book. But here at present we take off our pen.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE LIFE AND ACTS  
OF THE  
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
EDMUND GRINDAL,  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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BOOK II.

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CHAP. I.

*Grindal's nomination for York. His concern for the re-157 formation of the Savoy. A visitation of it. His confirmation. His advice about Cartwright, and his lectures at Cambridge. Goes down into Yorkshire. The qualities of the people there. His officers. Confirms a Bishop of Carlisle. Visits his diocese.*

THE archbishopric of York had now lain vacant ever since June 1568. Tho. Young the Archbishop then deceasing. For this high promotion much interest was made. And among the rest, the Lord Henry Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, aspired to it. A person he was of good learning, great parts, and as great conceit of himself, and withal very active, but Popish. And being laid aside in this attempt of him and his friends, he became, perhaps for that reason, the more busy against the government.

Anno 1569.  
Henry Howard makes interest to be Archibishop of York.

**BOOK II.** For in the year 1571, he was, with others, suspected to be concerned about the Scotch Queen, and committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and grew vehemently Popish ; and was thought to be the nobleman who in a conspiracy anno 1584. was to have been elected by Papists King of England, and married to the Queen of Scots, (for which ambition his brother the Duke had suffered before,) and the election to be confirmed by the Pope. This man, in the year 1583, wrote a vainglorious book against all prophecies, and dedicated it to Sir Francis Walsingham the Secretary. But though this person could not arrive to this, or any other preferment under Queen Elizabeth, yet by King James I. he was made Earl of Northampton and Lord Privy Seal. But however, for to serve his turn, he concealed his religion ; yet he died a Papist.

Grindal stands fairest.

Archbishop Parker's opinion.

**158** This man therefore being waved, Grindal, a northern man by birth, stood fairest for York ; and in the latter end of this year was designed for it, by the favour of Secretary Cecil, and the approbation of Parker the Archbishop, who was consulted about it ; and signified that he liked well of his removal ; for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London, since many of the Ministers and people thereof (notwithstanding all his pains) still leaned much to their former prejudices against the ecclesiastical constitution. But withal he told the Secretary, that my Lord of London would be very fit for York ; " who were," as he styled them, "*a heady and stout people*; witty, " but yet able to be dealt with by good governance, as long " as laws could be executed, and men backed." But this business of the remove hung in suspense till April 1570. when I find him sending his servant Richard Ratcliff to the Secretary, to attend upon him from time to time, and to solicit for the prosecution of the matter intended toward him ; and referring the whole to the said Secretary's order, as his leisure and opportunity should serve.

**Anno 1570.** The last act of good service which (as I meet with) our Bishop did in his diocese before his translation, was the reformation of the hospital of the Savoy, almost brought to

Grindal's care about reforming the abuses

utter ruin by an ill master. It had been a very charitable CHAP.  
foundation for the comfort, relief, and harbour of great <sup>I.</sup>  
numbers of poor travellers. An antiquarian shews at large, Anno 1570.  
how it was built at first by Peter Duke of Savoy; over-  
thrown by the rebels of Kent, being then the Duke of Lan-  
caster's house; founded anew by King Henry VII; sup-  
pressed the 7th of King Edward VI. [but given, I find,  
by him to the city, for the use of Christ Church Hospital;]  
and founded again by Queen Mary, in the 4th of her reign;  
when the ladies of the Court, and madams of honour stored  
the same with beds and furniture. Mention is also there  
made of the rules, orders, and statutes thereof, extracted  
out of the grand charter, as it is extant in the Cotton library.  
Of this royal foundation, and of the great abuses of it by  
Thurland the present Master, a bill of complaints was  
brought to our Bishop in April, 1570. Which he signified  
to the Secretary, wishing for some careful inspection into  
the causes of it; saying, that if matters were as true as they  
were by some of the Fellows of that house affirmed to be, it  
were very good some reformation were had. In short, Procures a  
soon after, he procured, by means of the Secretary, (a per- commission  
son forward to any good thing of that nature,) a commission  
from the Queen to visit this hospital; himself, now Archbi-  
shop of York, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster,  
Tho. Huick, Doctor of Laws, and William Constantine,  
also Doctor of Law, Surrogate, deputed by Tho. Watts,  
Professor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Middlesex, with divers  
others, Commissioners: who after mature hearing and ex-  
amination of the cause, deprived the said Thurland from the  
hospital. And the definitive sentence was read by the said The Master  
Archbishop of York, July the 29th, 1570. The crimes deprived;  
charged and proved against him, as they are expressed in  
the said sentence of deprivation, were many and gross: as  
non-residence, fornication and incontinency; an evil and  
fraudulent administration of the goods of the house, neglect  
of the poor, selling of the moveable goods, leasing out the  
lands, contrary to the tenor of the statutes, and alienation of  
them; keeping the common seal in the hand of some of 159  
<sup>Weever's Monum. p. 445, &c.</sup>

**BOOK II.** his servants, and sealing therewith certain obligations without  
Anno 1570. the knowledge of the Chaplains, and that for borrowing of  
money for his own use; and sealing also divers grants without  
the knowledge or consent of the Chaplains, to the great  
loss and prejudice of the house: also dissipating, wasting,  
and dilapidating the goods and rents of the house: whereby  
he had incurred the damnable guilt of perjury. A particu-  
lar account of these crimes under seventeen articles, as they  
were brought in to the Bishop by the Chaplains, and proved,  
Numb. I. may be found in the Appendix. Nay, so scandalous was  
this Thurland, for making away the lands and revenues of  
the hospital by long leases, that after his death there rose  
up a lease, as made by the said Master in the second year of  
the Queen, for two hundred years, of all the whole manors,  
lands, houses, rents, and revenues belonging to the hospital,  
to Perwich and Cosin, paying the rents they then went at:  
which lease in the year 1583. came to some contest at law.  
But it appeared to be made many years after date, and  
sealed by Thurland, without the knowledge of the Chap-  
lains, (having the seal in his own custody,) to the use of one  
Wetheral of Lincoln's Inn, in whose keeping it was at his  
death. And this Wetheral left behind him a note, that  
Perwich and Cosin should assign a moiety of this lease to  
James Wetheral his brother; who sued them in the Chan-  
cery for the same.

This is enough to shew how worthy this Master was of  
deprivation; and how good a work this of our Bishop  
(among many others) was.

**The abuses found by the visitors.** But to return to the visitation, wherein how things were  
found, I will more particularly set down from an original.

“ As touching the state of the lands and revenues of the  
“ said hospital at the time of the deprivation of the said  
“ Thurland, it was presented and found before the said  
“ visitors, that the said Thomas Thurland the space of  
“ eleven years together continued Master, and received the  
“ whole revenues of the said house, and kept the statutes of  
“ the same from the perpetual Chaplains, and got into his  
“ hands the common seal, and kept it to his own private use

“ contrary to the statutes. And therewithal, of his own CHAP  
“ private authority, made and granted divers unprofitable \_\_\_\_\_<sup>1.</sup>  
“ leases of the lands of the said hospital for excessive num- Anno 1570.  
“ ber of years, as for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, eighty, and Long leases.  
“ above, the certainty whereof cannot yet be known. And  
“ namely, made one lease to Mr. Fanshaw, of the manor of  
“ Dengey, for six hundred years; another to one Anderton  
“ of Landen, in Yorkshire and Lancashire, for a thousand  
“ years. And now of late it is declared, that the said An-  
“ derton had no lease, but a plain sale thereof.

“ Also, that the said Thurland, being fallen into great  
“ debts for his own private affairs, bound the said hospital  
“ under the common seal aforesaid for payments of his own  
“ private debts; and with the revenues of the said house  
“ paid them; and did suffer certain extents to be sued forth  
“ upon the said lands for his own debts. So that by one  
“ way and other the said hospital is charged for his private  
“ debts, as by the auditor’s book appeareth, which he shewed  
“ to the visitors, to the sum of one thousand nine hundred 160  
“ thirty eight pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence.

“ Item, he sold away of his own head the fee simple of  
“ an house and land at Mile End, of the yearly value of five  
“ pounds, converting the money thereof to his own private  
“ use.

“ Also, he bound the hospital by their common seal to  
“ pay sixty pounds for thadvouson of the benefice of Den-  
“ bigh; and hath sold the same again to his own use.

“ Also, he sold away the jewels, copes, vestments, and  
“ other ornaments of the said house; also, a chalice with a  
“ cover double gilt; also, very fair plate, given to the said  
“ house by Mr. Feckenham, then Dean of Powles. For  
“ which the hospital is bound yearly to pay forty shillings  
“ to the petty canons of Powles for evermore.”

And therefore this unworthy man being by the Queen’s Two Chap-  
visitors justly found culpable, and deprived, as was shewed lains ap-  
before, the said visitors before his deprivation caused an in- pointed  
ventory to be taken of all the moveable goods remaining at governors  
that time in the said hospital, as well of that which appertain- during the  
vacation.

**BOOK II.** ed to the household, as of the bedding and furniture appertaining to the poverty that daily were lodged there: and  
**Anno 1570.** the same forthwith, upon the said Master's deprivation, was committed to William Neale and John Hodgeson, two of the perpetual Chaplains there, who were by the said visitors made governors of the same hospital during the vacation; and had the governance of the said house, and the receipts of the lands thereof; and did yearly during their lives make account of their office to the auditor of the said house.

The Archbishop's letter to the L. Burghley, for a Master of the Savoy.

Nor did Grindal, now Archbishop, stop here: but when four years after the Savoy was yet unsettled, and Thurland (such was this unworthy man's interest at Court) was like to come in Master again, the Archbishop wrote an earnest letter to Cecil, now Lord Burghley, to prevent it, if possible, in this tenor of words:

Int. epist.  
Grind.

“ My very good Lord; I and others, by virtue of her Majesty's Commission, obtained by your Lordship's good means, took pains, visiting the hospital of Savoy almost four years ago; and finding the said hospital to have been universally spoiled by Parson Thurland, then Master there, we proceeded to his deprivation by sentence according to the law, and agreeable to the statutes of the house. Now I am informed, that the said Thurland maketh earnest suit, and is in some hope, to be restored to his place again; which were a pitiful case. I moved her Majesty in it at my last being at the Parliament; praying her Majesty to remember, that it was her grandfather's foundation, and that it was the case of the poor, and therefore Christ's own cause. Her Highness was then resolutely determined that Thurland should never be restored to that room any more. I pray your good Lordship finish that good work which ye began, and move her Majesty, that some other fit man (as Mr. Wickham, her Chaplain, or one of like godly zeal towards the poor members of Christ) may be admitted to that place, and that the other spoiler may be put out of all hope to recover that room; and then by reforming of some im-

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“ perfections in the statutes, which were incident to all CHAP.  
“ foundations of that age, the house may be employed to a \_\_\_\_\_<sup>I.</sup>  
“ great relief of the poor, and her Majesty shall do as good Anno 1570.  
“ a deed in it, as if her Highness should erect a new one of  
“ her own foundation. Thus ceasing any further to trouble  
“ your Lordship, I heartily commend the same to the grace  
“ of God. From Bishopthorp, this 26th of April, 1674.

“ Your Lordship's in Christ,

“ Edm. Ebor.”

Thus more than ordinary earnest was this good Archbishop, and that because it was a matter of charity. The Chaplains of the house supplicated the Lord Burghley that a person so obnoxious might not return to them again, but rather that Mr. James of Oxford might be preferred to the place. But yet after all, (such was the Queen's clemency,) the old Master obtained his place again, yet with promise under his hand of governing better, and satisfying the debts of the hospital by him contracted, and to restore to the use of the said hospital all such rents as since he was removed he had received; having promised to the visitors under his hand, that he would not meddle with any receipt thereof.

But let us turn now a little back, and observe the first Regist. entrance of Grindal upon his new advancement. His re- Grind. gister at York dates his translation from London to be May the 1st, this year, and his instalment by proxy June the 9th.

Being now to succeed in the province of York, he took Grindal a journey to Canterbury, where Archbishop Parker had confirmed at Canterbury, lately repaired, to look after his church and charge there. And on Trinity Sunday making a most splendid dinner, he invited the Archbishop of York elect to be his guest, who was accompanied by Curtess, consecrated Bishop of Chichester the same day, the Bishops of Winton and Rochester being also present; so that this feast was graced by two Archbishops and three Bishops. The next day, being Monday, Grindal was confirmed there by the Archbishop,

**BOOK II.** who also gave him his induction into the possession of his see.

**Anno 1570.** He soon after had the affliction of an ague, perhaps gotten this journey into Kent; whereby he was forced to delay some time his going down into his diocese, remaining still at London house by Paul's.

**Detained in London.** It was now Midsummer, and the Archbishop was still detained in London about his suits, before he could get them despatched. Another business now in hand was set-

**A mortmain for Pembroke hall.** tling his gift upon Pembroke hall in Cambridge, whereof he had been Master, to obtain a licence of mortmain in that behalf; wherein he made use of the friendship and furtherance of the Secretary.

**His advice to restrain Cartwright.** There was also another matter relating to the University, which he was now in a great concern about. For Thomas

**162 Cartwright,** of Trinity college, and Reader of the Lady Margaret's Lecture, had carried away a considerable number of scholars with him, and brought them to a dislike of the present settlement of the ecclesiastical state: insomuch that the graver sort, and Heads of the University, were mightily disturbed, and had converted him before them. Some of them thought it convenient also to make their application to the Archbishop; who hereupon wrote thus earnestly to the Secretary of State, their Chancellor, shewing also particularly what his doctrines were.

**His letter to the Secretary to that purpose.** "I am to move you for the University of Cambridge; "which if you help not speedily, your authority will shortly

"grow to great disorder. There is one Cartwright, B. D. "and Reader of my Lady Margaret's Divinity Lecture, "who, as I am very credibly informed, maketh in his Lectures daily invectives against the extern policy and distinction of states, in the ecclesiastical government of this realm. His own positions, and some other assertions "which have been uttered by him, I send herewith. The "youth of the University, which is at this time very toward "in learning, doth frequent his Lectures in great numbers; and therefore in danger to be poisoned by him "with love of contention and liking of novelties; and so

**Paper Office.**

“ become hereafter, not only unprofitable, but also hurtful CHAP.  
 “ to the Church. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of I.  
 “ Houses proceed not so roundly in this case as were re-Anno 1570.  
 “ quisite, in my judgment. For reforming whereof, if it  
 “ please you to know my opinion, I wish you wrote your  
 “ letters to the Vice-Chancellor with expedition, willing  
 “ him to command the said Cartwright and all his adhe-  
 “ rents to silence, both in schools and pulpits; and after-  
 “ ward, upon examining and hearing the matters past, be-  
 “ fore him and some of the Heads, or all, either to reduce  
 “ the offenders to conformity, or to proceed to their punish-  
 “ ment, by expulsion out of their colleges, or out of the  
 “ University, as the cause shall require: and also, that the  
 “ Vice-Chancellor do not suffer the said Cartwright to pro-  
 “ ceed Doctor of Divinity at this Commencement, which he  
 “ now sueth for: for, besides the singularity above re-  
 “ hearsed, the said Cartwright is not conformable in his  
 “ apparel; contemning also many other laudable orders of  
 “ the University. Thus I cease to trouble you, and com-  
 “ mend you heartily to the grace of God.” This was writ  
 from St. Paul’s, June 24, 1570.

Then follow Cartwright’s positions, written and delivered by him to the Vice-Chancellor, *viz.*

*Archiepiscoporum et Archidiaconorum nomina suspecta Cart-  
 sunt. wright's positions;*

1. *Archiepiscoporum, Archidiaconorum, Cancellariorum, Commissariorum, &c. (ut hodie apud nos sunt) munera, apostolicā institutione non nituntur, cui restituendae quisque pro vocatione suā studere debet (intelligo autem id pro vocatione suā) ut Magistratus autoritate, Ecclesia Ministri verbo, singuli eam promoveant. Ita tamen ut nihil tumultuarie aut seditiosè fiat.*

2. *Ministrorum electio quæ apud nos est ab institutione 163 apostolicā deflexit: cui restituendae, sicut prædictum est, singuli studere debent. Nolim autem me putet quispiam omnes damnare, tanquam à ministerio alienos, qui ad illam institutionem hactenus non fuerint cooptati.*

**BOOK II.** Other assertions uttered at other times by the said Cartwright:

Anno 1570. 1. That he himself being a Reader of Divinity, is a *Doctor* exercising the office named Ephes. iv. and therefore must only read, and may not preach.

2. No Ministers are to be made, nor no Pastors to be admitted, without election and consent of the people.

3. He that hath a cure may not preach, but only to his own flock. With many other such falsities.

This was the information and advice of the Archbishop relating to Cartwright, who this year began to shew himself more openly.

The Queen gives the Archbishop a cup. This first year, in token of the Queen's good affection to him, she gave him a standing cup double gilt; which he bequeathed at his death to Pembroke hall in Cambridge, where he had been Fellow and Master.

It was not before July 13th, this year, that Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, his fellow exile and countryman, succeeded him in the see of London, and the full enjoyment of the temporalties: and July 20 he was installed by proxy.

Comes into Yorkshire. His first going down to York was not before the month of August; the 17th day whereof he came to Cawood, a seat of the Archbishops of York, where he was delivered from his late distemper: but he feared the air of that place, being very moist and gross, as he wrote in a letter to the Secretary. Nor did he much like Bishopsthorp, the other house nearer York, which was reported to him to be an extreme cold house for winter. Yet because he would be near York, to deal in matters of commission, he purposed to remove thither at Michaelmas. He was not received with such concourse of gentlemen at his first coming into the shire as he hoped for.

Bishopsthorp. Sir Thomas Gargrave, with his son, Mr. Bunnie, Mr. Watterton, one of the Savyls, and four or five gentlemen more, met him near to Doncaster, and conducted him unto the said Sir Thomas's house, where he lodged that night; and the next day met him at his church Mr. Ask, Mr. Hungate, and four or five more in-

ferior gentlemen, and brought him to Cawood. But several CHAP.  
 came to him soon after, excusing themselves either by their <sup>I.</sup>  
 own sickness, or of some of their families; as Sir William Anno 1570.  
 Babthorp, Mr. Slingesby, Mr. Goodrick, Mr. Beckwith,  
 and some others: for indeed agues were at that time very  
 universal throughout all that country. Sir Henry Gates  
 was then with the Lord Lieutenant in the north, but came  
 to the Archbishop upon his return.

In what condition he found the people of these parts at The state of  
 his first coming among them, take his own account in his <sup>the people</sup> at his first  
 own words, in his letter wrote to the Secretary, August 29. coming.

“ I cannot as yet write of the state of this country, as of Paper Of-  
 “ mine own knowledge; but I am informed that the great-<sup>164</sup> fice.  
 “ est part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly  
 “ religion, and that among the people there are many re-  
 “ manents of the old.

“ They keep holydays and fasts abrogated: they offer  
 “ money, eggs, &c. at the burial of their dead: they pray  
 “ beads, &c. so as this seems to be as it were another  
 “ Church, rather than a member of the rest. And for the  
 “ little experience I have of this people, methinks I see in  
 “ them three evil qualities; which are, great ignorance, Three evil  
 “ much dulness to conceive better instruction, and great qualities of  
 “ stiffness to retain their wonted errors. I will labour as  
 “ much as I can to cure every of these, committing the  
 “ success to God. I forbear to write unto her Majesty of  
 “ these matters, till I may write upon better knowledge.  
 “ In the mean time I shall not cease in my daily prayers to  
 “ commend her Majesty to Almighty God. God keep you.  
 “ From Cawood this 29th August, 1570.

“ Yours in Christ,  
 “ Edm. Ebor.”

By postscript he took occasion to mention some others of  
 the gentry that came to him that day to dinner, namely,  
 Mr. Layton, Mr. Thomas Gowre, Mr. Place, with one Mr.  
 Davel, who dwelt far off, and came only to welcome him:  
 concerning which last he wished there were many such.

**BOOK II.** The new Archbishop's Vicar General was John Rokeby, (who had been a Prebendary of York under King Edward,) whom he constituted in that office, January 1, in this first year of his translation: and Rodolph Tunstal was his domestic Chaplain; on whom he collated the prebend of Bychel in this church, March 15, 1571, and made him master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene in Ripon, September 24, 1572.

Confirms Barnes Bishop of Carlisle.

In this his first year, Aug. the 7th, he confirmed Richard Barnes, S. T. P. Bishop of Carlisle, of his province, in the room of John Best, late Bishop, deceased. The said Barnes had been Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, consecrated by Young, the preceding Archbishop, March 9, 1566, in the church of St. Peter's, in York; John, Bishop of Carlisle, and William, Bishop of Chester, assisting.

Visits.

His commissions to the Archdeacons, with his injunctions.

E Collectam. Rev. Patr. W. Ep. Carliol. et Rev. Mat. Hutton, D. D. e Registr. Grind. Ebor. fol. 124. a.

Our Archbishop began his visitation this present year 1570, giving forth his commission, which bore date the 26th of December, at Bishopsthorp; issuing out commission then to the four Archdeacons of the diocese, and to the Bishop of Man, "for the pulling down and demolishing those *sus-tentacula*, commonly called *roodlofts*, placed at the door of the choir of every parish church, as footsteps and monuments of the old idolatry and superstition." [For it seems those *roodlofts* (at least in many churches) were still remaining in these northern parts.] "And this in pursuance of the Queen's injunctions, and an order of her Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes to that purpose." To each of which commissions a schedule of three articles were annexed, (together with a printed copy of the foresaid orders,) which was as followeth:

165 "These articles following, we Edmonde, by the permission of God, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan, do command and enjoin to be put in execution within the archdeaconry of York, by the Archdeacon of the same, or his Official, with speed and effect.  
 "I. *Imprimis*, That the fourme and order appointed in the printed schedule hereunto annexed, for taking down *roodlofts*, be duly and precisely observed within the said

“ archdeaconry, as well within places exempt as not ex- CHAP.  
“ empt. I.

“ II. *Item*, That every Parson, Vicar, Curate, and other Anno 1570.  
“ Mynister within the said archdeaconry, as well in places  
“ exempt as not exempt, when he readeth morning or even-  
“ ing prayer, or any part thereof, shall stand in a pulpit to  
“ be erected for that purpose, and turn his face to the  
“ people, that he may be the better heard, and the people  
“ the better edifyed; provided always, that when the  
“ churches are very small, it shall suffyce that the Mynister  
“ stand in his accustomed stall in the queere, so that a con-  
“ venient desk or lecterne, with a rowme to turn his face  
“ toward the people, be there provyded, at the charges of  
“ the parish. The judgment and order whereof, and also  
“ the fourme and order of the pulpit, as before, in greater  
“ churches, we do refer unto the same Archdeacon, or his  
“ Official. Provyded also, that all the prayers and other  
“ service appointed for the mynistratiōn of the holy Com-  
“ munion, be said and done at the communion table only.

“ III. *Item*, That every Mynister saying any publick  
“ prayers, or ministring the sacraments, or other rites of  
“ the Church, shall wear a comely surplesse with sleeves;  
“ and that the parish provyde a decent table, standing in a  
“ frame, for the communion table: and that no linnen  
“ clothes, called *altar-clothes*, and before used about *masses*,  
“ be laid upon the communion table; but that new be pro-  
“ vyded, where provision hath not so been made afore.”

## CHAP. II.

Anno 1571. *A metropolitical visitation. A book of canons sent him from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Fears of a premunire. His injunctions to the province, Clergy and Laity, and to the Church of York. Whittingham, Dean of Durham, cited before the Archbishop. Bullinger answers the Pope's bull against the Queen. Contest about a prebend in York. Broxborn parsonage. The Archbishop's demesnes at Battersea. A Bishop of Man consecrated.*

Visits his province.

**T**HE Archbishop the next year instituted a metropolitical visitation, beginning the 15th of May 1571, whereof there seemed, in these parts especially, to be great need. Of this we shall hear more by and by.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had some business with his brother, our Archbishop; for sends him a being old friends and fellow commissioners in ecclesiastical book of canons of dis- matters, this distance brake not off their friendship. Now cipline.

he sent to him a book of articles and discipline, seasonable for his intended visitation; the same, I make no doubt, with that entitled, *Liber quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiae Anglicanæ*, which is still extant in Sparrow's Collection. It was drawn up in a late synod by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops; to which all the Bishops of the province subscribed, either by themselves or proxies; but wanted the Queen's confirmation to authorize the observation of it: though she were privy to it, and did not dislike it, yet that did not seem sufficient to secure against a *premunire* those Bishops or others that should go about to enjoin it. And these were the fears of

Archbishop Grindal, to whom his brother the other Archbishop sent it, with that intent to bring it in practice in his

Discourse between them about it. province, as it was made for that other. As for the book itself, he declared he liked it very well; and yet hereafter,

if he doubted in any point, or wished it enlarged in any respect, he would signify it to his Grace [of Canterbury] afterwards. But he made hesitation, saying, "that he

“ stood in doubt whether the articles contained in it had CHAP.  
 “ *vigorem legis*, i. e. *the virtue of a law*; unless they had II.  
 “ been either concluded upon in a synod, and after ratified Anno 1571.  
 “ by her Majesty’s royal assent *in scriptis*, (fine words,”  
 added he, “ fly away as wind, [meaning it, as it seems, of  
 “ the Queen’s verbal approbation,] and would not serve us,  
 “ if we were impleaded in a case of *premunire*,) or else *Premunire*.  
 “ were confirmed by act of Parliament.” But the Bishop  
 of Canterbury, in a letter soon after written, told him, that  
 he was in more fear than he trusted would follow: for that  
 he and the Bishop of Ely had so ordered the matter with  
 the Queen, that seeing there was no new doctrine in the  
 book, [but only matters of discipline and good order,] she  
 seemed to be contented; and that therefore, if it were re-  
 pealed hereafter, there would be no fear of *premunire*-  
 matter; as he might better satisfy himself, by considering  
 the statute. Thus Archbishop Parker wrote to him to put  
 the book in force. But Grindal did not care to go upon  
 such uncertainties.

But he gave forth his own injunctions as well to the The Arch-  
 Clergy as to the Laity, in his said metropolitical visitation, bishop’s in-  
 consisting of twenty-five articles each; which are of good  
 length: and in all of them he shewed a great zeal for the  
 discipline and good government of the Church; which is  
 the observation of a very reverend Prelate upon the per-  
 sal of them: the chief and most remarkable whereof are  
 these that follow, as they were extracted out of the register Mat. Hut-  
 in York by a reverend Divine, and communicated to me. ton, D. D.

*For the Clergy.*

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“ That for the ministration of the Communion bread, Archbishop  
 “ they should not deliver it unto the people into their Grind. Re-  
 “ mouths, but into their hands; nor should use at the min- gist. fol. 155.  
 “ istration of the Communion any gestures, rites, or cere-  
 “ monies, not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer;  
 “ as crossing, or breathing over the sacramental bread or  
 “ wine; nor any shewing or lifting up of the same to the  
 “ people, to be by them worshipped or adored, nor any

BOOK II.  
 ——————  
 Anno 1571. “ such like; nor should use any oil or chrism, tapers,  
 spittle, or any other Popish ceremony, in the ministration  
 of the sacrament of Baptism.

“ None to be admitted to the Communion, being above  
 fourteen years old, that could not say by heart the Ten  
 Commandments and Lord’s Prayer; nor none, being  
 fourteen years old and upwards, that could not say by  
 heart the Catechism.

“ That they should marry no person, nor ask the banns  
 of matrimony of any, unless they could say the Catechism  
 by heart, or would recite the same to the Minister.

“ That they should not church any unmarried woman  
 which had been gotten with child out of lawful matri-  
 mony, except it were upon some Sunday and holyday;  
 and except either she before childbed had done penance,  
 or at her churhing did acknowledge her fault before the  
 congregation.

“ The Communion to be received three times a year, be-  
 sides Ash Wednesday; viz. on one of the two Sundays  
 before Easter, on one of the two Sundays before Pente-  
 cost, and on one of the two Sundays before Christmas.

“ The Articles of Religion to be read twice every year;  
 viz. on some Sunday within a month after Easter and  
 Michaelmas.

“ The Queen’s injunctions to be read in time of divine  
 service in churches and chapels once every quarter, and  
 the Archbishop’s injunctions once every half year.

“ No Minister (being unmarried) to keep in his house  
 any woman under the age of sixty years, except she be  
 their mother, aunt, sister, or niece.

*For the Laity.*

“ No person, not being a Minister, Deacon, or at the least  
 tolerated by the Ordinary in writing, should attempt to  
 supply the office of a Minister, in saying of divine service  
 openly in any church or chapel.

“ The prayers and other service appointed for the min-  
 istration of the holy Communion, to be said and done at

“ the communion table; except the Epistle and Gospel, CHAP.  
“ which should be read in the said pulpit [*i. e.* where read- II.  
“ ing was before appointed] or stall; and also the Ten ANNO 1571.  
“ Commandments, when there was no Communion.

“ All altars to be pulled down to the ground, and the  
“ altar-stones defaced, and bestowed to some common use;  
“ and roodlofts altered. The materials to be sold to the  
“ use of the church.

“ At burials no ringing any hand-bells; no months 168  
“ minds, or yearly commemorations of the dead; nor any  
“ other superstitious ceremonies to be observed or used,  
“ which tended either to the maintenance of prayer for the  
“ dead, or of the Popish purgatory.

“ The Minister not to pause or stay between the Morn-  
“ ing Prayer, Litany, and Communion; but to continue  
“ and say the Morning Prayer, Litany, or Communion,  
“ or the service appointed to be said, (when there was no  
“ Communion,) together, without any intermission; to the  
“ intent the people might continue together in prayer and  
“ hearing the word of God, and not depart out of the  
“ church during all the time of the whole divine service.

“ All above fourteen years of age to receive in their own  
“ churches the Communion three times at least in the year.

“ No pedlar or other to set his wares to sell in church-  
“ porch or churchyard, nor any where else, on holidays or  
“ Sundays, while any part of divine service was in doing,  
“ or while any sermon was in preaching.

“ No innkeeper, victualler, or tippler, should admit in his  
“ house or backside any to eat, drink, or play at cards,  
“ tables, or bowls, in time of common prayer, preaching, or  
“ reading of homilies, on the Sundays and holidays; and  
“ no shops to be set open on Sundays and holidays, in  
“ time of common prayer, &c. And that in fairs and com-  
“ mon markets upon the Sundays, there be no shewing of  
“ any wares before all the morning service and the sermon  
“ (if there be any) be done.

“ No persons to wear beads, or pray either in Latin or  
“ English upon beads or knots, or any other like supersti-

**BOOK II.** “tious thing;—nor to burn any candle in the church superstitiously upon the feast of the purification;—nor superstitiously to make upon themselves the sign of the cross, when they first enter into any church to pray; nor to say the *de profundis* for the dead; nor rest at any cross in carrying any corpse to burying; nor to leave any little crosses of wood there.

“Perambulation to be used by the people for viewing the bounds of their parishes in the days of the Rogation, commonly called *cross-week*, or gang-days: that the Minister use none other ceremonies than to say the two Psalms beginning, *Benedic, anima mea, Domino*; that is to say, the 103d and 104th Psalms, and such sentences of Scripture as be appointed by the Queen’s injunctions, with the Litany and suffrages following the same, and reading one homily already decreed and set forth for that purpose, without wearing any surplice, carrying of banners or hand-bells, or staying at crosses, or such like Popish ceremonies.

“The Ministers and churchwardens not to suffer any lords of misrule, or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons or others, at Christmas or at May-games, or any minstrels, morice-dances or others, at rish-bearings, or at any other times, to come irreverently into any church, or chapel, or churchyard in their dance, or play

169 “any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk; namely, in the time of divine service, or of any sermon.

“The parish clerks were required to be able to read the first lesson, the Epistle and the Psalms, with answers to the suffrages as was used.”

Popish superstition still in the north.

By the heeding of which injunctions one may observe, how old Popish customs still prevailed in these northern quarters, and therefore what need there was of this general visitation; as the frequent use and veneration of crosses, months minds, obits and anniversaries, the chief intent whereof was praying for the dead; the superstitions used in going the bounds of the parishes; morris-dancers and

minstrels coming into the church in service-time, to the disturbance of God's worship ; putting the consecrated bread into the receiver's mouth, as among the Papists the Priest did the wafer ; crossing and breathing upon the elements in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and elevation ; oil, tapers, and spittle in the other sacrament of Baptism ; pauses and intermissions in reading the services of the Church ; praying *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-nosters* upon beads ; setting up candles in the churches to the Virgin Mary on Candlemas-day, and the like.

This provincial visitation continued the next year, *viz.* The Arch-bishop vi-sits the Dean and Chapter of York, and gave them also injunctions, in nine-teen articles ; which (that I may bring these matters together) I shall also here set down briefly, *viz.*

“ No Dignitary or Prebendary to let his principal mansion Injunctions.  
 “ house to any lay person, or to any person, save to them Grind.  
 “ that have dignities or prebends in the said church. So Regist.  
 “ that if they do not inhabit the same themselves, or keep Matt. Hutt.  
 ton, D. D.  
 “ it against their repair to the said church, (which shall be  
 “ twice every year at the least,) the said houses, according  
 “ to the ancient laudable custom, shall remain to be inha-  
 “ bited by those that have dignities or prebends, lacking  
 “ houses of their own. And every Prebendary at his ad-  
 “ mission, to take an oath to observe this order by consent  
 “ of Dean and Chapter.

“ A survey was ordered to be taken of all the lands and revenues belonging to the common, or to the deanery, or any office or prebend.

“ The old statutes to be revised ; and those abolished  
 “ that were either not necessary, superstitious, or unprofit-  
 “ able : and the rest drawn into a book, to be confirmed  
 “ and read in the chapter-house four times a year.

“ Every Prebendary living twenty miles off the cathe-  
 “ dral, to appoint his Proctor, one of the Canons, Preben-  
 “ daries, or Vicars of the church ; who should discharge  
 “ all manner of duties incident to his prebend or dignity.

“ The præcentor or his deputy, and the master of the

**BOOK II.** “ choristers, to provide, that the choristers should be virtuously brought up in the principles of religion; and to be examined thrice every quarter of a year in the English

Anno 1571. “

**170** “ Catechism, now lately set forth and enlarged.” [The author whereof was Alex. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul’s, London, and approved by the synod anno 1562.]

“ No charter, evidence, or other writing belonging to the church, to be taken out of the treasury, or vestry, or library, except he that take it write his name in a book, and bind himself to restore it, &c.” These injunctions were dated in the chapter-house, 10th October, 1572.

The Archbishop also ordered the course of preachers for the cathedral church every Sunday and holiday, and a table to be put up with the names of them; and so settled the *ordo perpetuus pro concionibus in ecclesiis*: which was observed (as Dr. Mat. Hutton hath noted in his book of Collections, from whence I have transcribed these injunctions) till the year 1685, when John Dolbin, then Archbishop of York, ordered a new one.

Whittingham cited before the Archbishop of York.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Bishops of Winton and Ely, chief of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the province of Canterbury, had been called upon by the Queen to have regard to uniform order in the Church, and to reform abuses of such persons as sought to make alteration in what was established. Many of these were Ministers who enjoyed benefices and places of profit in the Church, and yet lived not in obedience to the rules and injunctions of it. The men of this rank of the most fame were, Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburne, Goff, Whittingham, Gilby. These the said Commissioners thought very fit to convenant before them, and to press their duty upon them; and if they persisted in refusal of it, to deprive them. Some part of this work would lie upon the Archbishop of York: for Lever, Whittingham, and Gilby, being of the north, and so of his province, were thought to fall under his cognizance. These two last had been exiles at Geneva in the days of Queen Mary, and the heads of those that then opposed the Communion Book. Whitting-

ham was he that had wrote a preface before that dangerous wild book of Goodman, against the lawfulness of women's government, and exciting the deposing of Queen Mary. Canterbury therefore writes to York, to send for both these to appear before their Commission Ecclesiastical at York. Whittingham was accordingly sent for by our Archbishop; and he looked for his appearance within three days, that is, by the 31st of August: of which he certified his brother of Canterbury, and that he would not fail to advertise him what his answer should be to the matters objected. And he added, that he trusted to find conformity in him, having subscribed concerning apparel, in his predecessor's days, as he took it. As for Gilby, he signified to Gilby, the said Archbishop, that he could not deal with him; for he dwelt at Leicester, out of the province of York, and much nearer to London than to York. So Gilby was left to the Commissioners in the south. Lever had a prebend in the church of Durham; of which he was deprived, I suppose, about this time: but continued Master of Sherborn hospital till his death.

Henry Bullinger, the chief pastor in Zurich, and of the highest reputation there for learning, a great lover of England, took the pains to answer that unworthy bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, lately set forth against the Queen, depositing her from her kingdom, and commanding all her subjects, and other Christian princes, to take up arms against her. This seasonable answer that reverend man sent in writing to our Archbishop, about August this year; as he had also sent copies of it to the Bishops of Ely and Sarum; who were his acquaintance formerly in their exiles. Of this writing he certifies the Archbishop of Canterbury in the correspondence between them, making no doubt but he had seen it. But he hinted, how he stood in doubt, whether her Majesty and the Council could be contented, that it were published in Latin or English, or both. For that possibly they would not have the multitude to know, that any such vile railing bulls had passed from that see. And withal he signified to his brother of Canterbury, that he

CHAP.  
II.  
Anno 1571.

Bullinger  
sends him  
his answer  
to the bull  
against the  
Queen.

**BOOK II.** should be glad to know his Grace's opinion on it. Wherein  
Anno 1571. the said Archbishop soon resolved him, by letting him  
know, that Bullinger's book was printed in Latin, and that  
not without the advice of the Lord Burghley; and that it  
was translating in English: and one of the Latin books  
was sent by him to the Queen, fairly bound. And that  
there was no alteration at all, but in the 60th page only;  
which he might compare with his written book.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
Canterbury  
makes an  
inquiry  
concerning  
an Arch-  
bishop of  
York.

I am unwilling to omit the mention of a more private matter in these two Archbishops' correspondence. Archbishop Parker was a great searcher into the ecclesiastical history of England, and wanted now to know a particular (and one would think a slight) piece of history of the church of York: but such was his exactness in this kind of knowledge, that he sent twice to our Archbishop to be informed about it; *viz.* what the punctual day was of that great and celebrated installation feast of Archbishop Nevyl, brother to the great Earl of Warwick in Edward the Fourth's time; which was so extravagantly sumptuous and expensive, that the like had hardly ever been heard of, as it is set down in Godwin's Catalogue, under his name, together with the names of the noble guests and officers which attended; who were no less than divers earls, lords, and knights. But this remarkable day whereon this feast happened our Archbishop could not learn: and so he wrote to Archbishop Parker; adding, that the records there at York had been kept very negligently; but that he would cause further search to be made. Perhaps the most splendid entertainments that that brave Prelate had, or was about to make at Canterbury, occasioned this his inquisitiveness.

A prebend  
in contest  
between the  
Archbishop  
and others.

Toward the latter end of the year, the Archbishop shewed his resolution, as well as his care of providing his church of York with worthy men. For a good prebend there this year falling void, the presentation to which fell in contest between three; *viz.* the Archbishop, Webster, and Woodroff. The title Webster (who was by calling a cook) claimed by, was some pretended right of the next

advowson made over to him by Young, the last Archbishop; which, whatever it were, was lodged in Woodroff, by some conveyance from Webster to him. And perhaps neither of them were innocent of some unlawful dealings herein. But now Webster and Woodroff were themselves fallen to pieces about the right of presenting. The Archbishop notwithstanding esteemed the true right to be in himself: and for this he had the judgment of the best lawyers. For whatsoever the former Archbishop had done to the contrary, it was not in his power to grant away the advowson. For which act our Archbishop passed this just censure on him; "That he did in this, as in some other things, *præter officium*, in taking away (as much as in him lay) the nominating and collating of a Canon to the church, from himself and his successors Bishops, who by common supposition were thought to be men learned, and most fit to judge in such cases, and to grant the same to a master cook unlearned, and therefore less able to judge. It were more reason," said the Archbishop somewhat sharply, "that every man should deal in his own faculty, according to the old proverb, *Tractent fabrilia fabri*; i. e. Let the carpenter meddle with his tools: and so likewise, *Tractent culinaria coci*; i. e. Let cooks meddle with the affairs of their kitchen. So as Mr. Webster's case, being both against a reasonable and good law, and having a corrupt original, both in the Bishop's predecessor and himself, was a cause odious, and deserved no favour before any judge." But however Webster pretended a right to present; and so did Woodroff. And both presented their Clerks to the Archbishop. Woodroff had presented one or two, whom the Archbishop refused. But matters now so stood, that the more probable right of the two lay in Woodroff. Therefore, for the prevention of law-suits, he chose to close in with an offer made by the said Woodroff; which was, that he would present one such whom the Archbishop should nominate unto him. By which he thought, as he said, that by God's providence that thing was restored to him, which his predecessors

CHAP.  
II.

Anno 1571.

Young cen-  
sured by  
our Arch-  
bishop.

**BOOK II.** against all good order had taken from him. He was content, as he said, to follow St. Paul's counsel, which was to take benefit of all occasions, whereby Christ might be the better preached: and thereupon got his own Chaplain into the prebend. But Webster obtained so much interest with the Lord Treasurer, that he procured an earnest letter from him to the Archbishop in his behalf; and, if it might be, to discharge again him that was presented. The Archbishop in his answer to the said Lord, shewed all which is before said: adding, that Webster had no injury done him. For if men might trust either the lawyers spiritual or temporal in those parts that he had talked withal, (besides the common practice used there in like cases,) Woodroff's presentation was good in law; and then *qui suo jure utitur nemini facit injuriam*. And as for equity, it was all on the Archbishop's side, both for nominating the best, and for other causes. And that if Webster were only desirous, as he

173 ought to be, that a very good preacher should be placed in the prebend, then, he said, he had satisfied his good meaning. For he had placed a better preacher in it than Webster presented unto him; and such an one, as, if he had sought both the Universities, he should hardly, of those that were unpreferred, find his like. But if he had other indirect meaning, the same, he said, was not to be favoured.

**His protestation to the Lord Treasurer;** But yet the Archbishop was concerned, that his great friend, the Lord Treasurer, had interceded with him in this matter, whom by all means he studied to gratify. To him therefore he protested, "that the Queen's Majesty excepted, there was no creature's request upon earth could weigh more with him. And therefore, that in all his requests made to him, either at London (which he confessed were not many) or there, he either did that which he requested, or else satisfied him by answer to his con-

But will not tent. In this matter he told him, that his letter came, reverse what he has done. " *quum res non erat integra*: for his Chaplain was then presented, and also under his hand and seal instituted. " And so there was a right grown to him, till law reversed

“ it. That as for his merits that had it, he lately lay under CHAP.  
 “ a double quartan, and now under a quartan, which was II.  
 “ like to hold him to Midsummer, as a fruit of his earnest Anno 1571.  
 “ study. That he was studious, godly, learned, and elo-  
 “ quent; and that if his Lordship knew him as well as he,  
 “ he would favour his cause. That as for himself, he could  
 “ not in honesty and credit do and undo, nor in conscience  
 “ remove the better, and take the worse. Wherefore he  
 “ earnestly and heartily prayed his Lordship, that he  
 “ would have also consideration of him in this matter, as  
 “ well as of Mr. Webster. And that he would let it be his  
 “ own matter, and not his Lordship’s. Let him,” added  
 he, “ ask counsel of law above; and that it was a matter of  
 “ short resolution and small suit. And that if this man  
 “ now instituted were removed by order of law, both he  
 “ and the Archbishop would give place, and would take  
 “ order that every farthing of the profits should be an-  
 “ swered to him that prevailed. And lastly, his suit to the  
 “ Treasurer was, that he would not require him to undo  
 “ his own act, which he was surely persuaded to be lawful,  
 “ both in law and conscience.”

There happened another matter about this time between the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop. When he was Bishop of London, he made a lease of Broxburn parsonage to Sir George Penruddock; which lying conveniently for the said Lord, he had some concern in it, and would have been glad of the lease himself. But understanding Penruddock had it, charged it upon the Archbishop as some unkindness to him. This made an impression upon the grave man, who ever studied to shew himself most ready to serve his great and good friend. Therefore by a letter he as- PaperOffice. sured him *coram Domino*, that to the utmost of his remembrance, (and he thought he should not forget any matter that so much pertained to his Lordship,) he never moved him for any lease of that parsonage. For, if he had, or 174 that he could have but conjectured that he had been desirous of it, he should have had all his furtherance to the uttermost. He remembered, he [the Treasurer] had once de-

**BOOK II.** sired a terrier of it, and that he had procured to be made anew, there being no old one in his possession. But in one respect, as he said, it was well: for he did nothing in it that could justly prejudice his Lordship. And then he proceeded to lay the case open, as indeed it was, *viz.* that upon importune suit of the said Sir George Penruddock, and of the old Earl of Pembroke, he had granted to him one and twenty years in reversion, to begin after twenty-six or twenty-seven years of a lease then in possession were expired. But he told Penruddock then oftentimes, that his grant in that case was void by statute: as it was, and is indeed. He was still importune to have it, with all faults. And so in the end he had passed unto him a void grant. The old lease was granted him by Bishop Bonner; there being about twenty-four years to come. And if the reversion after that term might do his Lordship a pleasure, there were ways enow to bring it to pass: and sure he was, that his grant to Sir George could not hinder the same by any means.

**His care for the Treasurer and the Queen.** It was but lately come to light, that certain vile Papists had conspired the Lord Burghley's death by some base assassination: but the persons were now apprehended. As

**PaperOffice.** soon as the news of it was brought into the north, the Archbishop congratulates the said Lord his friend, and thanks God for his delivery. And then gravely and carefully admonishes him, concerning taking care both of his own safety, (in whom the welfare of the whole realm was so extremely concerned,) and the Queen's. "That as this might be a warning to him to use all wariness and ordinary means for avoiding the like danger hereafter, as his own wisdom could well consider; so he took it to be a necessary warning for her Majesty. For she is the mark," saith he, "they shoot at; and at you, and others of her Council, for her sake. The number," added he, "of obdurately Papists, and Italianite atheists, is great at this time; both desperate, and grown, as it evidently appears, to the nature of assassins. Wherefore he wished that her Majesty would not be *tam facilis aditu*, as she

“ had been, especially to mean strangers; nor walk abroad CHAP.  
 “ so slenderly accompanied as she was wont; nor that her II.  
 “ privy gardens should be so common as they had been. Anno 1571.  
 “ And at length prayed the said Lord, (to whom he writ  
 “ all this,) that he would give him leave to be so bold as  
 “ to desire him to signify so much of his poor opinion to  
 “ her Majesty. For whose preservation he daily prayed to  
 “ the Almighty. To whose grace and protection he also  
 “ heartily commended his Lordship.” This was writ from  
 Cawood, the 29th Jan. 1571.

There was an house in Battersea in Surrey, appertaining to the Archbishops of York, together with fourscore acres of demean land, belonging thereunto; which house and lands were for the convenience of the Archbishops, when they came up to Parliament or Convocation, or for other business at Court: to whom the tenant by his lease was, upon notice given, to give way, that the Archbishop might there reside with his household, as long as he thought convenient. One Hill now was farmer of these premises by a long lease, who had ploughed up the lands, and on purpose made the place incommodious for any Archbishop to come there any more: so that our Archbishop, nor Holgate, nor Young, his two predecessors, could enjoy their lands. Archbishop Young endeavouring to recover it, by some mismanagement of the suit was cast by Hill, and forced to pay sixty pounds damages. Whereupon he used Archbishop Grindal worse than his predecessors, by keeping his demeans from him; and withal giving him many evil words, and suing his workmen, that cut down some of the wood upon the said demeans, for his provision at Battersea in a Parliament time. This put the Archbishop upon examining more fully into the lease: which in the issue he found defective, and of no value. And for the better providing for the Archbishops for the future, the Queen's Solicitor, (afterward Lord Chancellor,) Ayloff, (afterward one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and other great lawyers, advised that a new lease should be made by the Dean and Chapter of York, to the Archbishop for his life, accord-

Battersea-  
house re-  
covered by  
the Arch-  
bishop.

His success  
in a suit in  
behalf of  
the see of  
York.

**BOOK II.** ing to the precedent of former leases of Battersea: which was done accordingly. And another lease was made by the <sup>Anno 1571.</sup> Archbishop to two other persons for twenty-one years, for the removing of Hill, that had dealt so contrary to the meaning and intent of his lease, yet without doing any wrong to the old lessees: but in as beneficial a manner as could be for the Archbishop's successors; that is, with condition that the demeans should upon warning be left to every Archbishop, when he should be at his house at Battersea, or within sixty miles thereof. This lease occasioned some difference afterward between our Archbishop, when removed to Canterbury, and his successor Edwin Sandys, as we shall see under the year 1579.

The Archbishop confirms a Bishopshop of Man.

Thomas Stanley, the last incumbent of the bishopric of Sodor, or the Isle of Man, being dead, the Earl of Derby, in the year 1570, nominated and presented, according to custom, by letters to the Queen, John Salisbury, to succeed in the said see, who was late Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, and now Dean of the cathedral church, Norwich; and humbly prayed her to accept and admit his nomination: and thereupon the Queen sent her letters to the Archbishop of York, (in whose province that bishopric lies,) to proceed to the confirmation of him. These letters of the Queen bore date September 29, from Gorhambury; and accordingly he confirmed him April 7, 1571.

Exercises  
for the in-  
terpretation  
of Scripture  
set up at  
Northamp-  
ton.  
PaperOffice.  
176-180

There was this year a very commendable reformation instituted and established, for religion and good manners, in the town of Northampton, by consent of Scambler, the Bishop of the diocese, the Mayor and his brethren, and other the Queen's Justices of the Peace within that county and town. One pious practice whereof I shall here take notice of, because we shall have occasion hereafter to speak many things of the like practice, and wherein our Archbishop was not a little concerned. Among other religious observances, now set up and used in this town, there was every other Saturday (which soon after was observed every Saturday) in the morning, an exercise of the best learned of the Ministers, both of the town and country, for the right interpre-

tation of the holy Scriptures. The manner was thus. Cer- CHAP.  
tain of the Ministers, who were appointed, (discoursing or- II.  
derly one after another,) handled some text, (given, as it <sup>Anno 1571.</sup> seems, by the Bishop,) opening the same plainly and briefly before the people. And all to be despatched by eleven of the clock. Then (the congregation dismissed) the Ministers did withdraw into some convenient place; and there conferred among themselves, as well touching doctrine, as good life and manners, and other orders meet for them to observe.

The particular order of these exercisers was, that every <sup>The order is</sup> one, at his admission to be of this combination, should by <sup>thereof.</sup> subscription of his hand declare his consent in Christ's true religion with his brethren, and submit himself to the discipline and order of the same. The names of those that were to speak, to be written down in a table, for any that would to know. The first that spake began and ended with prayer. His province was to explain the text he read; then to confute any false and unsound expositions thereof; then to give the comfort to the audience that the place ministered just occasion of: but not to digress, dilate, nor amplify the text whereof he treated, into a commonplace, further than the meaning thereof necessarily required. He or they who spake after, had liberty to touch at what the first speaker omitted, either in his explanation or confutation. The exercise not to exceed the space of two hours: and the first to finish what he had to say within three quarters of an hour: the second and third not to exceed one quarter each of them. One of the Moderators always to make the conclusion.

After the exercise was ended, the President for the time called the learned brethren unto him, and required their judgment concerning the exposition of the Scripture that had been then given. And if any matter had been untouched, then to be declared. And if any of the speakers were infamed, or convicted of any grievous crime, he was then and there reprehended.

After the consultation, any of the brethren might pro-

**BOOK II.** pound their doubts and questions, collected out of that place of Scripture that day expounded ; and signify the same unto the President and the other brethren, and declare the same in writing unto the first speaker. And order was taken for the satisfying of the said question at the next exercise.

**The consultation, how ended.** The consultation to be ended with some short exhortation, to move each one to go forward in his holy office, to apply his study, and to increase in godliness. The exercise finished, the next speaker was nominated publicly ; and the text he should expound, read. If any presumed to break these orders and rules, and seemed to be contentious, the President was presently to command him in the name of God to silence. And after the exercise, the unadvised person to be censured by the brethren there gathered together, that he and others, by his example, might learn modesty hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

**181** *The Bishop's letter concerning the Lord President of the north. Writes for an Ecclesiastical Commission. Writes to the Lord Treasurer against concealments ; and concerning a High Sheriff for Cheshire. His thoughts of a proclamation for orders in the Church ; and the Council's letters thereupon.*

**Anno 1572.**  
His satisfaction in the Lord President.

**H**ENRY Earl of Huntingdon was in the year 1572 made Lord President of the Council in the north, a pious and sincere Protestant ; and one, of whose coming to that place the Archbishop of York was very glad, that he might have one heartily and affectionately to back his labours in the Church. And indeed they cordially loved one another, and drew one way. The Archbishop in one of his letters to Sir William Cecil, now Lord Burghley and Lord High Treasurer, gave this account of his government : “ My Lord President's good government here among us

“ daily more and more discovereth the rare gifts and virtues CHAP.  
 “ which afore were in him, but in private life were hid from III.  
 “ the eyes of a great number. That the old proverb was Anno 1572.  
 “ verified in him, *magistratus probat virum.*” Then the  
 Archbishop interceded for him for his more easy living there;  
 wishing that some of her Majesty’s houses and grounds in  
 those parts might be procured for him towards his necessary  
 provision: for without that, as he added, he could not  
 see but that he should far overcharge himself. He knew,  
 he said, his Lordship was his good friend; which made him  
 [the Archbishop] bold sometimes to put his Lordship in  
 mind thereof.

After this we may hear, if we please, what account the His own ac-  
 said Earl gave of himself, in one of his letters to the same count of his  
 Lord Treasurer, who indeed had been the means of his doings  
 sending into the north in that honourable station, which since he  
 some about the Queen had not much liked of. “ Whereas,” dent.  
 saith the said Earl, “ some seemed to dislike his Lordship’s  
 “ haste in preferring him to that place, he [the Earl] was  
 “ sorry for it with all his heart; yet he trusted he had done  
 “ nothing to the offence of any: but if he had, before they  
 “ should grieve at his Lordship for his favour shewed to  
 “ him, they should tell him his fault. That he had com-  
 “ mitted indeed many errors; but this,” he said, “ he dared  
 “ boldly to affirm in the fear of God, that since his coming  
 “ thither, he had in all causes had a mind to do that which  
 “ might advance the glory of God, best further the good  
 “ service of her Majesty, and be most fit for the common  
 “ good and quiet of that people. That if he had failed in  
 “ the performance of any of those, it was want of skill, and  
 “ not of good-will to do the best, would be his fault.”

The Archbishop now wrote to the Queen (and so he The Arch-  
 signified to the Lord Treasurer in the month of January he bishop de-  
 would do) for the renewing of the Ecclesiastical Commission sires a new  
 for his province; a thing highly necessary for those parts, Commis-  
 for the more effectual suppressing of corrupt religion, and 182 sion Ecclesi-  
 giving encouragement to the Gospel. And among other astical,  
 reasons why he desired a new Commission, this was one,

**BOOK** that the Lord President might be put in, as others were ;  
II. that some of the old Commissioners were dead, and others  
Anno 1572. of them removed out of the province ; whereby the number  
 was diminished. And perhaps other reasons might have  
 been added by our Archbishop, as I find were by Young  
 Archbishop Young. his predecessor, who had but a few years before requested  
 of the Secretary the same thing : as, that there was not due  
 regard had in placing such as might serve in all the places  
 of that Commission, by reason he was not acquainted with  
 the state of that country at the time of the granting of the  
 said Commission. And particularly, that whereas Notting-  
 ham. ham was parcel of the diocese of York, and more subject to  
 the malicious practices of the enemies of God's true reli-  
 gion ; yet there was none of that country put into the said  
 Commission. Nottingham, as the said late deceased Arch-  
 bishop shewed, was the extreme part of his diocese, and  
 so further from due means of reformation and correction.  
 That it was a nigh neighbour to the counties of Derby and  
 Lancashire, where the most part of the lewdest sort had  
 remained and were cherished. There were also within Not-  
 tingham some places where these seditious people received  
 great relief, having already infected very grievously some  
 of good calling in that country. And the case so falling  
 out, he thought it very requisite that a special regard should  
 be had thereto.

Anno 1573. The Archbishop had now observed great abuses offered to  
 He inter- the Clergy of his diocese by a parcel of needy, unjust men,  
 cedes for who pretended commissions from the Queen, to recover  
 his Clergy from them penalties incurred. She had indeed granted by  
 oppressed letters patents to her gentlemen pensioners, penalties  
 by conceal- forfeited by the Clergy, under pretence of concealment of  
 ments. lands and rents given for superstitious uses, belonging now  
 by act of Parliament to the Crown. Whereupon they sent  
 their deputies about through the kingdom ; who, being indi-  
 gent men, used great extortion, and wofully oppressed and  
 vexed the poor Clergy. This caused our Archbishop to  
 make complaint thereof to the Lord Treasurer ; who, how-  
 ever he inwardly liked not the thing itself, yet the letters

patents being passed, he wrote back to the Archbishop, that the gentlemen pensioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the Clergy, since so it was appointed by the Queen, and bestowed upon them. The Archbishop then shewed his Lordship, that he intended not they should be abridged of it; but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troublesome, chargeable, and dishonourable; in that they summoned all the Clergy, as well faulty as innocent, and others also of good worship and credit, to appear before them, as the Queen's Commissioners, whereas they had no such Commission: and likewise that they compounded with the Clergy for offences past and to come; which tended not, as he said, to the restraint of abuses, but was rather a means to increase them. And lastly, that they were men noted heretofore for evil dealing and bribery. He desired therefore, that for the preventing of these troubles, the gentlemen pensioners would send him down, in articles, a form of proceeding to be observed by their said deputies, whereby the mentioned inconveniences might be avoided.

I have put the letter into the Appendix, wherein the Arch-  
bishop shewed this his fatherly care of his Clergy.

Sir Rowland Stanley, together with his friends, laboured to obtain to be High Sheriff of Cheshire for the ensuing year: a person he was, doubted to be corrupt in religion; and the rather, for contemning the order of the Ecclesiastical Commission. For upon some disagreement between him and his wife, divers and sundry processes were issued out from the Lord President and our Archbishop, by virtue of the Ecclesiastical Commission; all which he had contemned. Of which contempts they had determined, about the end of the term, to certify the whole board of the Council, and to pray assistance. It was also taken notice of, that when the Lord President was last in Cheshire to take his *vale* of the Earl of Essex going into Ireland, Stanley would not vouchsafe to salute him; burdened belike with a guilt of conscience. Upon these and other reasons, to be shewn by and by, the Archbishop sent up to the Lord Treasurer to stop him from being Sheriff. This he moved, not for

CHAP.  
III.

Anno 1578.

Gentlemen  
pensioners.

The Arch-  
bishop la-  
bours to  
hinder one  
Stanley  
from being  
High  
Sheriff.

**BOOK II.** respect of any private quarrel of his, nor upon any extraordinary credit given to one Mr. Robert Fletcher, an informer <sup>Anno 1573.</sup> against the said Knight, (because he knew enmity to be between them,) but he rather chose to offer to his [the Treasurer's] consideration, whether the said Sir Rowland were a fit man to supply that office this year upon the former reasons, as also upon these that follow; *viz.* That there was a suit depending between him and the Archbishop and his Court: and he thought that by being Sheriff, he might have power in his hands to obtain his will the better against the Archbishop; and therefore it was, that his friends sought that place now for him. The cause was this: Bebington, a benefice in Cheshire, being void, and the presentation being in certain feoffees, Sir Rowland laboured to get one Myrrick, an unlearned Welsh Doctor of Law, and one who had lived long *in concubinatu*, to be preferred to it, on purpose that Sir Rowland might have the profits of it. But to prevent Myrrick's coming in, one Mr. Robert Fletcher, a gentleman in those parts, (either one of the feoffees of this advowson, or that had an interest with them,) procured one Mr. Gylpin of Cambridge to be presented. By which means the choice became free to the Ordinary; and he presented Gylpin, as the best learned.

A case be-  
tween Stan-  
ley and the  
Archbi-  
shop.

Upon this, Sir Rowland sued the *Quare impedit* at Chester; and some just fear there was of indifferent justice in those particular jurisdictions; especially when a stranger is one party. For this reason Fletcher wrote to the Archbishop, that he would use all the means he could to prevent Sir Rowland's being Sheriff, of whose ambitious and malicious mind he spake; for that he could not attain to the placing of his unworthy clerk Myrrick in Bebington, nor yet could by any manner of ways bring him to do that, that neither in truth nor honesty he might do. And that since no way 184 might serve him, he and his complices did work by all ways and means they could to make him Sheriff in Cheshire, and thereby to deface his Grace, in admitting of Mr. Gylpin, or to work him [Fletcher] to their purpose, in making him feel his tyranny. Then Fletcher propounded to the Arch-

bishop to apply to the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Burgh- CHAP.  
III.  
Anno 1573.  
ley, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary, to discover unto them  
Sir Rowland's suits against him, [the Archbishop,] and his  
proud doings and corrupt religion. He also recommended  
Mr. Edmund Treifford of Treifford to be Sheriff; whose  
sound religion and godliness of life, together with his great  
living in Cheshire, might justly obtain the place, as his  
father had in times past: there having also been good  
proof of him in some late service in Lancashire. Thus far  
Fletcher.

All this the Archbishop communicated unto the Lord Treasurer, and added, "that he knew it was odious to  
"hinder any man's preferment; but yet he knew also, that  
"it was good to let the highest magistrate understand of  
"the conditions of those that are to be preferred, that they  
"may consider whether they be worthy of preferment, ac-  
"cording as circumstances may minister occasion. He is  
"seldom a good Sheriff," said the Archbishop, "that seeketh  
"to be a Sheriff. Many Sheriff's abuse their offices, to the  
"bolstering out of their own evil private causes." But the  
whole matter he referred to his Lordship's good consider-  
ation. Dated from York, Octob. 21.

In the correspondence between the two Archbishops, A proclamation  
for ob-  
serving or-  
ders in the  
Church.  
and old friends, he of Canterbury wrote unto his brother of York, concerning two things happening this year. The one was, his late noble entertainment given at Canterbury, (as he was a very magnificent Prelate,) which he described at large: which the latter said he had so lively set forth, "that in the reading thereof he thought himself to be one of his guests, "and as it were beholding the whole order of all things "done there. And that for an hundred years to come, and "how long after God knew, none of their coat was like to "do as he had done." The other matter the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to him about was of a more public concernment. The Queen had set forth a proclamation Octob. The Bi-  
shops  
blamed.  
the 20th in behalf of the orders appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; that they should be sincerely and uniformly kept throughout all the realm: expressing how the

**BOOK II.** fault, (that such diversities had been lately taken up in many churches, and thereupon contentions, and unseemly disputations and dissensions arisen,) in her opinion, was most in the Bishops, to whom the special care of ecclesiastical matters appertained, and who had their visitations episcopal and archidiaconal, and their synods, and other such meetings of the Clergy, first and chiefly ordained for that purpose ; which was now only used of them and their officers to get money, or for some other purposes. This proclamation was followed by a letter from the Lords of the Council, Anno 1573. November 7. (and that by the Queen's order to them,) to require the said Bishops to take a more vigilant eye to this uniformity throughout their dioceses ; and either personally themselves, or by their Archdeacons, or other able and wise men, to see, that in no one church of their dioceses there be any deformity or difference used. And if any 185 should refuse, to call such before them, and by censures and ecclesiastical laws to see them punished.

The Archbishop's thoughts thereof.

This was the sum of the Council's letter. Of this affair the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote his thoughts to our Archbishop ; who was not a little disturbed at the reflections that were made upon them [the Bishops] without any distinction. For though, as he said, some Bishops had not shewed that industry and care for uniformity that was requisite ; yet others used the best diligence they could : of which number he reckoned himself. For thus he discovered his mind in his answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury :

“ The late proclamation, and the Council's late letters, “ seem to lay a heavy burthen upon our shoulders ; and that “ generally and equally, without respect of difference ; “ whereas indeed there is not like occasion of offence given “ of all. I assure your Grace it is to me a great grief, and “ would have been tenfold greater, had they not thereby so “ well beaten down the other arrogant innovating spirits ; “ which I trust shall work some benefit to the Church, if “ the captains be not countenanced, as they have been “ by those that are no Bishops,” [meaning undoubtedly some of the great men of the Court, and very likely some of

those very Counsellors that were so apt to blame the Bishops.] And then he added, “ that as for his own diocese, CHAP.  
III.  
in very deed that uniform order allowed by the Book of Anno 1573. “ Common Prayer was universally observed there,” [and therefore that reprimand, given in such general terms to all the Bishops, was unjust in respect of himself.] “ He thought “ some of his province had some novelties; but he had “ written to them to reform them without delay, or else he “ would”—[meaning, call them into the Ecclesiastical Commission, and proceed to censures.]

And whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury had signified to him somewhat concerning his old diocese of London; His judgment of the innovations in London. that his successor there had been doing somewhat that had drawn disquiet upon himself by occasion of these dissensions; the Archbishop of York expressed that he was sorry that it should so happen. “ But surely,” added he, “ the Bishop of London is always to be pitied. For if even [the severest ecclesiastical censures] were the penalty of these curiosities, yet would he never lack a number of that generation.” And he declared, his judgment at least was, that these ill affected to the orders of the Church should not enjoy any benefit from it. Of these were Dr. Penny; who, he said, was a chief doer in these matters; [he meant, in promoting Cartwright’s doctrine and books;] and who of a preacher was become a layman and a physician: and he marvelled he should be suffered to enjoy a good prebend in Paul’s. And the like was to be said of Wiburn, Johnson, and others. “ They are content,” said he, “ to take the livings of the English Church; and yet affirm it to be no Church. *Beneficium datur propter officium.* If they will do no office, let them receive no benefit. He thought long to hear what would follow after that great inquisition at London.” and concluded with this pious and suitable prayer, “ God send us all humble and quiet spirits, and thankfully to acknowledge God’s great mercies towards us.” This was writ from Bishopthorp, Decemb. 9. This great *inquisition*, as the Archbishop called it, was that inspection that was now set on foot in London into the

**BOOK** order and conformity of the Ministers there, upon the  
**II.** Council's letters to the Bishop for that purpose.

**Anno 1573.** The Queen had a forest in Yorkshire, called *the forest of Galtres*, where stood the town and lordship of Sutton; herein were by estimation two hundred acres of *carramel* and thorny ground. One Mr. Barwike desired of her Majesty liberty to enclose forty acres of the said thorny ground by the space of six years, and to spring the same according to the statute; for which he would pay her 10*l.* a year. Whereupon an inquisition was taken in York by Gargrave, Fairfax, Dawbeny, and Sygrave, Commissioners appointed by the Queen; who certified that he might have and enclose the said acres, and that her game would be better preserved. Upon the return of this inquisition, the matter, for the further speeding of it, lay before the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, before they would proceed in that matter, sent a letter to the Archbishop of York, dated Feb. 29. to know his opinion, what wrong or hurt he thought might ensue, if Barwike should have such a lease. To which our Archbishop very honestly gave this answer; (which I mention the rather, because hereby he shewed his unbiassed mind, and his fatherly care of the poor people in all respects, when it lay in his way to do them service;) "That he had made inquiry concerning the same, and was very credibly informed, that the same lease should be very hurtful divers ways, and especially unto the inhabitants of the town of Sutton; with whom Mr. Barwike was noted to have dealt very hardly: for that the same poor inhabitants had, out of the same, hedge-boot for fencing in of their corn fields, and other usual fences; and also a great part of their fire-boot of the tops and lops of such runt-oaks as grow in the said two hundred acres: which oaks, as well as the thorns in that forest, were called by the name of *carramel* mentioned in the particular. Besides, that it was accounted the usual, best, and in a manner the only good pasture that the said inhabitants had for their draught-oxen and milch-kine: for that in four acres of that

His seasonable interposing in behalf of some poor commoners.

“ ground there was not the quantity of one acre of thorny CHAP.  
“ or wood ground, the rest being plain ground and good III.  
“ pasture. So that if this two hundred acres (being ac. Anno 1573.  
“ counted but for sixscore acres) should be all enclosed ac-  
“ cording to the said particular in six years, the said inha-  
“ bitants (as he was informed) should be then in great  
“ distress, during the time that the same might be kept  
“ enclosed by the statute; and Mr. Barwike in that time  
“ should have great commodity of the herbage thereof.  
“ And that it was greatly feared of the inhabitants there,  
“ that if it were once enclosed, he would by suit obtain  
“ that it should always continue several.”

The Archbishop added, “ that he was further informed,  
“ that it was lately moved at a Justice Court holden at  
“ York for the said forest, to know what hurt could come  
“ by enclosing the said parcel of ground. And thereupon,  
“ within two days after, there came to the officers of that 187  
“ Court great numbers of people, to shew that it should be  
“ hurtful to them, and to make suit for the stay thereof.  
“ And as he was informed, there was a supplication exhi-  
“ bited to the Lord President, to pray his Lordship to be a  
“ mean for the stay thereof. And lastly, that he was  
“ further informed, that the same *thorny ground* was near  
“ unto the lawnd of the forest, and was a very good covert:  
“ and that the enclosure of it would be hurtful, as well to  
“ the Queen’s game in that forest, as otherwise.” Such was  
his seasonable intercession for the poor commoners.

## CHAP. IV.

Anno 1574. *His and the President's good government. Papists decrease. Rejects an ignorant Clerk. Sherborn hospital. His care for it. Lowth, a disorderly preacher. Correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and him. Consults about entertaining the Queen. An earthquake in the north. Visits his church. The Lord President mentioned by him with honour for his good service. He prefers Ramisden, the Lord Treasurer's Chaplain. His letter to the Archbishop on this occasion.*

All things  
in peace in  
the north.

THE northern parts were now so well governed by our Archbishop, that all was in very quiet and peaceable condition in the ecclesiastical state: and going hand in hand with the Lord President, the civil state was also as quiet. For it must be marked, that these two great officers, the one for the Church, the other for the State, thwarted not, nor interfered, nor were jealous or envious of one another; but such was the prudence of the Archbishop, as well as the discretion of the Lord President, that they were unanimous in God's and the Queen's business, and by the joint endeavour of both, those parts were kept in peace and due order. And so in the beginning of the year 1574 he expressed it to the Lord Treasurer: "We are in good quietness, God be thanked, both for the civil and ecclesiastical state." And in another letter to him, he gave a fair character of the Lord President, *viz.* of his good government, of his splendid housekeeping, and of his fear for his [the President's] private concerns on that account. "That he served very honourably, and chargeably, as he had heretofore signified unto the Treasurer, and feared he surcharged himself. But if it were otherwise, he might say, *Amice timui.* Adding, "that he trusted God had prepared him to be a good instrument for this commonwealth. And that he, the said Lord Treasurer, had daily experience of his good government, by his own advertisements thence."

By the care and diligence of the Archbishop the number CHAP.  
 of Papists daily diminished, especially in his diocese ; who IV.  
 were a few years ago so many and prevalent in the north Anno 1574.  
 parts ; as appeared by that insurrection that happened 188  
 under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and The condi-  
 many other gentlemen, as well in Yorkshire as in Lancashire,  
 Cheshire, and other shires thereabouts. In Michaelmas tion of the  
 term the Archbishop, with the Ecclesiastical Commission, north as to  
 took account of divers Papists ; and sent a certificate up in Papists.  
 November of the proceedings against them. His Grace An Ecclesi-  
 conferred earnestly and learnedly with the Priests that were asticalCom-  
 taken up ; who yet were but under easy restraints. Dr. mission  
 Vavasor, an old acquaintance of the Lord Treasurer, and a  
 fixed, stubborn man, who had been a prisoner for above  
 half a year in his own house in York, and others imprisoned  
 in other parts, did now expect deliverance, because Feck-  
 nam, Watson, and others had that favour shewn them  
 above, who had been prisoners in the Tower or Marshalsea.  
 For they reckoned the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the  
 north must follow their steps in the south. And accordingly  
 they petitioned for their liberty to the Council in the north.  
 But the Archbishop's judgment was, that it was not conve-  
 nient to do the like there, considering that a great relapse  
 would certainly follow. They found but five obstinate Pa-  
 pists : whom they committed, together with Vavasor, obsti-  
 nate, sophistical, disdainful, and a scoffer, as the Archbi-  
 shop described him. But to see the Archbishop's proceed-  
 ings more particularly with them, and the present state  
 of Popery in these parts, I shall exemplify a letter in the  
 Appendix, which his Lordship wrote to the Lord Treasurer Num. III.  
 upon this argument.

He shewed his faithfulness in his inspection over his church, by taking what care he could that none but men of some ability and learning might be admitted to the cure of souls. And for this purpose he provided that such as came for institution to any living should be first well examined ; and such as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithstanding their presentations. One instance of this happened

**BOOK II.** this year, which I shall mention the rather, to observe what gross ignorance sometimes such as pretended to serve God in his Church were in these times guilty of. One William Ireland was presented to the Rectory of Harthil ; who coming to the Archbishop was examined by the Archbishop's Chaplain. In his presentation were these words, *vestri humiles et obedientes*; which the Chaplain required him to construe, to understand his ability in Latin. But he expounded them, *your humbleness and obedience*. The Chaplain asked him again, Who brought up the people of Israel out of Egypt? he answered, King Saul. And being asked, who was first circumcised, he could not answer. Wherefore the Archbishop rejected him. And one Hugh Casson was presented to, and obtained the said benefice of Harthil, and lived to the year 1624. And so was Rector there fifty years.

The Archbishop's distemper.

The Archbishop was now-a-days afflicted with the cholic, stone, and strangury; which were very grievous when they came: but God gave him some *intervalla*; else they were intolerable, as he spake of his distempers himself.

His care about Sherborn hospital.

There was an hospital called Sherborn house, lying a little east of Durham, built by Pudsey, some time Bishop of Durham, for sixty-five lepers. The Master of it now was the learned and pious Mr. Lever, once Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, and a great preacher in King Edward's days; afterwards under Queen Mary an exile. The former Master of this hospital was deprived for Papistry by Grindal in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, then the Queen's visitor of the bishopric of Durham, as it seems. This man had made unreasonable leases and grants, by means whereof the house was like to go utterly to decay. But for the remedying, if possible, thereof, and for the benefit of the hospital, Pilkington, the present Bishop of Durham, had made a certain instrument for the disannulling of those leases: but it wanted the Queen's confirmation. Lever the Master brought the matter before the Lord President. And here the Archbishop, as in the beginning of the year he interposed with the Lord Tre-

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Anno 1574.  
Archbishop  
Grindal's  
Reg. May  
the 28th.

surer in behalf of the Savoy, and for the bettering of CHAP.  
the estate of that hospital in the south, so now he was as IV.  
industrious to do service for this in the north. Therefore Anno 1574.  
he earnestly writ to the same Lord Treasurer, (the Archbi-  
shop's true friend, and a person ready to assist in all good  
works,) acquainting him, that the cause was heard before  
the Lord President and the Council: and that upon the  
hearing of it, it was thought by the learned in the laws, (as  
he was informed, and was fully persuaded to be true,) that  
the aforesaid method was the only means to preserve that  
hospital from utter ruin; which, he said, were a pitiful  
case. He prayed his Lordship therefore, among his manifold  
weighty businesses, to take opportunity to further this suit  
for the relief of Christ's poor members, according to his ac-  
customed goodness in all such cases. "For my own part,"  
added he, "I think often that those men which seek spoil of  
"hospitals, be it by leases or any other fetch of law, did  
"never read the xxvth chapter of Matthew: for if they  
"did, and believed the same, how durst they undergo such  
"an adventure?" And then he subjoined, in behalf of all  
such places founded for charity, "that if any hospitals  
"were abused, as he thought some were, it were a more  
"Christian suit to seek reformation than destruction." These  
matters he referred to his Lordship's good consider-  
ation, and so commended him to the grace of God. Writ  
from Bishopthorp near York the 3d of February. By these  
frequent hints and seasonable admonitions, he was an in-  
strument and spur to the Lord Treasurer to do a great  
deal of good. And lastly, the Archbishop reported well of  
the present governor of this house; that it had been and  
still was by him very well ordered, both for corporal and  
spiritual nutriment of the poor members thereof.

Though there were not so many Puritans in these north- His dealing  
ern quarters as in the south, (the Ecclesiastical Commis- with some  
sioners being chiefly employed in taking cognizance of Pa- innovators.  
pists,) yet some there were; whereof one was named Lowth, of Carlile side; who for many disorders was had Lowth.  
up before the Commissioners. This man wrote letters full

**BOOK II.** of slander; terming the Archbishop's doings and the other Commissioners to be like the Spanish inquisition: and  
Anno 1574. though he had fifteen or sixteen years exercised the function, yet he proved to be ordered neither Priest nor Minister.  
**186** He made suit to the Queen for a pardon, or to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was intolerable, as our Archbishop said; and writing to his brother of Canterbury, he prayed him to stay any such pardon, if he could.

His advice about answering a Latin book of discipline.

The people which disapproved the present government of the Church, and set up for another model, had now printed a book of their *discipline* in Latin. Of this book the Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have given our Archbishop notice, and advised with him about an answer. To whom he signified, that Elmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln, were a fit man to give an answer to that book; but he thought that neither he nor the Dean of St. Paul's would take the pains: of the latter, he said, he was sure he would not. He added, that some thought Mr. Still (afterwards Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and a Bishop) were a fit man to do it, since he wished it done; and that the Dean of Paul's and Mr. Watts, Archdeacon, should have the view of it before it were published. This was his advice to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the said Archbishop soon got the thing done, and had it by him, though he would not so soon publish it, before it was well considered by some persons of judgment.

Reports of various sects distract him.

There came now into the north great talk of new sects and heresies sprung up in and about London, of Judaism, Arianism, and the like; perhaps aggravated by Papists in these northern parts; whose practice it was to object against the Reformation, the springing up of so much error and heresy, since the Church of England had forsaken their Roman Catholic communion. These rumours gave the Archbishop some disturbance; and that he might know the truth and certainty hereof, the better to understand the present state of that Church, in the reformation whereof he bore so considerable a part, and whose welfare he so earnestly desired, thought it convenient to make it

one of the matters of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; whose answer to it we shall hear by and by.

CHAP.  
IV.

The Queen was likely this next summer to make a progress into the north, and then would see York, as she had some years before into Kent, and came at last to Canterbury; where she was most nobly treated by Parker the Archbishop. Grindal therefore began to consider how to receive her Majesty, and to entertain her according to her dignity; and so as to obtain her gracious acceptance. The Archbishop of Canterbury had done it before very honourably and expensively: wherefore our Archbishop wrote to him, March the 4th, to communicate to him what the method of his reception of her was; for that the Lord Treasurer had signified to him the Queen's progress into those parts the summer ensuing. He said that it would be a great comfort to them all to see her Majesty among them, and to him especially: only he was sorry that his ability was so small as it was; but he would strain himself to his utmost; trusting that his good-will should be accepted where ability failed. He was, as he added, to pay in Michaelmas term next, for the last payment of his first-fruits, no less than 380*l.* which how well it would stand with a progress, his Grace could consider, especially in one that had not *communibus annis* above 1300*l.* yearly value. Lastly, he 187 prayed the Archbishop to send him some notes of instruction, both of charges for one or two days' diet, and also for other circumstances; especially at what place her Highness was to be met by him; at the entry of his diocese, or otherwise.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, March the 17th, gave him to understand, that the information of the Queen's coming was likely to be true: but that as for his own doings, that should not need to be an example to him; being yet, as he said, in his fruits, and having no more yearly revenue growing unto him. But he thought verily his good-will would be taken, as her Highness did very lovingly accept his service when she came to Canterbury. Then he proceeded to relate how he received her: that he met her,

Anno 1574.

He be-  
thinks him-  
self how to  
entertain  
the Queen.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
Canterbury  
writes to  
him.

**BOOK II.** as she was coming to Dover, upon Folkston Down ; which he did with all his men, and left her at Dover. At Canterbury he received her, together with the Bishops of Lincoln, Rochester, and his Suffragan of Dover, at the west door of the cathedral church : where, after the Grammarian had made his oration to her on horseback, she alighted ; and the Archbishop and the rest with him kneeled down and said the Psalm *Deus misereatur* in English, with certain other collects briefly ; and that in their chimers and rochets. Then the Archbishop related all the other ceremonies, *viz.* of conducting her under a canopy into the choir unto a traverse, where she sat while the even-song was said ; and how they afterwards waited upon her to St. Augustin's, where she lodged ; the noble supper he gave her courtiers and attendants the same night ; and the dinner he gave her Majesty the next day, when she went to the great church to hear a sermon ; and his most magnificent feasting her the day after in his great hall, together with her Privy Council, the French Ambassadors, ladies, gentlemen, and the Mayor of the town and his brethren.

**Shews him  
the ground  
of the re-  
port of  
strange her-  
esies  
sprung up.**

Next, as to the reports of strange sects and heresies sprung up in London, which our Archbishop had inquired after ; the Archbishop of Canterbury discovered that to be occasioned from Corranus, a Spanish Divine and Reader in the Temple ; who spake not wisely, he said, of Predestination, and suspiciously of Arianism. But that this was all he knew that gave occasion of those reports that came thither to York, except the Precians in London.

**An earth-  
quake in  
the north.**

On the 26th of February, about five at night, happened an earthquake in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and some other northern counties. It did no great harm, but the concussion much terrified the people, fearing that some public calamity might follow. This our Archbishop spake of, and remembered there was such an earthquake in Croydon in Archbishop Cranmer's time ; not long after which, as he supposed, King Edward died. This he esteemed of such moment, that he wrote to the <sup>Arch</sup>bishop of Canterbury about it, and wished the certain time of that earth-

**Anno 1574.  
Relates how  
he received  
the Queen  
at Canter-  
bury.**

quake might be learned, as though he were jealous it might import the death of the Queen. To which the other Arch-bishop made only this pious reply, that as to that prognostic, *It is the Lord, let him do what is good in his eyes.*

William Duxfield, Rector of the church of Bothal, in the county of Northumberland, was appointed by the Archbishop, March the 10th, Keeper of the spiritualties and jurisdiction of Hexham.

In the beginning of the year 1575, *viz.* April 26, the Archbishop visited the Dean and Chapter of his cathedral church of York; Matthew Hutton, D. D. being then Dean, John Gibson, Praeceptor; Will. Palmer, M. A. Chancellor; William Chaderton, S. T. P. Archdeacon of York; John May, S. T. P. Archdeacon of East-riding; John Lowthe, A. B. Archdeacon of Nottingham; Ralph Coulton, S. T. B. Archdeacon of Cleveland; Edmund Bunney, S. T. B. Sub-dean; Anthony Ford, Succentor.

And the see of Canterbury now vacant, Edmund Freke, Bishop of Rochester, elect of Norwich, by the death of Parkhurst, the last Bishop there, was confirmed by our Archbishop at Bishopthorpe, November 14.

The Lord President of the north, in October 1575, having occasion to travel up to Court, the Archbishop thought fit to salute the Lord Treasurer in a letter on this occasion; still taking all opportunities to recommend the said Lord President's government there; telling the Treasurer, that he thought his Lordship found true by experience that which he writ to him at the President's first entrance into his office; which was thus much in effect, that this office had made manifest to many those excellent virtues and good gifts, which afore were in a manner hid in him: and then mentioned a late eminent service toward Scotland, which, in his opinion, had made a good proof thereof: wherein, although the highest commendation was to be ascribed to her Majesty as the fountain; yet his Lordship, he said, as a good instrument, was not to be defrauded of his praise; and that, as far as he could learn, all good men in those parts did much rejoice in so happy an end of so unfortunate an accident. That if any disliked, they were of

CHAP.  
IV.

Anno 1574.

A keeper  
of the spi-  
ritualties  
of Hexham.  
Visits his  
church.

Confirms a  
Bishop of  
Norwich.

The Arch-  
bishop  
mentions  
to the Tre-  
surer a  
piece of  
service of  
the Lord  
President.

**BOOK II.** the worst sort of men, who in all commonwealths, he said,

Anno 1575. were *cupidi rerum novarum*. But this, as he added, was

more than needed to his Lordship, to whom the President's good service and godly wisdom was very well known. And yet he thought it not amiss, that his Lordship should partly understand what he [the Archbishop] and others of those parts unfeignedly thought of his Lordship's good government among them; fearing nothing but that he surcharged himself in serving her Majesty in so honourable and chargeablewise as he did: and it proved too true in the end.

Broils with  
the Scots  
upon the  
borders  
made up.

This Scotch matter before spoken of was, that in the Middle March towards Scotland a sudden bickering happened, about July, between the borderers; Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle March, meeting with Carmichel, Warden of Liddisdale in Scotland, both were attended with a rabble of thieves and malefactors belonging to the borders; who took some occasion to quarrel, bearing a deadly feud one to another: where the English first beat back the Scots, and took Carmichel prisoner. Afterwards a fresh company of Scots coming on, the English were put to flight, and Sir George Heron, Knight, Warden of Tindal, and others, were slain; Forster himself the Governor, and the Earl of Bedford's eldest son, and other gentlemen, taken prisoners, and carried into Scotland. Murray the Regent was hereupon so threatened by the Queen, that he came unarmed to the very borders of both kingdoms, and there met the Earl of Huntingdon, the foresaid Lord President of the north, and the English Commissioner: and by his prudent managey, this scurvy accident was wisely made up, and the Regent brought to promise to repair the honour of the English nation by the best offices he could; and sent Carmichel into England; who was kept awhile at York a prisoner, and after sent home with honour and certain presents: and thus amity was renewed between the Queen and the Regent by the Earl's good and dextrous management of this affair.

Camd. Eli  
zabeth, p.  
212.

The Arch-  
bishop pre-  
fers Ramis-  
den, the Lord Treasurer's Chaplain.

The Lord Treasurer retained one Mr. Ramisden for his Chaplain: who, having the parsonage of Spofford, in the

Archbishop's diocese, when he came down to his living, CHAP.  
brought some letters from the said Treasurer to the Arch- IV.  
bishop; and upon his return carried letters from the Arch- Anno 1575.  
bishop back to the Lord Treasurer. The said Lord, as he  
was desirous that his honest dependents should be raised,  
the same mind he bore towards this his Chaplain. And the  
Archbishop, glad to shew his respects to the Treasurer, did  
in a letter declare his good opinion and liking of Ramisden;  
and that for the serving of the Church in some larger  
sphere, he intended to help him to an archdeaconry; which  
Chaderton, Head of a college in Cambridge, was disposed  
to relinquish to his Grace's disposition, seeing he might not  
be tolerated to abide from thence any longer. The Lord  
Treasurer shewed how well he took this intention of the  
Archbishop's to do this kindness to his servant; but was  
no ways importunate, but leaves the Archbishop well to  
advise of the great charge of an Archdeacon, and whether  
Ramisden was well qualified for the office. For thus he  
wrote to the Archbishop in this affair:

" If your Grace shall dispose this archdeaconry upon How the  
" Mr. Ramisden for my sake, I have cause to thank your Treasurer  
" Grace; but yet, except he seem meet for such an office, accepted  
" both in learning and discretion, I would not wish him the kind-  
" ness.  
" occupy such a charge: as, if he were not able for it, my  
" name and credit would suffer. And therefore he signified,  
" that he left it wholly to the Archbishop, not being able  
" of himself to discern what is requisite in a man to occupy  
" such an office as had large jurisdiction, and was called  
" *oculus Episcopi*. He added, that though he liked not  
" the unruly reprobates of the Clergy at this time, yet  
" he feared the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both by  
" Bishops and Archdeacons, gave too great an occasion to  
" those stoical and irregular rovers to multiply their in-  
" vectives against the state of our Clergy. And therefore he  
" wished there were more caution and circumspection in all  
" these canonical jurisdictions and consistories; that the  
" exercises thereof might be directed at edification, and not  
" to make a gain of that which was meant to punish or pro-

**BOOK II.** “ habit sin. And lastly, that he might percase shortly at  
“ his coming up treat more of this matter.”

Anno 1575.

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*Nominated for the see of Canterbury. The Lord President's character of him upon his remove. His successor. His election and confirmation. A convocation. Articles then framed. Restores a silenced preacher; but imposed upon. Intercedes for St. John's college. Bucer's Scripta Anglicana dedicated unto him. His wonderful escape of death by an arrow.*

THE archbishopric of Canterbury lay now void since the decease of the most pious and reverend Matthew Parker, who died in August last. The Queen, after three months' deliberation who was fittest to succeed in that metropolitical station, pitched upon Grindal, recommended to her by the Lord Treasurer, his friend; who therefore gave him the first notice of it in a letter dated Nov. 25, in these words: “ I do let your Grace understand, that I “ do think assuredly her Majesty will have your Grace to “ come to this province of Canterbury, to take care there-“ of; and that, now at this Parliament. Wherefore I mean “ to give order to the officers of the temporalties to take “ care of the preserving thereof. And where the officers “ would be felling of woods, they shall not.” But speaking with one Marsh, late Receiver, he told him, that the last Archbishop was wont at Christmas to fell wood for his *fuel* and *coal*; and so were it necessary to be done for his Grace, if he should have that place. The Treasurer therefore, out of his friendship to our Archbishop, and care of his affairs, desired him by his letters, or otherwise, to appoint him somebody near at hand to attend on him for this and such like causes. So as when her Majesty should certainly resolve, as he meant to procure her to do within three

Concluded  
upon for  
Canter-  
bury.

or four days, he [the Lord Treasurer] might direct order CHAP.  
for his Grace's benefit. V.

This honour was not of our Archbishop's own ambitious seeking: nay, he had many inward motions to decline it. This honour the He was possessed with an humble spirit, and low conceit of his own abilities for so high a function in the Church; sought not. but was swayed by the vocation thereto, and the fears of giving offence. But I chose to give the reader his own words in his answer to the Treasurer; which was not writ till after fifteen days' consideration.

"I understand by your Lordship's letter of the 25th of His letter  
November last, which I received the 26th thereof, what to the Treasurer.

"your Lordship thinketh of her Majesty's inclination for my remove. If her Majesty should so resolve, (although I have had heretofore many conflicts with myself about that matter,) yet have I in the end determined to yield unto the ordinary vocation; lest in resisting of the same, I might with Jonas offend God, occasion a tempest, &c. beseeching God to assist me with his grace, if that weighty charge be laid upon me; to the sustaining whereof I find great insufficiency in myself. And I most 191  
heartily thank your good Lordship, that it pleaseth you to have such a care over me, and to take such pains in giving direction for the extern commodities pertaining to that place. I have appointed one William Marshal my servant to attend upon your Lordship from time to time, and to follow your Lordship's direction in all things, as the case shall require, &c.

*From Bishophorp,* "Your Lordship's in Christ,  
*Decimo Dec. 1575.* "Edm. Ebor."

And now our Divine is arrived to the top of his promotion in three removes; that is, from a private man to the highest advancement in the Church, and in the State too. As a standing memorial whereof, both to himself and others after him, he caused to be painted upon glass four coats of arms, and to be set up at Bekesbourn near Canterbury, where formerly was a palace of the Archbishops of that

**BOOK II.** diocese. The first was the coat of Grindal by itself; the second, significative of his first advance, was the coat of the see of London, impaled with Grindal; the third, the see of York, impaled with Grindal; and the fourth, that of Canterbury, impaled also with Grindal. And though that palace hath been now long demolished, yet these four panes of glass are yet preserved in a gentleman's house in that parish, as some remembrance still of this good man.

But well had it been for our most reverend Father had he continued at York, and never removed a step higher to Canterbury; since he lived here so quietly, had such a share in his Sovereign's favour, and governed so well in those northern parts: but soon after his translation, he met with much sorrow, and fell under the Queen's frowns, as by the sequel of his story will appear.

The Lord President's character of the Archbishop upon his remove.

The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the north, was now doubly concerned; both at the removal of so good a man from that see, and for another able person to succeed there. For thus did he express his mind upon this occasion to the Treasurer: “I hear that my Lord Archbi-

“shop is in election for Canterbury; of whom I must say,  
 “without offence to others, that I know none worthy to be  
 “preferred before him to that place for many respects;  
 “and yet, while I serve here, I am as loath he should be  
 “changed. But that place requireth such a sufficient  
 “man; and therefore I shall be glad if her Majesty ap-  
 “point him to the place. But I beseech your Lordship  
 “of your help, that such one may succeed him as will  
 “be comfortable to the godly, and a terror to the adver-  
 “sary. Thus much I am bold shortly to touch unto your  
 “Lordship, leaving the rest to your better consideration.  
 “For I will not presume to name any: but next to a sound  
 “judgment, and zeal to religion, (which are two most ne-  
 “cessary points to be in a Bishop,) he that shall be in this  
 “place, had need to be a man which otherwise should be  
 “both wise and stout.” And such indeed was his successor. Though an unhappy matter fell out at the very first between them, that hindered, I think, so good an understand-

ing as had been between the former Archbishop and him: CHAP.  
which was, that the Lord President in this juncture had V.  
made an interest above to obtain the grant of the Arch-<sup>Anno 1575.</sup>  
bishop's house at Bishopthorp; which this successor would 192  
not be brought to yield unto: and therein gave one in-  
stance of his stoutness. But to name him.

Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, March 8, succeeded Grindal in the archbishopric of York, another worthy man, and once an exile, as was Grindal, and both sprung from the town of St. Bees in Cumberland. But the case of dilapidations made these two old friends, countrymen, and fellow-sufferers, somewhat angry one with another. But Sandys, desirous of quiet and peace, according as the servant of God ought to be by the Apostle's rule, prayed the Lord Burghley to take the reference of the case upon himself. He had, as he said, ever deserved well of his predecessor; but that he had used him hardly many ways, especially in matter of dilapidation; which matter he had set over wholly to his Lordship's determination. He knew, he said, his Lordship favoured the Archbishop, and that he had been and was his best friend and preferrer: yet he was so persuaded of his Lordship's wonted good-will towards him, [the present Archbishop of York,] and of his unspotted and known indifference in all matters, that he would most willingly put the whole determination of that matter into his Lordship's hands; yea, if it stood upon his life. Finally, his hope was, he would take the matter into his hands to end it. And as Sandys thus referred himself to this just and noble Peer, so I make no question but Grindal did also: and he made a seasonable pacification between both, after a year or two contesting between themselves. But return we to our Archbishop.

About two afternoon, January 3, Mr. Marsh exhibited His election. Registr. De-  
to the Dean her Majesty's letters of *congé d'élire*, toge-  
ther with letters missive under her signet, commanding the can. et Ca-  
most reverend Father in God, Edmund Archbishop of pit. Eccles.  
York, to be elected Archbishop of Canterbury: which Cathedr.  
Cant.  
were read with all duty and reverence. Whereupon they

**BOOK II.** proceeded touching the same election, as followeth: “ Mr. Robert Whythers shall have commission under our com-  
Anno 1575. “ mon seal to cite the Dean and all the Canons and Preben-  
“ daries to appear at the chapter-house on Tuesday, January  
“ 10, betwixt nine and ten forenoon, then and there to pro-  
“ ceed to the said election.” On which day, at two o’clock  
afternoon, the said Archbishop was elected, and certificates  
thereof under their common seal were sent to the Queen’s  
Majesty, and to the said Lord Archbishop elect. Also a  
proxy was made to Mr. Dean, Dr. Yale, Dr. Newenson,  
Mr. Simpson, Mr. Bungay, and Mr. Incent, to exhibit the  
said certificates of election to the said Archbishop, &c. And  
in April following, the said Dean and Chapter shewed their  
respect to their new Archbishop by making this order: It is  
agreed, that the Lord Archbishop shall against the next  
Easter be presented by the Treasurer of the church with  
twenty fat wethers, in token of the Chapter’s good-will at  
his now entrance into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

**193** Our Archbishop was confirmed, February 15 following,  
Confirmation. by virtue of the Queen’s letters patents commissional to  
Grind. Regist. Sandys, Bishop of London; Horn, Bishop of Winchester; Cox, Bishop of Ely; Davies, Bishop of St. David’s; Gest, Bishop of Sarum; John Incent being principal Register to the Archbishop. John Bishop of Hereford was also in the Queen’s said letters commissional: but he seems to have been absent at the confirmation of the election by reason of his age.

**The Arch-  
bishop’s  
Proctor.** The oath of allegiance was taken, not by the Archbishop in person, but, according to the common practice in such cases, by Thomas Watts, his Proctor, in these words; “ I Thomas Watts, Procurator for the most reverend Father in God, Edmund, Archbishop of the church and see of Canterbury, in the name of the said most reverend Father in God, do utterly testify and declare in my con- science, that the Queen’s Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness’s dominions;” and so on, according to the usual term of the oath.

The next day following, *viz.* February 16, in a certain upper chamber of the Dean of St. Paul's house, London, in the presence of Robert Whitehorn, Public Notary, the Archbishop being then present, caused to be obliterated and broken a certain silver seal, which he used when he was <sup>CHAP. V.</sup> <sup>Anno 1575.</sup> <sup>Breaks his seal for the see of York.</sup> Archbishop of York, having engraven on it the effigies of St. Peter, and the arms of the metropolitical church of York, and the arms of the said most reverend Father, with this inscription, *Sigillum Dni Edmundi Grindalli Archiep. Ebor. anno 1573.* Edwin, Bishop of London; Thomas Godwin, S. T. P. and Dean of Canterbury; Tho. Yale, LL. D. John Walton, Gentleman, and many others, present. This particular was thought good to be put into the Archbishop's Register.

Which Thomas Yale was a learned civilian, and Vicar His Vicar General to the Archbishop, and Principal Official. <sup>General.</sup>

On the 19th day of February was a public entertainment made by the Archbishop at Lambeth; where, it being a Parliament time, no doubt great numbers of the nobility and gentry dined with him. Among the rest of the guests was the Lord Gilbert, the Earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son; to whom the Archbishop then related his father's honourable reception of him at Rufford, in his coming up from York: which the said Lord mentioned in a letter the next day wrote to the said Earl; and added, that he thought his Lordship would have a very good friend of him.

The first year of this Archbishop was held a Convocation of the province of Canterbury. The Convocation had been prorogued from time to time and place to place, from the year 1571 unto this present year; when it reassembled, and had a session Friday, February 10. Edwin, Bishop of London, being President, by virtue of letters dated February 8. to him, from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, Keeper of the Spiritualties, (the see being vacant,) commissionating him to act in the synod, and to continue and prorogue it from time to time. In the same session, the said President accordingly, with the consent of his fellow Bishops, prorogued the Convocation to the 17th 194

**BOOK** of the said month: in which interim our Archbishop of <sup>II.</sup> York was translated to Canterbury, and so the Bishop of Anno 1575. London's presidency ended.

**Comes to the chapter-house.** The said 17th day, being the second session, our new Archbishop of Canterbury came to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and there produced the Queen's writ, dated February 16, for continuing of the Convocation: which being read, he caused the Prolocutor, and some other of the Lower House, to come before him; and willed and commanded, that they should consider among themselves, if any things were needful to be reformed, which concerned Christ's religion and the state of the Church: and whatsoever they should thereupon devise, to reduce it into writing, and to exhibit it in the next session. And then he willed and commanded them likewise to bethink themselves of a subsidy for the Queen, to be granted by the Clergy, and the manner and form of granting the same. These matters proposed by the Most Reverend were accordingly considered, and had their effect.

**A subsidy granted.** For at the third session, February 24, the Bishops being in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the book or grant of the subsidy was read before them: and the Clergy of the Lower House having been called to hear, going for a little space to their own house, returned it back with their consent to the same.

**Matters to be treated of, propounded by the Archbishop.** And as to the other matter offered by the Archbishop relating to religion and the Church, it came into consideration Friday, March the 2d, when the Bishops met at the chapter-house of St. Paul, and calling up the Prolocutor and five others of the Lower House, the Bishop of London declared to them, that he and his brethren had certain *ardua negotia*, i. e. weighty businesses with them to be handled, concerning the state of the Church of Christ; upon which, by reason of the absence of the Most Reverend and others of the Fathers, they could not conveniently treat at that time, and therefore required them to be present at the next session.

The Convocation, having been divers times adjourned,

at last, on Saturday March the 17th, met at Henry the <sup>CHAP.</sup>  
 Seventh's chapel: where the Most Reverend being present, <sup>V.</sup>  
 commanded and caused to be read certain Articles conceived  
 in writing: which after they had been read over, the Arch-  
 bishop and his brethren the Bishops gave their assent and  
 consent to, and subscribed their names with their own <sup>1 Anno 1575.</sup>  
<sup>Articles of</sup>  
<sup>religion</sup>  
<sup>read and</sup>  
<sup>consent-</sup>  
<sup>ed to.</sup>  
 hands.

In these Articles resolutions were taken for the condition of Ministers, and the providing for order in the Church. And after good deliberation, at length they were framed, and agreed unto by the whole Synod; and bore this title: "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the most reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in the Convocation or Synod holden at Westminster by prorogation in the year of our Lord God, &c. 1575. touching the admission of apt and fit persons to the ministry, and the establishing of good order in the Church." They were published and printed by the Queen's Majesty's authority. Besides which printed copy, I have seen two manuscripts also of these Articles: one in 195 the Paper Office; where they are fourteen in number: and there is a writing added, importing, that they were subscribed by the Archbishop and Bishops, or the Proctors of the Bishops absent, according to due order of law. The other MS. copy of them was in the possession of William Petyt, Esq. late Keeper of the Tower Records: here the articles are fifteen in number. This is also an authentic paper, pertaining once to Whitgift, then Prolocutor, a writing of his own hand being on the back side of the said paper, *viz. Articles in Convocation 1575.* from which Num. IV. copy they are exactly transcribed in the Appendix. There is also a third copy of them, which I have seen among the Synodal Collections of the reverend Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle; consisting also of fifteen articles. These were transcribed out of the Journal of that Convocation by Dr. Heylin. But there was a note in the margin, hinting the reason the fifteenth article was not printed: *viz. Eo quod*

**BOOK II.** *domina nostra Regina, (ut dicitur) non assensit eidem : i. e. "because the Queen" as was said, "gave not her assent to it."*

The import of them. They imported, "That those that were to be made Ministers must bring testimonials, and give account of their faith in Latin, and subscribe the Articles of Religion made in the Synod anno 1562. Deacons to be twenty-three years of age, and Priests twenty-four. That Bishops celebrate not Orders but on Sundays or holidays. That they give Orders to none, but of their own diocese, unless dimitted under the hands and seals of the Bishops in whose dioceses they were. That unlearned Ministers formerly ordained be not admitted to any cure. Diligent inquisition to be made for such as forged letters of Orders. That Bishops certify one another of counterfeit Ministers. None to be admitted to Orders, unless he shew to the Bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice. The qualification of such as were to be admitted to any dignity or benefice. All licences for preaching bearing date before the 8th of February 1575 to be void : but such as were thought meet for that office to be admitted again without difficulty or charge. Bishops to take care for able Preachers. None to be admitted a Preacher, unless he be at least a Deacon first. That the Catechism allowed be diligently taught, and the Homilies duly read, where there be no sermons. Every Parson, Vicar, and Curate, being no Master of Art nor Preacher, to have the New Testament both in Latin and English, or Welsh ; and to confer daily one chapter of the same. And Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, to appoint them some certain task of the New Testament to be conned without book ; or to be otherwise travailed in, as should be by them thought convenient : and to exact a rehearsal of the same, and how they have profited in the study thereof. No commutation of penance, unless upon great and urgent causes. Private Baptism to be only administered by lawful Ministers in case of necessity, and by none other. That Archdeacons, and others having

“ ordinary jurisdiction, do call before them such as be detected of any ecclesiastical crime; and convince and punish them. That Bishops take order that it be published, that marriage be solemnized at all times of the year; so that the banns be first lawfully published, and none impediment objected.” But this last, and that other about private Baptism, are omitted in the printed Articles.

This business done, the Convocation was prorogued by the Queen’s command to the 6th of November next. And from time to time, and from year to year, by several writs of prorogations, no Synod sat till Jan. 17. anno 1580.

But our Archbishop took care soon after to notify and to enjoin the diligent observation of the foresaid Articles upon all the Clergy of his province; issuing out this mandate in April 1576, *viz.*

*Mandatum Archiepiscopi Cantuar. ad publicandum Articulos in Convocatione stabilitos.*

*Edmundus Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, &c. venerabili confratri suo Edwino eadem providentia London. Episcopo, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Cum in sacra Synodo provinciali, &c. Importing, that whereas in the last Synod, among other things, with their mutual and unanimous consent, they had ordered and established certain Articles, tending to the setting forth the glory of God, the increase of divine worship, the profit of the Church of England, the honesty and decency of the clerical order, and the tuition and defence of the Queen and her kingdoms, entitled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed*, &c. he committed them to his brotherhood to be published throughout the whole province of Canterbury, that none might be ignorant of them, and annexing the true copies of them to these presents: firmly commanding and enjoining him, under his seal, and with his letters, to send true copies of the said Articles to all and singular his reverend brethren the Bishops Suffragans of his province, and to the keepers of the spiritualties, where*

CHAP.  
V.

Anno 1575.

BOOK II. "the sees were vacant : and they to publish and denounce  
 Anno 1575. "the said Articles in each of their cities and dioceses, and  
 cause them to be observed by all that were concerned, and  
 duly to be executed. The same command he gave to  
 him, the Bishop of London ; to see the Articles performed  
 and observed in his diocese." This mandate bore date  
 the 20th of April 1576.

The like mandate went out to Tho. Lawse, Commissary General of Canterbury, to publish the said Articles in the city and diocese of Canterbury.

Alex. Nevyl dedicates certain writings to the Archbi- It may not perhaps be worth mentioning the deference that was now in December this year 1575 paid our Arch-  
 shop by a grave and learned man, *viz.* Alexander Nevyl,  
 but that he was one that had the favour and esteem of the  
 Archbishop's immediate predecessor, and was among the  
 number of the learned men he entertained in his family.  
 Him he employed in writing a commentary of the late re-  
 bellion in his own country of Norfolk, and likewise some-  
 what of the antiquities of Norwich, the chief city of the said  
 county. Both these tracts the author having now finished

197 in terse Latin, the one entitled, *De Furoribus Norfolcien-  
 sium, Ketto Duce*, the other *Norvicus*, he dedicated to  
 Archbishop Grindal : where, in the Epistle Dedicatory, he  
 gave him this character, *Isque vir sis, qui in omni vita cum  
 prudentia perinsigni incredibilem quoque comitatem con-  
 junxeris* : i. e. "That he was the man that through all his  
 life to a singular prudence had joined as extraordinary an  
 "affability." And a little after, he speaks of his *dulcissimis  
 suavissimisque moribus* : i. e. "most sweet and courteous  
 "manners."

We shall now proceed to the view of the acts of this new Archbishop of Canterbury, and to recover as much as we can of the knowledge of them at this distance of time and scarcity of materials for such an undertaking.

The cause of a Preacher in the diocese of Chichester, referred to him by the Council.

One of the first things our Archbishop did judicially was the restoring of one David Thickpeny, the Curate of Bright-  
 helmstone in Sussex, in the diocese of Chichester. His Bishop  
 had inhibited him to perform that office there, for certain

causes, chiefly in compliance with the ecclesiastical orders, CHAP.  
V. and giving just grounds of suspicion, that he was of the family of love. Thickpeny appealed to the Lords of the Anno 1575. Council against his diocesan. The Council referred his case to the Archbishop, to be by him examined, and finally determined. The cause came before the Archbishop at Lambeth: where the Bishop of Chichester being present affirmed, that he had indeed inhibited him for just and lawful causes, as he believed; and especially, for that Thickpeny, upon probable arguments, was and is suspected for a favourer of the novel doctrine of the heretics called *the family of love.* The said Clerk, on the other hand, declared before the Archbishop, that he was none of that sect, and that he abhorred them, and that he was ready to purge himself of any such accusation; and lastly, submitting himself to the order and reformation of the Archbishop: who hearing what the Bishop of Chichester could object against him, judged it nothing in effect, but only his suspicion of this man's being of that family; and shewing no sufficient ground of his said suspicion; and the accused man, on the contrary, openly protested against it, and offered his oath. He also considered, that this man was well learned, and had a very good testimony of his parishioners. These things inclined him to move his diocesan to restore him to his serving again of the cure, by his own authority; which he refused to do. Whereupon the Archbishop, weighing the sufficiency of the man, and finding that the Bishop rather upon private affection than any just ground (as he asserted) had displaced him, and oftentimes admonishing this Clerk, that he should use all dutiful submission to his Ordinary, made this final order, March 25. "That within twenty days following, the said Thickpeny should submissively purge himself of the suspicion of his foresaid error after this manner:

"That the said Thickpeny under his hand-writing shall deliver unto the said reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Chichester, or to his Chancellor, if he cannot con-

**BOOK II.** “veniently come to the Bishop’s presence, his said purgation  
“in form following:

Anno 1576. “Whereas your Lordship hath conceived an evil opinion

**198** “of me, as one favouring the late lewd errors of the *family*  
The form of his submission en- “*of love*, I do protest before God and your Lordship,  
joined. “that I do from the bottom of my heart detest and abhor  
“the said sect, and all their errors; and shall so do by the  
“grace of God during my whole life. And I do here  
“promise in the faith of a Christian, that from henceforth I  
“shall detect and declare to your Lordship, with as conve-  
“nient speed as I may, all such as I shall certainly know to  
“be of that fond family and heresy; and all such their  
“books as shall come to my hands touching the same  
“doctrine. And that I shall with all mine endeavour set  
“forth God’s true religion and doctrine by public author-  
“ity established within his realm of England, and domin-  
“ions of the same, agreeable to the Articles entitled, *Articles*  
“whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops  
“of both provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convoca-  
“tion holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562.  
“according to the computation of the Church of England,  
“for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the  
“establishing of consent touching true religion. Put forth  
“by the Queen’s authority.”

And moreover the said most reverend Father enjoined the said Thickpeny, that two several Sundays before he be admitted to serve the cure at Brighthelmstone, he publicly preach; and in each sermon openly and plainly declare his mind against the foresaid errors, and confute them. All and singular which things being after the manner aforesaid faithfully performed by the said David Thickpeny, the said most reverend Father yielded and granted to him to serve the cure of souls in the same church.

The Archbi- shop im- posed upon. But the sincere Archbishop was too easily imposed upon by the protestation of this deceitful man, to revoke so soon an order of his fellow Bishop against one of his own diocese, who was thereby better acquainted with him and his doings,

than the Archbishop could be by testimonials, or his own CHAP.  
V. asseveration. For behold the sequel ! The said Minister soon came down to Brighthelmstone ; and on Sunday morning, Apr. 1, came into the parish church, and, interrupting the Minister that was then saying divine service, uttered these speeches; “ Brethren, beloved, I am here to “ signify unto you, that by virtue of a decree taken by my “ Lord of Canterbury’s Grace, I am restored to this my “ former cure and place ; and have brought down where-“ withal to countervail, and as it were counterpoise, all mine “ adversaries. God be glorified therefore. And because “ here are some which understand that well enough, I will “ publish it only in the Latin tongue.” Then taking a sheet of paper written on two or three sides, he read only five or six lines, some on one side of the paper, and some on the other, pretermittting the most part. And at the time of Evening Prayer, he took the Book of Common Prayer, and went into the *pulpit*, and there in the *pulpit* began the Evening Prayer, until he came to the Psalms. And then made a sermon : which finished, he came down out of the *pulpit*, and baptized a child ; and so omitted the rest of the Evening Prayer, not wearing the surplice. Neither kept he the order of the Book of Common Prayer. For Apr. 8. 199 that is, but the Sunday sevennight after he first came down, baptizing a child, he omitted divers things belonging thereto : nor had he worn the surplice at any time after his coming from London. On the said day he brought to the Bishop a letter, certifying that he favoured not those that professed the house of the *family of love*. Then the Bishop required him with convenient speed to send him a copy of such authority as he had to serve longer at Bright-helmstone, and to preach. But two or three weeks passed, and he did it not, and still preached, and inveighed against such as had troubled him, saying he would not name them, or describe them, as he had done heretofore, but they knew well enough whom he meant ; and so forth ; plainly noting the Bishop, as divers were ready to testify.

This account of Thickpeny’s behaviour the Bishop of

BOOK Chichester sent up to the Archbishop. Whereupon the  
II. \_\_\_\_\_ Archbishop cited him up again, to answer to those objec-  
Anno 1576. tions and complaints of his ill behaviour.

His con- Our Archbishop's care for the good estate of learning  
cern for and religion prompted him with a concern for St. John's  
St. John's college in Cambridge; (as it had once before;) a college  
college that had been famous in King Edward's time, and before,  
that had been famous in King Edward's time, and before,  
for divers persons of excellent learning and true religion  
residing there, among whom were Cheke, Ascham, the Le-  
vers, the Pilkingtons, and Cecil, now Lord Treasurer. This  
college at this time, and a good while before, was vexed  
with factions and much unquietness. And a great incon-  
venience the said college laboured under, (whence in a  
great measure their confusions arose,) was, that there was  
no original authentic book of statutes in the treasury, as by  
statute there ought to have been, and was in all other col-  
leges duly observed. And the copies of the statutes that  
went then abroad in that house were rased, blotted, in-  
terlined, and corrupted with marginal additions; so as in-  
deed no man could certainly affirm what was statute and  
what not. Some of the Universities of the best credit and  
discretion acquainted the Archbishop with these things;  
and withal that they thought the readiest way of refor-  
mation would be, if a visitation by a commission from the  
Queen might be procured, and the statutes of the college  
reduced to some certainty, and in some things to be al-  
tered by the report of the visitors, understanding the state  
of the house. To set on foot therefore so good a design,  
the Archbishop forthwith in a letter, dated April 23, from  
Lambeth, moved the Lord Treasurer in the behalf of this  
college, which he called *his old nurse*, and *that famous*  
*college*; that he would do a very good work at his con-  
venient leisure to procure such a visitation from the Queen,  
together with such good instructions as he should think re-  
quisite in such a case: referring the matter to his Lord-  
ship's good consideration, and recommending the names of  
some, who, in his opinion, were fit to be visitors, wherein  
he might alter and add, as he thought good. These were

the Lord Treasurer, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. <sup>CHAP.</sup> Watts, Dr. Hawford, Dr. Ithel, Dr. Byng, and Mr. Goad, <sup>V.</sup> Heads of Houses. Accordingly in the latter end of the <sup>Anno 1576.</sup> year a commission was sent down to the college, and the matters rectified, and some of the college punished.

This commission for the college had been requested the <sup>200</sup> year before of the Treasurer. For I find Dr. Thomas <sup>The case of the college.</sup> Ithel, Master of Jesus college, and Chancellor to Cox, Bishop of Ely, wrote a letter to the said Lord Treasurer, by that Bishop's order, to desire a commission for the reformation of the statutes of that house. The Bishop their visitor had perceived how contentions grew and were nourished here, and, in a visitation he had made, contrived means for the putting an end thereunto; but his power was not strong enough without some greater influence from above: he therefore employed Dr. Ithel, who knew well how the matters of the college stood, to acquaint the said Lord with a full and particular account how things were found. As, that there was in the house great bandying against government; that they professed openly to maintain a popular state in the college; and for that purpose the seniors held together, without whom the Master could do nothing. That when disorder was to be punished, they would hardly, and sometime not at all, be brought to consent to the inflicting of any punishment, but would maintain their old liberty, as they termed it. For these causes the Bishop of Ely desired a commission, to reform the statutes of the house in some points: and that the Commissioners might have authority to hear and determine all controversies during the time of the imperfection of the statutes that then they had. That he [the Lord Treasurer] himself would be a Commissioner, being the High Chancellor of the University. And he, and such of the Commissioners that he should choose for that purpose, should have authority with his consent, (and not otherwise,) to remove any officer or Fellow from their office or fellowship, if occasion should be found; and, without election of the Master and Fellows, to place such persons in their rooms, as might be to his honour, and those that met. That such a commission was

**BOOK II.** not without example. The Bishop's opinion was, (as Ithel  
 Anno 1576. signified to the Lord Treasurer,) that there might be good  
 hope of reformation, and better government in the college  
 this way, and hardly otherwise: because the officers and  
 Fellows at this time, if the power lay in them, would choose  
 only such as would be most agreeable to maintain liberty.  
 I have added this relation of the present state of the college,  
 to shew how necessary this suit of the Archbishop to the  
 Lord Burghley was.

**Bucer's English works dedicated to the Archbishop.** *Buceri Scripta Anglicana* came forth this year in folio, comprising all Bucer's dissertations, readings, and disputations while he was in England, together with other matters relating to that learned German Confessor, and some time King Edward's Public Reader of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. They were set forth by Conradus Hubertus, a learned man of Strasburgh; and by him dedicated to our Archbishop in an epistle dated February 22, 1577, anno ineunte; choosing him for patron to the book, both because he had been one of Bucer's chief friends and acquaintance at Cambridge, and also had procured most of the pieces then published, according as he had promised Hubertus before, when he was at Strasburgh, that he would get him the remainders of Bucer's works. And he was as good as his word. For soon after his return into England, he sent over to the said learned man an account of Bucer's life, death, burial, exhumation, or digging up again, and reburial; together with other volumes wrote by Bucer's own hands, and his disputationes with Young.

Some of these pieces sent over by Bishop Grindal, Hubert caused soon after, viz. anno 1561, to be printed at Argentine, by John Oporinus, in 8vo. namely,

A catalogue of pieces concerning Bucer, sent over by Bishop Grindal, and printed.

*De Obitu Doctissimi et Sanctissimi Theologi Doctoris, Martini Buceri, Johan. Checi ad D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium. Epist. I.*

*De eadem prolixius, Nicolai Carri Novocastrensis, ad Johann. Checum. Epist. II.*

*Oratio funebris Gualteri Haddoni, LL. Doctoris, Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Oratoris.*

*Concio D. Matthœi Parkeri, S. Thologiae Professoris,*

*ibidem in Funere Buceri habita, atque ex Anglico in Latinum versa.* CHAP.  
V.

*Judicium Clariss. et Doctiss. cuiusdam Theologi, de D. Anno 1576.  
Martino Bucero.*

*Johannis Checi ad D. Gualterum Haddonum, LL. Doc-  
torem. Epist. III.*

*D. Petri Martyris Vermilii etiam de Obitu D. Mart.  
Buceri ad Conradum Hubertum. Epist. IV.*

*Epigrammata varia cum Græccum Latine conscripta,  
in Mortem D. Martini Buceri.* With divers other pieces relating to Paulus Fagius; and the digging both him and Bucer out of their graves, and burning their dead bodies in the days of Queen Mary, together with the honourable restitution of them under Queen Elizabeth. The copies of all these seem to have been gathered up and conveyed over to Hubertus by our Archbishop, as likewise of the rest which made the *Scripta Anglicana*. Which therefore in his Epistle Dedicatory he made a public acknowledgment of. *Pars aliqua laudis tuæ bonitati, Antistes, debetur, qui me Anglicanis Scriptis adjuveris.*

In the said epistle he takes occasion to mention that remarkable accident that befell him being a boy; when once walking abroad, an arrow from above fell upon him, and struck so directly upon his breast, that had not there been a book, which by chance he had put there, and broke the force of the arrow, it had certainly deprived him of that life, which, said Hubert, afterwards bore such good fruits in the Church of Christ. And he was of opinion, that that arrow pointed out the storm, which, upon the death of King Edward, brought such bitter calamities and mourning upon the realm of England, and likewise those great things the Lord Jesus did by him in the churches of England after his return home from his exile, and the honours that happened afterwards to him, namely, his advancements, first to be Bishop of London, next to be Archbishop of York, and now of Canterbury.

Grindal's danger by an arrow.

The conjectural interpretation thereof.

*Looks after his Courts. Court of Faculties. His regulation of dispensations. The advices of his learned lawyers for reformation of abuses; viz. Jones, Harvey, Aubrey, Yale. Two of his officers contend for precedence. A new Ecclesiastical Commission.*

**BOOK  
II.**

**Anno 1576.**  
**Looks to  
his Courts.**

BUT now to look upon the Archbishop in matters that nearer concerned his function. First of all he looks to his Courts; to remedy, as much as possible, abuses and disorders there, where men would especially look for justice and equity and despatch.

**The Court  
of Faculties.**

The Court of Faculties had been often complained of, and the former diligent Archbishop Parker had laboured a reformation therein. As for the dispensations that issued out of that Court, the present Archbishop set them in two ranks: first, such as in his judgment were utterly to be abolished; and secondly, such as he was willing to leave to the consideration of the Lords of the Council, whether to abolish or retain them. Concerning both which, in the month of April, he wrote a very discreet paper, (and that, as appears, by order from above,) to be presented to the Lords of the Council, which was as follows:

**I. Dispensations left to the consideration of the Lords of the Council.**

1. *A commendam.* It is to be considered, whether this kind of dispensation may have continuance, being used in this case only, where certain of the smallest bishoprics want sufficiency for maintenance of the Bishops; and therefore have need of some supply.

2. *A plurality.* It is also to be considered, whether this dispensation may have continuance. So as only learned men, being Bachelors of Divinity, or Preachers lawfully allowed, may enjoy the same; the distance between the benefices not exceeding twenty miles. With a proviso also,

that the party dispensed withal preach at the benefice whereupon he commonly dwelleth not, thirteen sermons every year, according to the Queen's injunctions; and also keep hospitality there eight weeks in every year at the least.

CHAP.  
VI.

Anno 1576.

3. *Legitimation.* This kind of dispensation, which is the enabling of men base-born to take ecclesiastical orders and promotions, seemeth not convenient to be used, but where there is good proof of great towardness in learning, and of godly disposition in the party so dispensed withal: for that bastards seldom prove profitable members of God's Church. Which is likewise to be considered of in the said case.

4. *Non-residence.* To be considered, whether this dispensation may be granted for some short time only, for recovery of health, or such like urgent cause, and not during life, or for any long time; as it hath been heretofore used.

5. *Licence to eat flesh.* Whether this dispensation be to be continued for some persons.

6. *Creation of Notaries.* Whether this faculty be to be retained still in actuaries and scribes.

7. *De non promovendo.* Whether in case of the Prince's service this dispensation may be granted to a Doctor of the Civil Law, to enjoy some kind of ecclesiastical promotion, notwithstanding he be not within orders.

## II. *Dispensations to be utterly abolished.*

1. Trialities, and faculties for more benefices, or for so many as the parties could get.

2. Dispensation for children and young men under age, to take ecclesiastical promotions.

3. Dispensations, called by the name of *perinde valere*, making grants good which by law were void, and a right grown to some other person.

4. Dispensations to take all Orders of the Ministry at one time.

5. Dispensations to take Orders out of their own diocese at any other Bishop's hands.

## BOOK

II.

6. Licences to marry without banns asking, and out of the parish church of any of the parties.

Anno 1576.

The Bi-  
shop's judg-  
ment con-  
cerning Fa-  
culties ap-  
proved by  
the Coun-  
cil.

These propositions of the Archbishop concerning his Faculties, were allowed and approved of by the Queen's Council, according to his judgment about them; as I find in an authentic writing signed by the hands of divers Lords and others of the Privy Council, under these two titles aforesaid:

I. Dispensations to be utterly abolished, as not agreeable to Christian religion in the opinion of the Lords of the Council. And then follows the mention of trialities, and the other dispensations abovesaid, disallowed by the Archbishop.

II. Dispensations left to the consideration of the Lords of the Council, and by them allowed, as they be here qualified. And then follows the mention of *commendams*, and the rest set down in the Archbishop's paper, and in the Archbishop's very words. Signed by these names, N. Bacon, Will. Burghley, E. Lincoln, Tho. Sussex, Arundel, F. Bedford, Fr. Knollys, Jam. Croft, Walter Mildmay. Dated 20th June 1576.

Now for the better understanding of the state of this Faculty-office, and the various dispensations granted out of it, and the respective fees, a table thereof was drawn out for the inspection and consideration of the Privy Council:

Num. V. which I have exemplified in the Appendix.

**204** And as these were his cares for the reformation of his Studies the Court of Faculties, so he was bent much, now upon his regulation of his other Courts. first access to this see, upon the regulating of the rest of his Courts.

Courts, *viz.* the Arches, the Audience, and Prerogative. In order to this by his letters he required several of the most learned Civilians and Judges of those Courts, as Jones, Aubrey, Harvey, Yale, &c. to deliberate well with themselves, and then to shew him their opinions in writing of the present abuses, and their judgments for the rectifying and redressing thereof. And for the clearer and fuller understanding of these things, I shall not think much of the

pains to set down here some of their letters to our Arch- CHAP  
bishop. VI.

And first, Dr. Henry Jones on the 25th of April delivered his sense of these matters in these words: " After my duty " most humbly premised unto your Grace. For as much " as it pleaseth the same, intending to reform abuses, and " to establish good order for the due ministrance of justice,<sup>wig.</sup> And Anno 1576.  
Dr. Jones's opinion thereupon. MSS. G. Petty Ar-

" and taking away of delays, in proceeding in causes in the " Courts of the Arches, Audience, and Prerogative; and " therefore to require me to declare what disorders I do know " in the said Courts, and which way, in mine opinion, the " same may be best reformed, touching the advocates, pro-  
" tors, and registers thereof: it may please your Grace to " understand, that divers Archbishops, your Grace's pre- " decessors, have in times past, minding the like refor- " mation, made very good statutes for the Court of the " Arches, as well touching the upright and due ministra- The Arches.  
" tion of justice with all convenient expedition, as the du- " ties of the advocates, proctors, and registers, in avoid- " ing of all delays in suits, and of evil name and fame in " their own lives, with a sharp punishment for the trans- " gressors thereof. And every person at his admission " taketh an oath to observe the same, so far as they be not " contrary to the laws of the realm. Yet all the Judges of " the said Court for my time have neglected to see the " said statutes duly kept and put in execution, as they " were bound, and should have done. The which thing I " take only to be the very cause of all evil disorders and " abuses in the said Court. And if your Grace did hear " the said statutes read for the Court, and all persons that " belong to the same, I trust they should satisfy your " Grace in all respects. So that nothing were better, in " mine opinion, to reform the whole Court, and the abuses " therein, than to cause the Judge of the said Court to see " carefully the said statutes put in execution, and kept by " every one of the Court according to his duty.

" And as concerning your Grace's Court of the Audi- The Audi-  
ence.

**BOOK II.** "ence, there be some good statutes made for the same,  
Anno 1576. " touching good order and expedition to be had in mat-  
ters: the which be not well kept; neither any person of  
" that Court striveth to keep them. It were to be wished,  
" that your Grace should supply them by the statutes of  
" the Arches, and cause all persons that will exercise in  
" the same Court to be sworn likewise for the keeping of  
" them. Then the Judge may better cause every man to  
" do his duty, and proceed in matters without frivolous  
" delays.

**205** " And for the Prerogative Court, I know of no statutes  
The Prero- " that have been made by any Archbishops for good order  
gative. " in the same, either touching the Judge, Advocates, Pro-  
" tors, Register, or expedition in causes without all delays:  
" notwithstanding it hath as great need of statutes and  
" good orders as any of the other Courts, and rather more;  
" for commonly in the other Courts the matters be not of  
" such weight as they be in the Prerogative Court. And  
" although the nature of matters of that Court doth vary  
" somewhat from the proceedings of the other Courts; yet a  
" great number of the statutes of the Arches may well  
" serve for good order, and cutting off all delays in suits  
" in the same Court. And your Grace may add other sta-  
" tutes to them as occasion shall serve. And in mine opin-  
" ion it were well to provide, that when a caution is en-  
" tered to stay the probation of a will, or the granting out  
" of letters of administration, till he be privy that entered  
" it, being in that city, it were well to stay so small a time,  
" as to hear what the party can allege. *Item,* Not to grant  
" out the second letters of administration before the first be  
" called in, or declared to be void. *Item,* That letters of  
" administration be not granted out in haste to any per-  
" son that comes in postways for them, but rather stayed  
" for a few days. *Item,* Always sufficient bonds to be  
" taken, when letters of administration be granted out to a  
" person, and especially during the minority of children.  
" *Item,* That the proctor that will have a testament

“ proved, wherein divers executors be named, be sure of CHAP.  
 “ their consent in whose name he desireth the probation. VI.

“ And thus much I thought of presently to certify your Anno 1576.  
 “ Grace, whom God have always in his blessed tuition.  
 “ From the Doctors’ Commons, the 25th of April.

“ To your Grace at commandment,  
 “ most humbly,  
 “ Henry Jones.”

Upon the back side of this letter is writ by Archbishop Grindal’s own hand, *Dr. Jones of the Arches.*

The next Civilian was Dr. Harvey, who on the 28th of April sent into the Archbishop his *Remembrances* touching reformation of certain disorders in his Courts of the Arches, Audience, and Prerogative.

“ First, That the statutes of the Arches be not truly ob- Dr. Har-  
 “ served; whereupon earnest order is to be taken with the vey's opin-  
 “ ion.  
 “ Dean of the Arches and the Judge of the Audience for  
 “ the observance thereof.

“ Secondly, *Item*, That the said statutes be chiefly broken, in that some of the proctors prosecute controversies in the Arches without the assistance and advice of any advocate, wherein they be greatly noted to advance their own gain, and hinder others, contrary to the estimation of the said Courts, and the very good meaning of a statute of the said Court of Arches in that case provided.

“ Thirdly, *Item*, For the sure observation of the said statute, order may be given, that none of the Judges of the said three Courts should seal any citation, or admit in Court any libel or allegation in writing, without the sub- 206  
 “ scription of an advocate. Nor that any proctor should attempt the defence of any defendant without the advice of an advocate. For this is the true meaning of the said statute.

“ Fourthly, *Item*, It is greatly to be wished, that order may be taken for the advocates, to have the writing of some special things exhibited to the Courts; whereby the

**BOOK** “advocate might have for the better relief to set one *clerk*

**II.** “on work. For although by the learning and labour of the

**Anno 1576.** “advocates divers writings be penned and corrected; yet  
“the gain of the fair writing thereof remaineth altogether  
“in the proctors. And if this thing were earnestly pro-  
“vided for, then the good estate and estimation of all the  
“Courts would be greatly amended in divers respects. But  
“if the order be not taken substantially touching this point,  
“the matter may grow worse than it is.

“Fifthly, *Item*, That order may be given that nothing  
“may be exhibited in writing in any of the said Courts,  
“but in the Latin tongue; and that without abbreviations,  
“or cutting off syllables, which the law civil reproveth.  
“For it is a cloak of ignorance, and hindereth the proctors  
“and their clerks from sufficient knowledge in the Latin  
“tongue.

“Sixthly, *Item*, That the same statute and order should  
“be prescribed to the Court of Audience and Preroga-  
“tive.

“Seventhly, *Item*, It were to be wished, that the writing  
“of public acts and examination of witnesses should not  
“be committed but to such as were of an approved ho-  
“nesty, and of convenient grave years. And herein a good  
“inquiry is to be made, that many intolerable faults be not  
“committed.

“Eighthly, *Item*, That it is worthy of a good consideration  
“to know what the Register of the Audience payeth yearly  
“for the exercise of that room: for it is a provocation to  
“commit many evils, besides a slanderous example, that  
“the Register of that Court should be subject to a yearly  
“pension.

“Ninthly, *Item*, If a reformation be thought necessary  
“to be established for the said three Courts touching the  
“former articles, then it may be thought expedient also, for  
“avoiding inconveniences of the alteration and inequality,  
“that the like reformation and orders be procured to be  
“exercised within the Courts of the Bishop of London,

“ Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s, and the Archdeacons CHAP.  
 “ which excercise jurisdiction within London, as the state of VI.  
 “ every Court requireth.

Anno 1576.

“ Tenthly, *Item*, For the due consideration of the abuses  
 “ and redresses, it were expedient, that some persons of in-  
 “ tegrity and skill were appointed to inquire of these and  
 “ others too long to be rehearsed. They to determine or  
 “ signify of the order and manner of the redress.”

In the same MS. volume whence I extracted this, is a dis-  
 course also *De Decano Arcuum, et Vicario Generali*: which,  
 by Archbishop Grindal’s own hand upon the paper, ap-  
 pears to have been also of Dr. Harvey’s writing, for the  
 Archbishop’s use.

Dr. Aubrey also wrote very largely to the Archbishop, 207 April ult. concerning the same subject; which beginneth Dr. Au-  
 thus: “ My duty humbly remembered unto your good brey's  
 “ Grace. For the satisfying of your Grace’s command-  
 “ ment by your letters of the 7th of this present, in my  
 “ opinion there are, by sundry your predecessors, very  
 “ many good ordinances already made, for the good order  
 “ of your Court of the Arches: which by your Grace, and  
 “ as your leisure may serve, and by others of your ap-  
 “ pointment, may be considered. And such as by the al-  
 “ teration of the time, and of the general state of the realm,  
 “ are not meet for the present time, or are grown to disuse;  
 “ as all those of appeals, tuitories, and such other, may be  
 “ cut off, and the rest may remain in force by your Grace’s  
 “ authority, with such now as your Grace shall think need-  
 “ ful or convenient to be added, &c.” And then he pro-  
 ceeds at large to particulars.

Dr. Yale also, who was Judge of the Court of Audience, The opin-  
 thus signified his mind to the Archbishop, for the reforma-  
 tion of that Court. “ In your Grace’s Court of Audience,  
 “ as in all other your Courts, so things be out of order,  
 “ that few things be as they should be; [matters] of obe-  
 “ dience confounded; place and callings little regarded;  
 “ those persons most insolent which ought to be most sub-  
 “ miss; those most neglected which ought to be most reve-

BOOK II.  
Anno 1576. “ rent ; popularity of late so prevailing, that severity of  
 good government is condemned ; good orders and statutes  
 sworn, rejected ; gainful customs contrary to oaths, for  
 laws received ; used pains and diligence is turned to loose-  
 ness ; more griping of gains than ever before ; handling  
 of causes is made an art of gain, and prolonging of suits  
 a point of cunning ; styles and customs formed for com-  
 modity, observed as laws ; oaths and perjuries by custom  
 made current : with many mo lamentable disorders, too  
 long particularly to be recited ; which all good men do  
 wish reformed, and now do hope the same.

“ For redress whereof mine opinion is, that necessary it  
 is to give out statutes to rule all your Grace’s Courts,  
 with few additions respecting the several nature of causes  
 that be handled in your several Courts : and that the  
 same statutes may be better observed than they are, and  
 to avoid such horrible perjuries as wilfully be committed  
 in the voluntary neglecting of them, being sworn publicly  
 unto by Judge, Advocate, and Proctor ; that greater  
 pains and more severe punishments be imposed upon all  
 the Judges not urging due observation thereof ; and upon  
 all other transgressors. For if any one of your Grace’s  
 Courts, careless of duty, for friendship, fame, gain, or  
 any other respect, by winking, do leave your practi-  
 tioners to their own lawed practised liberty, thidder will  
 they all run, and therein their old customs will contain  
 the good orders of the rest. This effectually finished, I  
 trust, would induce a general reformation, beneficial to  
 the subjects, godly and honourable to your Grace. And  
 this might take speedy execution, if it like your Grace  
 forthwith to make choice of two or three to collect of  
 the statutes of the Arches so many as be good and  
 godly, supplying in few words reformation in things ne-  
 cessary. And the same to reduce unto one book, to be  
 committed unto your Grace’s liking ; and then considered,  
 to be given as laws to be observed in all your Grace’s  
 Courts.

“ Tho. Yale, Auditor.”

Upon occasion of the Archbishop's inquiries into his Courts, as hath been already shewn, some controversy happened between two of his officers for precedence, *viz.* his Vicar General, who was also his Chancellor, Dr. Yale, and his Official of the Arches, Dr. Bartholomew Clerk; tend for very learned and ingenious men both. This begat two singular discourses in writing, which I have seen among the MSS. of Mr. Petyt of the Inner Temple. The first is a learned argument of Dr. Yale under his own hand, entitled, “*To the reasonless Challenge of the Official of Canterbury Court of the Arches, claiming Superiority above the Vicar General, the Official Principal, and the Chancellor of the Bishop of Canterbury.*” Where it shall appear both by law, and reason, and custom, that the said Official is neither equal to the Vicar General, nor superior to the Official Principal, and much inferior to the Chancellor.” This provoked another paper composed by the said Dr. Clerk, very fairly and learnedly by him written, which he entitled, “*The reasonable Answer of the Official of the Arches, who never made challenge to Superiority:* but being challenged by him that pretendeth himself Vicar General, and nameth himself Official Principal, and weeneth himself Chancellor of Canterbury, is driven to defend the ancient dignity of the Court of Arches, and Official thereof; not with triple titles and gay terms, but by reason, law, and statute.” On the back of this paper is written with Archbishop Grindal’s own hand, *Decan. de Arcibus, 23d May 1576.* Whereby it appears this controversy came before him, and the papers on both sides writ for his information.

A new Commission for ecclesiastical causes was now necessarily to be granted forth by the Queen for the Archbishop; who was next under the Queen the chief inspector and corrector of matters pertaining to religion, for the peace and good order of the Church. The Queen therefore despatched this Commission, April 23, 1576. To the Archbishop were joined in the Commission the Bishops of London, Winton, Ely, Wigorn, St. David’s, Norwich, Chi-

**BOOK II.** chester, Rochester, and the Suffragan of Dover; together with Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretaries of State; Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron; Thomas Godwin, Dean of Canterbury; Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's; Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster; John Whitgift, Master of Trinity college, Cambridge; Thomas Sackford; Thomas Wylyson, LL. D. Master of St. Katharine's; Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls; Sir Thomas Bromley, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Henry Nevyl, Thomas Watts, Davy Lewis, Thomas Yale, Bartholomew Clerk, John Hammond, Civilians, and many others. The cause of this Commission is specified to be divers seditious and slanderous persons, that daily invented and set forth false rumours, tales, and slanders against the Queen and her good laws and estates, and published divers seditious books; meaning thereby to move and procure strife, seditions, and dissensions among the Queen's loving subjects. The Commissioners were empowered to take cognizance of these, and to inquire into and determine all enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, offences, assaults, frays, quarrels, done in churches or churchyards, or against the divine service, or the Ministers of the same. Also, to search out, correct, and punish such as wilfully absented themselves from the Church and divine service: and commanding, that the penalties and forfeitures by such incurred be duly levied. Also, to visit, reform, and redress in all places, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, spiritual and ecclesiastical, and the like. Also, to frame and advertise the Queen of such good orders and statutes, as they should judge meet and convenient for the use of such cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations as were founded either by King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary, or the late Cardinal Pool; the statutes whereof were either none at all, or imperfect, being made at such time as the crown and regiment of the realm was subject to the foreign usurped authority of the see of Rome. And in order thereto, to cause the statutes of those places, touching their

Anno 1576.

errections and foundations, to be brought in and exhibited before them; that so the Queen might alter, make, and establish other statutes, rules, and ordinances, according to the act of Parliament thereof made in the first of her reign. Also, she deputed and appointed them, or any three of them, to take the oaths for the Queen's superiority, spiritual and ecclesiastical, over all states and subjects within her realm, given to her by two acts, of all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Ministers Ecclesiastical, and other persons compellable by any of the said acts: and in case of refusal, to certify the Queen under their seals. This is but a short and imperfect abstract of this Commission, being too long to be here inserted at length. But the nature and form of these instruments being now somewhat more rare, having been so long disused, I think it not amiss to place it among the papers in the Appendix.

Num. VI.

Out of the Cotton volume whence I extracted it, I find this further light into this Commission, by what is writ down in two or three pages after, if indeed it belong to the same Commission. These are said to constitute the Court. First, the Commissioners, the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, Elmer, and other Bishops, and divers others, Doctors, Knights, and Esquires. Register and Actuary, Edward Barker, and his deputy, Mr. Bedel, a Crier, the Bishop of London's Gentleman Apparitor. The Court was kept the next day forenoon and afternoon, after the Delegates' Court, in the Consistory of St. Paul's. All these offices were in the Queen's gift, and at her disposition. The Archbishop for his state sat in Commission at his palace at Lambeth with other Commissioners associates every Thursday in the forenoon; and on other days in the Consistory, as the Bishop of London or other Commissioners did.

The Commissioners and officers and session.

## CHAP. VII.

**210** Redmayn, the Archbishop's Chaplain, becomes Archdeacon of Canterbury. Consecrates two Bishops. The Queen's letters for the Bishop of Man. A metropolitical visitation. Commissions for visiting. Injunctions and Articles. Puritans. His course with them.

The Archbishop's  
Chaplain  
made Arch-  
deacon.

THE Bishops of Rochester hitherto of the Queen's reign had held the archdeaconry of Canterbury *in commendam*. Now Freke, the present Bishop, being to be removed to another see, the Archbishop laboured to break that custom, which he saw had great inconvenience in it; and that the annexing of that office to the see of Rochester had done very much harm in the diocese of Canterbury. And having a learned and deserving man his Chaplain at this time, (William Redmayn by name,) and who had proved himself a good preacher by a sermon before the Queen, the Archbishop had solicited her once and again, (whilst he was in her Majesty's presence,) that he might have the archdeaconry: he obtained also Secretary Walsingham to do the like. And now in April he acquainted the Lord Treasurer what steps he had made in this business, adding that his good liking of this suit known to her Majesty (mentioning to him also the *very good sermon*, as he styled it, he had lately made at Court) would much forward his cause: which no question he did out of his real respects to this Archbishop. And his request took effect. Which Redmayn was of such desert, that he was afterwards advanced by the Queen to the bishopric of Norwich.

Bishops  
consecrated.

In the month of April our Archbishop consecrated two Bishops. The former was John Piers, Dean of Sarum, lately elected to the see of Rochester; whose election the Archbishop confirmed April the 4th; and the next day in his chapel at Lambeth performed to him the office of consecration, assisted by Edwin Bishop of London, and Robert Bishop of Winchester. And Apr. 15. following, he

consecrated John Merric, M. A. Bishop of Sodor or Man, CHAP.  
 assisted then also with the Bishops of London and Winton. VII.  
 For though the diocese of Man was in the province of Anno 1576.  
 York, yet York being now vacant, the Archbishop of Canterbury performed the consecration of the said Bishop, by special letters from the Queen in that behalf.

Which letters, recognizing the title of the Earls of Derby The Queen's letters for the acceptance, may perhaps be worth reciting in this place. consecration of the Bishop of Man. Grind. Regist.  
*Cum perdilectus et perquam fidelis consanguineus noster Henricus comes Derby, ex indultis et largitionibus progenitorum nostrorum, Regum et Principum hujus regni nostri Angliae progenitoribus suis comitibus Derb. ab antiquo fact. et clarget. eidem comiti, hæredibus et successoribus suis rite et legitime confirmatis, et longo usu stabilitis, jus habeat patronatus, nominationis, præsentationis, et dispositionis episcopatus in insula de Man Eboracen. Provinciae, in qualibet ejus vacatione; ita quod dict. episcopatu que ratione vacante bene liceat eidem comiti, hæredibus et successoribus suis quamcunque personam dignitati hujusmodi idoneam et habilem ad eundem episcopatum nominare, &c. ipsumque in episcopatum hujusmodi confirmare, munusque consecrationis eidem conferre, inaugurationem quoque sive installationem in realem et corporalem ejusdem episcopatus possessionem cum suis dignitatibus, præminentibus, privilegiis, juribus, et immunitatibus quibuscunque petere et obtainere, &c.* Then the said letters proceeded to set forth, how the said Earl of Derby had by his letters to the Queen under his seal presented this Merric to the said bishopric; humbly praying, that she would graciously accept and admit the said presentation. Therefore, (as the instrument proceeds,) *Sciatis, &c.* Know ye, that we do accept the said presentation, and yield our assent and favour. Then signifying her pleasure, that he, the Archbishop, should confirm and consecrate him Bishop of Man.

This year he entered upon his metropolitical visitation. Visits metropolitanally. His visitation of his own church at Canterbury, visiting both the cathedral church and members thereof, commenced

**BOOK II.** May the 16th, 1576. The names of the present Dean and  
Prebendaries were as follow :

Anno 1576.

Thomas Godwin, DD. Dean.	Geo. Bullen
Thomas Willoughby	John Bungey
William Darrel	John Hill
Steven Nevinson	Anthony Rush
Andrew Peerson	Thomas Lawse
Will. King	John Winter.
Paul French	

After some entrance made, Richard, Suffragan of Dover, and Thomas Godwin the Dean, were commissionated by the Archbishop to prorogue this visitation to March the 1st: and thence he sent out another instrument to prorogue it to the 10th of June next following: then prorogued again from the 10th of June to the first of March following. The reason of which prorogations perhaps might be, the cloud the Bishop lay under from the Queen, of which we shall hear hereafter.

**Commiss-**  
**sions for vi-**  
**sitation.** Commissions were also issued out from the Archbishop for the visiting of other sees; which he committed partly to his own officers, and partly to the Bishops of the sees themselves, according as he approved of them. This visitation was adjourned from time to time for the greater convenience: so as it was on foot for divers years.

**St. David's.** Thus he issued his commission for the visitation of the church, city, and diocese of St. David's, to Richard Bishop of St. David's, and Lewis Guin, M. A. his Vicar General, March 28, 1576.

**Wells.** Another commission to visit the church of Wells, to Gilbert the Bishop, and Thomas Yale, LL. D. dated August 17, 1576.

**Bristol.** Another commission to visit the church, city, and deanery of Bristol, to Tho. White, LL. D. Chancellor of Edmund Bishop of Sarum, and to Toby Matthew, D.D. Arch-

212 deacon of Bath, June 14, 1576. to whom, by another commission, was added Felix Lewis, LL. D.

**Chichester.** Another commission went forth to visit the church of

Chichester. For though I do not find the commission entered in the register, yet there is an inhibition to Richard the Bishop of the said diocese to forbear to visit, dated Apr. 9, Anno 1576. 1576, and another inhibition to the Dean and Chapter, and another to the Archdeacon.

Another commission to visit the diocese of Bangor, to Bangor. Nicolas Bishop of Bangor, and Tho. Yale, LL. D. dated May 2, 1576.

Another for the city and diocese of Gloucester, to Lawrence Humphrey, and Herbert Westphaling, S. T. PP. Rob. Louther, LL. D. and Arthur Sawle, M. A. dated July 14, 1576. But Westphaling and Louther only visited, and gave injunctions in Latin to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, Dec. 1, 1576. The sum whereof consisting in eight articles were to this tenor :

“ That those that were as yet called *the statutes of the church*, should be still so reckoned, esteemed, and observed by the Dean, Prebendaries, &c. That every first Lord’s day of the month, there should be a Communion celebrated in the said church of Gloucester: and that all the Prebendaries and Lesser Canons and other Ministers come oftener to it: whereby they might celebrate the memory of our Lord’s death, and give a testimony of their brotherly charity and mutual love, and might shine forth to others in their good examples. That every time the Communion is celebrated there be a sermon, or some exhortation by the Dean or some Prebendary. That there be a general chapter, at least in every year, at the feast of St. Andrew, the day before the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, and the day before John Baptist; to deliberate concerning affairs, for the profit and honour of the Church. That in all those general chapters, the Dean, or Vice-Dean in his absence, the other Prebendaries assisting, call before them all the Petty Canons, and prescribe and enjoin them some portions of the holy Scripture to be read, learned, or according to their power to be explained by them, against the next general chapter. That the Dean, Prebendaries, and Petty Canons (unless

CHAP.  
VII.

Injunctions  
for Glos-  
ter.

**BOOK II.** “sickness hinder) use those hoods, that habit, and those caps which it becomes ecclesiastical persons to use, and

**Anno 1576.** “not oppose the Queen’s Majesty’s injunctions, or ordinances, or articles, made by certain of the Queen’s Commissioners, *viz.* Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Bishop of London, Richard Bishop of Ely, Edmund Bishop of Rochester, Robert Bishop of Winton, Nicolas Bishop of Lincoln, Jan. 25. in the seventh year of the Queen. That no grant of any feode, fee, or farm be henceforth made to any by Dean and Chapter, under the seal of the church, either for the term of life or for term of years, before all those grants of fees which have been already made be vacant, under pain of deprivation. And because the nave of the church, and the churchyard in many places, wanted reparation, that they should lay out every year twenty mark out of the goods of the church, till all were fully repaired.” These articles the Archbishop did allow, subscribing his hand thereunto.

**213** Yet another commission went forth this year, dated September 1, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Hereford, to John Bullingham, S. T. P. John Langford, and — Loyd, LL. DD. — Thornton, B.D. and Robert Philles, Clerk.

**Bangor.** The church as well as diocese of Bangor was also visited this year: and these injunctions were then given to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church, and others of the Clergy of that diocese, by the most reverend Father in Christ, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, in his metropolitical visitation of the said diocese of Bangor, as it is expressed in the register. Which were as follow :

**Injunctions for the diocese.** “*Imprimis*, That the Dean and Prebendaries of the said cathedral church, and every of them, which are bound by the Queen’s Majesty’s visitors’ injunctions to preach in the said cathedral church, do and execute the said sermons in their proper persons, every of the times to them especially appointed; except for reasonable causes they obtain of the Bishop of the said see, to perform such sermons,

“ and every of them, by some other learned men; upon the CHAP.  
“ pain of 20s. to be levied of the fruits of their living, to VII.  
“ the use of the cathedral church, so often as herein any of Anno 1576.  
“ them shall offend.

2. “ *Item*, That the said Dean and Prebendaries shall  
“ make the said quarterly sermons, and every of them, upon  
“ the days limited in a certain table hereunto annexed,  
“ upon the foresaid pain. And that the said table shall be  
“ set up in a frame within the choir of the said cathedral  
“ church, that the days of such sermons may be publicly  
“ known.

3. “ *Item*, That every other Prebendary having any  
“ church or churches to his or their prebends annexed,  
“ shall make in their proper persons one sermon in the said  
“ cathedral church yearly upon a sermon-day also to be  
“ limited by the Bishop there; except upon reasonable  
“ causes, to be allowed by the said Bishop, he or they be  
“ permitted to do the same by some other learned man;  
“ upon the pain aforementioned.

4. “ *Item*, That the said Dean and Prebendaries diligently  
“ and carefully look quarterly, that schoolmasters, ushers,  
“ and scholars of the grammar school there erected, observe  
“ and keep the statutes and ordinances of the same school.  
“ And that once every year a full and perfect account be  
“ made of all the revenues belonging to the said school,  
“ before the Bishop there, or his substitute, the first week  
“ of November yearly, without any fraud, delay, or collu-  
“ sion.

5. “ *Item*, That every Archdeacon of the said diocese  
“ within his jurisdiction do diligently exhort the Parsons,  
“ Vicars, and Curates, to apply the study of holy Scripture,  
“ to avoid idleness and unseemly apparel. And the defects  
“ and disorders in that behalf from time to time, by himself  
“ or his Official, to detect and present to the Bishop.

6. “ *Item*, That every Minister or Priest in the said  
“ diocese, not licensed to preach, having any benefice with  
“ cure, execute in his own person, once at the least every half 214  
“ year, in every his benefice with cure, the whole service of

**BOOK II.** "the Church: and also then and there minister the holy Communion, upon pain to forfeit of the fruits of every such benefice 5*l.* for every such default, to be employed by the Bishop to the poor of the same parish.

*A Table of the times appointed for the ordinary sermons, which the Dean and certain Prebendaries of the Church of Bangor are yearly bound to make in the same.*

The Dean, Dr. Rowl. Thomas	must preach the first Sundays of	Christmas day, Easter day.
The Archdeacon of Bangor, Dr. Edm. Mewrick.		January, April, July, October.
The Archdeacon of Anglesea.		February, May, August, Novemb.
The Prebendary of Llanvain, Richard Owin.		March, June, September, December.

" In witness and testimony of all which premises, we, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury abovesaid, to these presents have put our seal, yeoven in our manor of Lambeth the 25th of Febr. in the year of our Lord 1576. " and in the second year of our translation."

Landaff.

The last commission issued out this year from the Archbishop was for visiting the church of Landaff; which bore date March 12. The Commissioner was William, the Bishop of the said see.

Asaph,  
Exeter,  
Bath and  
Wells.

Commissions were also issued out this year for St. Asaph, Exeter, and Bath and Wells.

The visitation of the next year (for I will here set them down together) were these that follow.

Winton.

A commission was granted to Robert, Bishop of Winchester, dated May 2, 1577, to visit the said church.

Oxon.

Another dated May 25, 1577, for visiting of the church, city, and diocese of Oxon; and Herbert Westphaling, S. T. P. and John Kennel, LL. D. appointed thereto.

But these visitations proceeded not further, as yet, by reason of the troubles the Archbishop about this time fell into, until the year 1580, when we shall hear more.

Articles for  
this visita-  
tion.

For all this metropolitical visitation the Archbishop pre-

pared general articles to be inquired of, in all and singular CHAP.  
cathedrals and collegiate churches within the province of <sup>VII.</sup>  
Canterbury. The first was concerning the ministration of <sup>Anno 1576.</sup>  
justice indifferently and incorruptly, in the Bishops and  
their officers; and concerning their due punishment of vice  
and public crimes without corrupt commutations: con-  
cerning good government, and aiming at God's glory, and  
godly quietness of the Church, in Bishops, Deans, and Chap-  
ters. Account to be made concerning grants, patents, and  
advowsons, sales and offices, confirmed by the Chapters:  
concerning the residence of Deans and Archdeacons, and <sup>215</sup>  
other dignitaries of the churches: concerning the celebra-  
tion of divine service and sacraments according to the  
Queen's injunctions: concerning grammar schools, and the  
pious bringing up of the youth: concerning due obedience  
of officers and Ministers of the cathedral churches: con-  
cerning simony, swearing, adultery and uncleanness in offi-  
cers and Ministers, or other crimes: concerning reparations,  
&c. These articles shall be found at full length in the Ap- <sup>Num. VII.</sup>  
pendix, as some remaining testimonials of our Archbishop's  
pains and diligence in his government.

These visitations of the churches and dioceses of his <sup>Procura-</sup>  
province brought in considerable benefit for procurations: <sup>tions.</sup>  
which were to be returned in, from the visitors in commis-  
sion, to the Archbishop. And sometimes the Archbishop  
did require a bond of those he deputed his commissioners for  
the due payment. Such a bond did William Bishop of St.  
Asaph give of 100*l.* penalty. The condition of which was,  
“ That whereas the most reverend Father in God, by his <sup>Grind. Reg.</sup>  
“ letters of commission, had granted full power to the said  
“ reverend Father, William Bishop of St. Asaph, to visit  
“ for him, and in his name, the said diocese, and to receive,  
“ perceive, and take to the use of the most reverend Father  
“ in God, all manner of procurations due to be paid unto  
“ the said Most Reverend, in respect of his said metropoli-  
“ tical visitation; which said procurations so due do amount  
“ to the sum of 55*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* If the said William do well  
“ and truly pay, or cause to be paid, &c.”

**BOOK II.** Hitherto concerning the Archbishop's visitation of his province *jure metropolitico*. Now proceed we to some other particular matters. Many now were very zealous for the new way of discipline in the Church, conformable to that practised at Geneva by *Elders*: which was quite different from the ancient and present government by *Bishops* and their officers. The same laboured to bring in a new form of public prayer in the room of the English Liturgy. These persons who were for these innovations had their separate religious meetings, and more privately had exercised their discipline hitherto. But now they brake out in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire to act these matters more openly, to the making of great hubbubs and disturbances, by their endeavour of setting it up in the parish churches. In the beginning of June, the news of this came to the Court; and the Queen was highly offended at

Letters from the Court to the Arch. Bishop hereupon. No less than three letters were sent from Court to our

Archbishop concerning these matters. The 7th of June the Earl of Leicester signified to him the said disorders.

Soon after that, Mr. Secretary Walsingham informed him of the same, and that by the Queen's special commandment. Presently after, the Lord Treasurer also gave him notice thereof, and withal the names of two of the chief stirrers of these matters, *viz.* Paget and Oxenbridge. What the Archbishop hereupon did, was, that upon the first letters he received hereof, he wrote both to the Bishop of Peterborough and of Coventry and Litchfield, (in whose dioceses those counties were,) to see these things reformed; or to require assistance from above, if need were, either from himself or the Ecclesiastical Commission. And within a few days he

216 wrote again to the Bishop of Peterborough, to inquire diligently of the doings of Paget and Oxenbridge, and to cause them to be sent up with expedition. But fearing the said parties were supported by some men of countenance in those countries, being of the laity, therefore he signified to the Lord Treasurer, that the Lords of the Council themselves had need, in his opinion, to take some pains with such; that the better success might follow: and what his thoughts

further were of these matters, he would suddenly come to CHAP.  
Court, and discover to the Lord Treasurer. VII.

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Anno 1576.

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## CHAP. VIII.

*Zanchy's letter to the Archbishop, congratulatory. Johannes Sturmius. The Archbishop's mediation for him. Inhibitions issued from his Courts. New trouble about his Court of Faculties. Exercises or prophesyings. Regulates them. Dr. Julio; the Archbishop's judgment in his cause. His excellent letter to the Queen concerning the exercises. Whether Leicester were offended with the Archbishop for Julio's business. The Archbishop under the Queen's displeasure. Embering days and Lent. The observation of them commanded. Colliton Haven. Bishops made.*

IT was about this time, in the month of July, that Hierom Zanchy, the learned Italian, now Professor at Heidelberg, and formerly acquainted with our Archbishop in the days of his exile at Strasburg, sent a congratulatory epistle to him, occasioned by his advancement to the see of Canterbury; which their common friend Mr. Knolles had given him lately to understand. " And for his singular piety, " humanity, and virtue, and out of that respect which he " ever bore towards him, he could not, he said, but congratulate to him that new and most honourable preferment " he was arrived to, than which the whole realm could not " afford a greater: and he heartily wished him joy of his " honour; because those divine blessings he esteemed as " testimonies of his constant piety towards God, and of the " unchangeable kindness of God toward him. Nor did he " less congratulate the whole kingdom, which had gotten " from the hand of God such a Primate, by whose care and " vigilancy it might be more and more furthered in true religion and godliness. He doubted not but that accession

congratulates the  
Archbishop.

**BOOK II.** “ of the highest dignity, next after the Queen, would be a perpetual incitement to him ; whereby he might be stirred up to do his duty more diligently than ever. He beseeched God to increase his gifts upon him, and to **217** grant him firm and lasting health for his sound government of the Church.” The reader may, if he pleases, read the epistle of this learned man to the Archbishop, in **Num. VII.** the Appendix.

**His friendship to Sturmius.** And here to this foreign acquaintance of the Archbishop’s, while he was at Strasburg, let me mention another of the same rank, namely, Johannes Sturmius, a man of excellent learning and sincere religion, and the chief Governor of that University while Grindal was a sojourner there ; and now also the Queen’s agent in those parts. This Sturmius, out of zeal for religion, and compassion to the state of the professors of it in France about the year 1562, had not only lent considerable sums of money himself of his own, but took up more at interest of the merchants of that place, for the supply of the Prince of Condé, and Coligny the Admiral of France : at what time also the Queen herself lent them men and money. Sturmius was now pressed with this debt. The good Archbishop could not but remember his old friend, and pity his misfortune, brought upon him by that means. And Sir Amias Pawlet being now in September going in ambassage toward France, (whereby an occasion might be offered of helping this gentleman,) he took this opportunity to intercede with the Lord Treasurer ; shewing him, “ how he [the Archbishop] was moved as well with the old years, as also with the singularity and excellency of the man, earnestly to desire his Lordship to recommend his case unto Sir Anias. That whereas some order had been proposed by the present Prince of Condé for the satisfaction of the said Mr. Sturmius, by assisting him in obtaining a certain quantity of salt in Languedoc or Provence, in lieu of the said money, by Sir Amias’s good means unto the Duke of Alençon and the said Prince, that purpose might take effect, or some other order be devised for his relief. So as thereby he might

“ take some comfort and pleasure of his life, now in his old CHAP.  
 “ years; and with more quietness finish many good works, VIII.  
 “ which he [the Archbishop] knew had been purposed and Anno 1576.  
 “ begun by him.” And that the said Lord Treasurer  
 might know perfectly the state of his case, he withal sent  
 him certain notes taken out of his own letters to the Arch-  
 bishop, containing not only the sums of money which he  
 took up and lent, but divers other circumstances; which  
 when his Lordship should read he hoped would the more  
 move him to favour his cause. Such an earnest mediator  
 was our Archbishop in the behalf of his old friend, valuable  
 for his learning and piety, and to be pitied for the misery  
 into which only compassion and zeal for true religion had  
 plunged him.

The Archbishop’s Courts were spoken of before: for An abuse of  
 the amending and reforming of which, he made it one of his his Courts  
 first cares. Now in November he had occasion given him by inhibi-  
 tions.  
 to look into a particular abuse of them; which the rest of  
 the Bishops, and other Ordinaries of his province, had much  
 complained of: which was that of inhibitions, taking cogni-  
 zance of causes that lay before their Courts, and bringing  
 them into his own; which was ordinarily done to the  
 vexation of many, and the stopping the execution of justice:  
 for Churchwardens were troubled for presenting, and of-  
 fenders escaped by commutations. This the Archbishop 218  
 liked not, and perceived it to be an abuse done by his offi-  
 cers; and therefore despatched this mandate to the officers  
 of his Courts:

“ *Salutem in Christo.* I perceive by the complaints of Writes to  
 “ my brethren, the Bishops, and other inferior ordinaries, his Courts  
 “ that the ready unadvised inhibitions from my Courts do thereupon.  
 “ not only hinder the correction of sin, but very slanderously Regist.  
 “ discredit the Courts, injuriously molest, and much dis-  
 “ courage the Judges, the Churchwardens and others, by  
 “ order and oath detecting faults. I require you therefore,  
 “ that in matters of correction you temper your inhibitions,  
 “ neither suffering Judges by lewd bodies to be abused, nor Grind.

BOOK II.  
 Anno 1576. “sworn men for their presenting to be troubled : but rather  
 assist them in all justice, and by all means further the  
 just correction of the evil, nowise discharging offenders  
 by nullities of process, where faults punishable do appear,  
 but minister due punishment without any commutation.  
 “I will you further, that you send out no double quarrels  
 for admission to any benefice that is not void, both *de jure*  
 and *de facto*: willing you to give public notice at your  
 next Court for the premises; that the same may be by  
 all men the better observed. From Lambeth, the 7th of  
 November, 1576.

“Edm. Cantuar.”

The Archbishop ac-  
counts for  
his Facul-  
ties to the  
Council.

Cott. Li-  
brar.  
Cleopatra,  
F. 2.

I will subjoin here (though I will not undertake for the year wherein it happened) a new trouble the Archbishop had about his Court of Faculties, the Queen and Council having taken notice of some abuses in it, and requiring him, as it seems, to give some account of matters transacted in it. In the answer the Archbishop sent, he shewed himself very indifferent for it, and if the Queen and Council so pleased, they might dissolve it for him; but he vindicated himself in the Faculties that had passed thence by his allowance: and he caused a scheme to be drawn out that gave a particular account of it in Latin.

First, Mention was there made of the names of his two chief officers of that Court, his Commissary Dr. Drury, and his Register Mr. Lark. Next, the fees thereof; whereof half to the Queen, and the other half divided between the Lord Chancellor and his Register, and the Archbishop and his Commissary and Register. Then followed, what things he observed, and had made his rules to govern him, when he granted his dispensations, *viz.*

I. For pluralities, that they were given to persons only qualified by the statute, with the limitation of the distance but thirty miles one benefice from another.

II. As to his dispensations for a minor, they were not given to any at least under sixteen years of age, and who resided student in the University.

III. For the dispensations for non-residence, they were CHAP.  
 not given to any, but at the entreaty and approbation of VIII.  
 their ordinary Bishops, and by their private letters; and Anno 1576.  
 upon these conditions, that the Ordinary assigned salaries  
 to the Curates that served those churches, consideration 219  
 being had of the quality and quantity of the cure of that  
 church.

IV. As for dispensations for eating flesh, they were rarely granted, and this upon the physician's testimonial. And for the most part the Archbishop remitted part of his fees. And in all these dispensations he refused more than he admitted.

V. As for licences for solemnization of matrimony without banns asking, they were granted to those only who with sureties gave bonds in 100*l.* that there was no impediment, nor any precontract on either side, nor any suit depending of or concerning this contract.

VI. For letters dimissory, they were seldom granted, and to none but with these conditions; that the person were fit for his age, manners, birth, knowledge, and moderately learned in the Latin tongue, and skilled in sacred Scriptures, nor brought up in any servile trades; which was laid to the conscience of him who was to ordain him, in the said letters.

And moreover, in conclusion, the Archbishop added these words, shewing how little he insisted upon the benefits of this Court, *Et non ille contradicet, si tota hæc Curia interciderit, si ita visum fuerit Domine Reginæ, et suis consiliariis; et si possint ita placari, qui cum hac Curia offenduntur;* i. e. and that he would not say nay, if this whole Court ceased, if it so pleased the Queen and her Council, and if they who were offended with this Court might so be pacified.

I shall now proceed to relate a matter well-meant by the Archbishop, and therefore wherein he took much pains; but it proved the cause of much trouble, sorrow, and affliction to him, as long as he was Archbishop, laying him under the Queen's lasting displeasure. The matter was this:

BOOK II. he well perceived the ignorance of the Clergy, and the great need there was of more frequent preaching for the instruction of the people in the grounds and truth of religion.  
Anno 1576.

In order to which he encouraged a practice that was taken up in divers places of the nation, and particularly in Northamptonshire, and allowed by many Bishops in their dioceses: the manner whereof was, that the Ministers of such a division, at a set time, met together in some church belonging to a market or other large town; and there each in their order explained, according to their ability, some particular portion of Scripture allotted them before. And after all of them had done, a Moderator, who was one of the gravest and best learned among them, made his observations upon what the rest had said, and determined the true sense of the place. And all was to be despatched within such a space of time. And these were commonly called *exercises* or *prophesyings*. At these assemblies there were great confluxes of people to hear and learn. And by this means the Ministers and Curates were forced to read authors, and consult expositors and commentators, and to follow their studies, that they might speak to purpose when they were to appear in public: and hereby they considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the Scripture. But the inconvenience was, that at these meetings happened at length confusions and disturbances: some affecting to shew their parts, and to confute others that spake not so appositely perhaps as themselves. They also sometimes would broach heterodox opinions. And some that had been silenced from their preaching for their incompliance with the established worship, would intrude themselves here, and vent themselves against the Liturgy and hierarchy; some would speak against states or particular persons. The people also fell to arguing and disputing much upon religion: sometimes a layman would take upon him to speak; so that the exercises degenerated into factions, divisions, and censurings. Hence they began to be by some cried out against, and disliked.

The Archbishop hereupon laboured to redress these mis-

chiefs and irregularities, by setting down rules and orders CHAP.  
VIII.  
for the more useful management of these exercises; which Anno 1576.  
bore this title, (as I find by the paper in one of the Cotton  
MSS.)

Prescribes  
rules for the  
prophecies.

Cott. Libr.

*Orders for reformation of abuses about the learned  
exercises and conferences among the Ministers of  
the Church.*

1. “ *Imprimis*, The said exercises are to be used only in such churches and at such times as the Bishop of the diocese shall under his hand and seal appoint.

2. “ *Item*, That in all such assemblies for the said conferences or exercises, either the Archdeacon, if he be a Divine, or else some one other grave learned graduate, at the least, to be appointed and allowed by the Bishop as before, be present, and moderate the said exercises.

3. “ *Item*, That a catalogue of names be made and allowed of those that are judged meet to be speakers in course in the said exercises; which are known to be able to speak aptly, and to the profit and edifying of the hearers: and such parts of the Scripture entreated of as the Bishop shall appoint.

4. “ *Item*, That the rest of the Ministers, not able to speak publicly with commendation, be assigned by the Moderators some tasks, for the increase of their learning, to be comprised in writing, or otherwise, concerning the exposition of some part of Scripture. And those tasks to be read privately before the Ministers only, and not before the laity.

5. “ *Item, Ante omnia*, that no lay person be suffered to speak publicly in those assemblies.

6. “ *Item*, That no man speaking in the said exercises shall be suffered to glance openly or covertly against any state, or any person public or private. If he do, the Moderators shall immediately interrupt him, and put him to silence; and notice to be made of the cause of interruption to the Bishop; and the party interrupted not

**BOOK II.** “ to be again admitted without the Bishop’s approbation,  
 \_\_\_\_\_ “ and the knowledge of his offence.

**Anno 1576.** 7. “ *Item*, That no man be suffered in the said exercises  
 “ to make any invectioms against the laws, rites, policies,  
 “ and discipline of the Church of England established by  
**221** “ public authority. If any attempt the contrary, he is  
 “ immediately to be commanded to silence. And the Mo-  
 “ derator or Moderators are therein to satisfy the auditory.  
 “ And the speaker shall not be admitted to speak any more,  
 “ till he, after public satisfaction made, shall obtain a new  
 “ admission and approbation of the Bishop.

8. “ *Item*, Forasmuch as divers Ministers, deprived  
 “ from their livings, and inhibited to preach, for not obey-  
 “ ing the public orders and discipline of the Church of  
 “ England, have intruded themselves in sundry places to  
 “ be speakers in the said exercises; and being excluded  
 “ from pulpits, have in the said exercises usually made  
 “ their invectioms against the orders, rites, and discipline of  
 “ the Church, which hath been the cause to move divers  
 “ to a mislike of the said exercises, (being of themselves, if  
 “ they be well used, very profitable for many respects,)“ every Bishop is to take strict order in his diocese, that  
 “ hereafter none be suffered to be speakers in the said exer-  
 “ cises, which remain deprived or inhibited for the causes  
 “ aforesaid; except they shall have before conformed them-  
 “ selves to order: neither any other which shall not, both  
 “ by subscription and daily practice, conform himself to  
 “ public orders and discipline of this Church by law esta-  
 “ blished.

“ Edm. Cantuar.”

The Queen  
likes not of  
them.

All this pains did the Archbishop take to rectify and take away the abuses of these religious exercises, rather than wholly to abolish them. However the Queen liked not of them, nor would have them continued; as seeing probably how very apt they were to be abused. Nor did she like that the laity should neglect their secular affairs by re-

pairing to these meetings; which she thought also might fill their heads with notions, and so occasion dissensions and unquiet disputes, and it may be seditions in the state. ANNO 1576.

And the Archbishop being at Court, she particularly declared herself offended at the numbers of preachers, as well as at the exercises, and warned him to redress both: urging, that it was good for the Church to have few preachers, and that three or four might suffice for a county; and that the reading of the homilies to the people was enough. In short, she required him to do these two things, *viz.* to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the religious exercises. The speeches she used to him were somewhat sharp; and she was very resolute to have no more exercises of this sort, and cared not for any great increase of preachers; but that the licences for preaching should be more sparingly granted out; and she expected the Archbishop should give especial orders for both.

This did not a little afflict the grave man. He thought the Queen made some infringement upon his office, to whom the highest trust in the Church of England, next to herself, was committed: and therefore, that she was somewhat too peremptory to require this to be done without advising at all with him in a matter so directly respecting religion and the souls of her subjects: nor could he in conscience comply with her commands. Therefore when he came home he resolved to write at large his mind to her. 222

And he had to back him two great men at the Court, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester: the latter whereof was not perhaps so much to be depended upon; but he delivered his letter to the Queen, dated December 20; for which the Archbishop thanked him. Therein he signified, “ how exceedingly dismayed and discomfited he was by her late speeches to him. Not so much, because they sounded hardly against his own person, who was, he said, but a particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all, because they tended to the public harm of God’s Church, whereof she ought by her office to be the nurse, and also to the heavy burdening

CHAP.  
VIII.

The Arch-  
bishop  
writes to  
the Queen  
about them.

BOOK " of her own conscience before God, if what she demanded

II. " should be put in strict execution. Therefore, because it

Anno 1576. " was not her pleasure then, as he wrote to her, to hear

" him at any length concerning the said two matters then  
 " propounded, he thought it his duty by writing to declare  
 " some part of his mind unto her; and beseeched her with  
 " patience to read over what he had writ with his own rude  
 " hand; adding the words of St. Ambrose, *Scribo manu*  
 " *mea quod sola legas*: i. e. that he writ it with his own  
 " hand, that she alone might read it."

He expostulates with her about her about preachers : Then he proceeded in his argument: and first he ex-  
 postulates with her about keeping in the Church but a few preachers; shewing her, " that in any one thing, no-  
 " thing was more plain in the Scriptures, than that the Gos-  
 " pel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that  
 " plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest.  
 " That public and continual preaching of God's word was  
 " the ordinary means and instrument for the reconciliation  
 " of men unto God. That by preaching, due obedience  
 " unto Christian Princes and Magistrates was planted in  
 " the hearts of subjects: for obedience," he said, " pro-  
 " ceeded of conscience, and conscience was grounded  
 " upon the word of God; and the word of God wrought  
 " its effect by preaching. That if her Majesty came to the  
 " city of London never so oft, what gratulation, what joy,  
 " what concourse of people was there to be seen? Yea,  
 " what acclamations and prayers to God for her long life.  
 " Whence comes this," said he, " Madam, but of the con-  
 " tinual preaching of God's word in that city, whereby that  
 " people have been plentifully instructed in their duty to-  
 " wards God and you? On the contrary, what bred the  
 " rebellions in the North? Was it not Papistry, and igno-  
 " rance of God's word, through want of often preaching?  
 " That whereas it was thought, that the reading of the  
 " godly homilies might suffice; he acknowledged the read-  
 " ing of the homilies had its commodity; but that it was  
 " nothing comparable to the office of preaching. That the  
 " preacher could apply his speech, according to the diver-

“ sity of times, places, and hearers; which could not be CHAP.  
“ done in homilies. That exhortations, reprehensions, and VIII.  
“ persuasions were uttered with more affection, to the mov. Anno 1576.  
“ ing of the hearers, in sermons than in homilies. Besides,  
“ the homilies were devised in King Edward’s time only to  
“ supply necessity, for want of preachers, and were, by his  
“ statute, not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, 223  
“ whensoever they might be had. And finally, that they  
“ never were thought in themselves alone to contain suffi-  
“ cient instruction for the Church of England.”

For the second point, concerning learned exercises and conferences among the Ministers, he told her Majesty by his pen, “ that he had conferred with divers of his brethren, the Bishops, by letters, who thought the same as he did, that it was a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And he hoped her Majesty would also think the same, when she should be informed of the manner and order thereof; and what authority it had of the Scripture, and what commodity it brought with it; and what incommodities would follow, if it should be clean taken away. Then he proceeded to give her an account of the exercises; and how that many Bishops, as of London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litchfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, St. David’s, had signified by letters to him of the profit and benefit that had accrued by these exercises: as, that the Ministers of the Church became more skilful and ready in the Scripture: that it withdrew them from idleness; and that some suspected in doctrine were brought to open confession of the truth. Ignorant Ministers driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame. The opinion of the laymen of the ignorance of the Clergy, removed. That nothing, by experience, beat down Popery like it. That where afore there were not three able preachers, now were thirty, meet to preach at Paul’s Cross; and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. That only men backward in religion, and contemners of learning, set themselves against it. That the dissolution

And about  
the exer-  
cises.

**BOOK** "of it would breed triumph to the adversary. Abuses

**II.** " might be reformed, and that which was good might re-

Anno 1576. " main. As for that inconvenience that was urged by

" some, that one and the same place of Scripture had di-

" vers senses put upon it according to the various under-

" standings of these exercises; this appeared worse than it

" was indeed, so that all senses were agreeable to the ana-

" logy of faith: for the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the

" Church did the same, and commonly expounded one text

" of Scripture diversely; yet all to the good of the Church.

" In fine, that he was forced with all humility to profess,

" that he could not with a safe conscience, and without the

" offence of the Majesty of God, give his assent to the sup-

" pressing of the said exercises, much less could he send

" out any injunctions for the utter and universal subversion

" of the same. That if it were her Majesty's pleasure, for

" this or any other cause, to remove him out of that place,

" he would with all humility yield thereunto, and render

" again that which he had received of her. That he con-

" sidered with himself, that it was a horrible thing to fall

" into the hands of the living God; and prayed her to

" bear with him, though he chose rather to offend her Ma-

" jesty, than to offend the heavenly." But let the reader

Num. IX. take the whole of this excellent and memorable letter, as he shall find it set down in the Appendix, from an authentic copy sent by the Archbishop himself to the Lord Treasurer, endorsed by that nobleman's own hand.

**224** For though Fuller hath printed it already, yet it is very

Church Hist. b. ix. faulty, false, and imperfect. He mistook also in assigning p. 123. the time when it was writ; which he is confident was in the

year 1580, wheras it appears to have been writ four years

before, *viz.* in December 1576; for that is the date it bears

in the copy aforesaid. And here we may correct him in one

error more; which is, that about the time of the writing of

that letter he saith Leicester took occasion to quarrel with

the Archbishop, and would have gotten Lambeth-house from

him; and that that was indeed the reason of the Queen's

displeasure, that nobleman having secretly imbibtered her

against him. But by what is said before, he and the Arch-bishop seemed now to be good friends, since the Archbishop made him the deliverer of his letter to the Queen.

CHAP.  
VIII.

Anno 1576.

No sooner was his letter to the Queen sent, (though not yet delivered,) but he was earnest to know what effect it had with her. Therefore, on the 16th of December, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, to understand whether she had yet read it, or no ; and how she liked or disliked it. He confessed it was somewhat long ; nor could it be otherwise, if any proofs were used. He prayed his Lordship, that if he understood at any time any thing concerning the premises, worthy the advertisement, to let him hear from him. The next day the Lord Treasurer assured him, that he would be careful of this cause of the Church. The Earl of Leicester also wrote to him, seeming to object only against the lay-people's being present at these meetings. But the Archbishop said, he saw no reason why they should be excluded, seeing St. Paul gave so great commendation to that <sup>1 Cor. xiv.</sup> practice which was used in the primitive Church, especially for the benefit that grew thereby to the hearers. For the Earl's kindness to him in this affair he wrote him a letter of thanks : and having a mind to talk more largely with the Treasurer about this business, (whom he thanked for his being so careful in this cause of the Church,) he prayed him to appoint a time, when he would come to take a dinner with him, and let him know beforehand of his coming ; not meaning, as he added, that his diet should be more sumptuous, but more wholesome.

And here (since there was at least such an outward shew of kindness in that Earl mentioned before towards the Archbishop) I must take notice of a conjecture that went current in after-times, of the cause of this good Prelate's falling so much into the Queen's displeasure ; namely, that she was provoked against him by that Earl, who had taken offence at the Archbishop, for denying to give a favourable sentence in behalf of one Dr. Julio, the Earl's physician, who had married one that was wife to another man. And so

Whether  
Leicester  
was the  
Archbi-  
shop's ene-  
my upon  
the account  
of Dr. Julio.

**BOOK II.** Camden delivers to posterity, “ that he condemned the unlawful marriage of Julio with another man’s wife, Leicester in vain opposing.” Which that historian seems too lightly to have taken up from the malicious author of *Leicester Commonwealth*, who saith, “ that this Archbishop’s overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant [he means Leicester] for contrarying his will in so base monwealth.” a command.”

**225** This Julio, surnamed Borgarueius, was an Italian physician; and who pretended much to religion; for the sake of which he had left his country, and settled himself in England.

Some account of this Julio. He became known here, among others, to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and to the Lord Cobham, who in the year 1569 took care of certain affairs of the said Julio, being then occasionally at Gravesend, where he was in danger of his life from a certain Spaniard, together with two more, his fellow foreigners, named Baptista and Pescaro; and this chiefly for their religion, as this Julio wrote to Cecil about this time; adding that this Spaniard was as illy affected to others, besides them, who had any ways merited well of religion, for the promoting the word of God. He seems to have been a man of good learning, wrote a good hand, and a handsome Latin style. For his learning the great Earl of Leicester also gave him his countenance, and made him his physician: and for some other reason too, (if you dare give credit to the author of

His skill in poisoning. Leicester’s Commonwealth,) namely, for his skill in poisoning; and that he could make a man die in what manner and shew of sickness you would, sometimes by a flux, sometimes by a catarrh: for which art the Earl was said to make use of him in poisoning of many. But whether this were true or no, I know not. But, to come nearer to our purpose, this is certain, this Italian had married a woman who was wife to another man: for which he was brought to answer in the civil courts. The Master of the Rolls had taken notice of this unlawful act of his; and was the chief manager of this cause against him, and had detained this

woman for five months at his house ; which makes me think CHAP.  
she might be of some quality, and related to him. Of this, VIII.  
Julio complained in a letter to the Secretary, that the Mas. Anno 1576.  
ter of the Rolls had so long time disturbed that mutual  
due benevolence, and that near conjunction of life, that  
ought to be between man and wife, and endeavoured  
to break it off: a thing, as he said, against the word of  
God, the law of nations, public laws, and good manners.  
This case depended some years. At length, in the year  
1573, there was a commission of delegates, to judge of the  
matter between Julio and his pretended wife, who indeed  
was willing to be delivered of him. She was summoned in  
the month of October to appear before the Bishop of Lon-  
don, to tell the cause of her desertion of her husband,  
when the Master of the Rolls was to be present. Julio in  
the mean while, (as though he thought his cause just,) gave  
the Lord Treasurer a letter, beseeching him to write to the  
said Bishop and the Commissioners, that he might not any  
more be disturbed by that powerful and crafty man, as he  
called the Master of the Rolls, and that he might be com-  
manded for the future not to retain his wife from him, nor  
to keep her in his house, nourishing her up in his Popish  
superstitions. And he concludes his request to the said  
Lord, as though himself and his cause was good, to favour  
him herein *pro ea solita benignitate qua soles bonorum*  
*causas amplecti*; i. e. according to that accustomed kind-  
ness wherewith he was wont to espouse the causes of good  
men.

This cause, it seems, had found some favour on Julio's side 226  
some time before, Dr. Valentine Dale being Judge, overawed  
perhaps by some great man. But it was spun out for  
some years, and depending till Grindal became Archbi-  
shop of Canterbury : and coming before him, notwithstanding  
the Earl's solicitation, he was not to be swayed con-  
trary to his judgment and conscience, but gave it against  
Julio: and hence the conjecture sprung that the Earl was  
displeased with him, and owed him an ill turn; which at

**BOOK II.** length he did him with the Queen. But leaving this doubtful upon the reason above said, we now proceed in the difference between the Queen and the Archbishop.  
Anno 1576.

The exercises put down by the Queen's command. The issue in short was, that all the Archbishop could say or write moved not the Queen from her resolution, but she seemed much offended with him, and resolved to have him suspended and sequestered; and seeing he would not be instrumental in it, sent her own commandment by her letters to the rest of the Bishops, wholly to put down these exercises, as we shall hear under the next year.

**Ember days and Lent enjoined.** It was about this time, in the month of December, that the Queen and her Privy Council signified to the Archbishop her pleasure for the punctual observation of the Ember days and season of Lent: at which times, abstinence from flesh should be strictly observed by all; which he was commanded to signify to the rest of the Bishops; the thing being so advantageous for the breeding of seafaring men, so necessary in these times of danger: which was the reason urged for the observation of it; and not upon any superstitious account, as some might imagine. And of this all Ministers were commanded to instruct and excite their people in their sermons. The Council's letter to the Archbishop ran in this tenor:

**The Council's letter to the Archbishop to that intent.** “ After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. The Queen's Majesty, of late entering into consideration, how that, notwithstanding sundry good statutes and laws made heretofore by common consent in Parliament to the contrary, the observation of the embering and fifty days is not so duly looked unto as it ought to be, and as is requisite in policy for the maintenance of Grind. Reg. *mariners, fishermen, and the navy of the realm,* hath thought convenient for that cause, first in her Highness's own household, to give strait charge unto the officers for the observation of them: and it is ordered, that they shall be more carefully looked unto and continued than heretofore they have been. The like we have signified, by her Majesty's special appointment, to the Lord Mayor

“ of the city of London, and other her Majesty’s officers CHAP.  
“ and loving subjects abroad ; to the intent that by an un- VIII.  
“ feigned observation in all places throughout the realm, of Anno 1576.  
“ the said law already provided and meet to be put in exe-  
“ cution in this respect, the state might take such benefit  
“ thereby as was at the time of the making intended :  
“ which we can assure your Lordship is the only cause  
“ why at this time the observation of them is so much  
“ urged. Howbeit for that it may be, that this her Ma-  
“ jesty’s good meaning may either be misconstrued by  
“ some, and depraved by others, as though any super-  
“ stition (wherewith her Majesty, God be thanked, is not to 227  
“ be touched or suspected) were thereby intended ; for the  
“ meeting with and answering such slanderous conceits  
“ as may be spied and mistaken among her Highness’s sub-  
“ jets, we have thought good to require your Lordship to  
“ give order within your province, that the Ministers and  
“ Preachers, which are or shall be admitted to that func-  
“ tion, be commanded, in their sermons and exhortations to  
“ the people, to instruct and teach them to be willing and  
“ obedient to conform themselves and their *families* to the  
“ observation of the said laws, as in duty they are bound :  
“ and further declare unto them, that the same is not re-  
“ quired for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore  
“ used, (which utterly are detested,) but only to maintain  
“ the *mariners* and *navy* in this land, by setting men a  
“ fishing. Which thing is so necessary for the realm, espe-  
“ cially in these dangerous times, as no means are to be  
“ omitted, whereby it may be thought the same may be ac-  
“ cording to the laws brought to pass, and perfected ac-  
“ cordingly.

“ And for that the exhortations and doctrines of good  
“ and dutiful Ministers may do much good in this matter,  
“ both to remove scrupulousness and misconceits of some  
“ few, and also to induce the greater and common number  
“ to obey and observe the said laws, we have thought good  
“ to signify so much unto your Lordship ; that by the  
“ good assistance of you, and others under you, the matter

BOOK II. “ might be furthered, and take such good success for the benefit of this realm as we desire. From Hampton Court,  
Anno 1576. “ the 13th of December 1576.

“ Your Lordship’s right assured loving friends,  
“ W. Burghley, A. Warwick,  
“ R. Leicester, F. Knollys,  
“ Jam. Croftes, Fra. Walsingham.”

The Archbishop, in obedience to this seasonable command from above, sent his letter to the Bishop of London, to communicate the Queen’s and the Lords’ pleasure, in these words :

The Arch-  
bishop’s let-  
ter for ob-  
servation of  
the same.  
Grind. Reg. “ *Sal. in Christo.* I have received a letter directed to  
“ me from the Lords of her Majesty’s most honourable  
“ Privy Council. The tenor whereof is as followeth. [Then  
“ the Council’s letter is repeated.] These are therefore to  
“ require your Lordship, not only to transmit a copy as  
“ well of the Council’s said letters inserted herein, as is  
“ above specified, as also of these my letters to all our bre-  
“ thren the Bishops of this province, as in such cases here-  
“ tofore hath been used and accustomed; requiring them  
“ and every of them to accomplish the contents thereof ac-  
“ cordingly, as to every of them appertaineth; but also  
“ that your Lordship do likewise cause the same to be ac-  
“ complished throughout your diocese and jurisdiction, so  
“ far forth as in you shall lie. Thus I end, commanding  
“ your Lordship to the grace of God. From Lambeth,  
“ 21 December 1576.”

228 The Queen made use of our Archbishop also in one par-  
Colliton  
haven.  
Collections  
for the re-  
pair there-  
of. ticular more this year. Colliton haven at Seton in the county of Devon wanted repair. The Queen had sent her letters to Matthew, late Archbishop of Canterbury, for that purpose; who gave a mandate to the Bishops and others within his province to have contribution made severally within their dioceses. And the sums of money so raised were to be delivered to Thomas Weston and William Mor-

ris, merchants of London, appointed by her Majesty's letters CHAP.  
patents to be general receivers. These receivers were VIII.  
charged to have received greater sums than they gave in Anno 1576.  
by their particular accounts. To find out the truth where-  
of, and that such frauds of charity might not go undis-  
covered, the Lords sent to this our Archbishop, to despatch  
his letters to all the Bishops, that forthwith they send notes  
of all such sums of money as had been severally collected,  
and delivered into the hands of the said Weston and Mor-  
ris. And this the Archbishop accordingly did.

The new Bishops confirmed or consecrated this year Sandys con-  
were two. On the 8th of March, being Friday, Edwin Bi- firmed  
shop of London was confirmed Archbishop of York, in Archbishop  
Lambeth chapel, before the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
and the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, by virtue of  
the Queen's letters commissional, and authority of Parlia-  
ment.

The election of John Elmer, or Aylmer, S. Th. P. to the Aylmer  
see of London, in the abovesaid Edwin's room, was con- consecrated  
firmed March the 22d, in Bow church, in the presence of Bishop of  
Thomas Yale, LL. D. the Archbishop of Canterbury's Vi- London.  
car General; when one Lane was Proctor to the said elect,  
and took the oath in his name, according to custom. He  
was consecrated March the 24th, in Lambeth chapel, by  
the Archbishop, assisted by Edwin Archbishop of York,  
and John Bishop of Rochester.

## CHAP. IX.

**229** *Whitgift consecrated Bishop of Worcester. The Bishops commanded to put down the exercises: and unlawful Ministers forbid. The Archbishop confined and sequestered. The metropolitical visitation goes on. Popish recusants increase. Orders to the Archbishop for inquiry after them: Faculties in Ireland, whether still to issue out of the Archbishop's Court. The Lord Treasurer's advice to the Archbishop concerning his submission. His humble address to the Star-chamber. The judgment of the learned concerning prophecies. The inconveniences of the Archbishop's sequestration. Remains sequestered. Two civilians appointed to officiate for him.*

THE Archbishop lay under a cloud at Court; but chose rather to endure it, than basely to comply to the wronging of his conscience; which he pleaded in that matter of the exercises. The Queen had some work for him to do, and then she will express her displeasure in a more public manner.

Whitgift  
made Bi-  
shop of  
Worcester.

The bishopric of Worcester being now void by the death of Nicolas Bullingham, the late pastor of that see, the Queen was pleased to put in his place Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, that great light of the English Church, and that afterwards was preferred to the archbishopric; and now lately had signalized himself for an excellent scholar and divine, and a zealous promoter of the peace of the Church, by the full answer he gave to the Admonition to the Parliament, and his Defence of his answer against Cartwright. The confirmation of his election was April 16, 1577, in Bow church, before Dr. Yale. And was consecrated on Sunday April 21. following, by the Archbishop, assisted by John Bishop of London, Robert Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Bishop of Chichester; in presence of John Incent, Register; Bartholomew Clerk,

L L. D. Dean of the Arches; Will. Drury, Master or Keeper CHAP.  
of the Prerogative Court; William Lewin, Commissary of IX.  
the Court of Faculties; William Redmayne, Archdeacon of Anno 1577.  
Canterbury; George Row and Thomas Blage, domestic  
Chaplains to the said most reverend Father.

And here may I be allowed to mention one matter, though of no great account, yet shewing a privilege of the Archbishops of Canterbury with relation to the Bishops of his province deceasing: which was, that upon the death of every such Bishop, his best ring, save one, and all his seals, became due to the Archbishop. This was now claimed by Grindal; and his Vicar General accordingly sent a letter to the widow of the late deceased Bishop of Wigorn, to demand the ring and seals, as followeth:

“ After my hearty commendations premised; whereas 230  
“ as well by ancient custom above the memory of man used Grind. Re-  
“ and observed, as also by singular prerogative of the gistr.  
“ church of Canterbury, the Archbishops of Canterbury  
“ for the time being have from time to time had, and so  
“ ought to have, after the death of every Bishop of the  
“ province of Canterbury, the best ring saving one, and all  
“ the seals of every Bishop so dying; forasmuch as it  
“ hath pleased God to call to his mercy the Lord Nicolas  
“ Bullingham, Bishop of Worcester, your late husband,  
“ these are to pray and require you, that before the feast of  
“ the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing, you deliver,  
“ or cause to be delivered, to Dr. Wilson, Dean of Worces-  
“ ter, the said ring and seals of the said Bishop of Worces-  
“ ter, to the use of the now Archbishop of Canterbury, ac-  
“ cording to the custom and prerogative aforesaid. Thus  
“ fare you well. From my house at London, the 27th of  
“ April 1576, [miswrit for 1577.]

“ Your friend,  
“ Tho. Yale.”

Now did the Queen herself in the beginning of May send The Queen  
her letters to the Bishops, to do that which the Archbishop forbids all  
prophes-

**BOOK** could not be persuaded to do, *viz.* to forbid all exercises  
 II. or prophesyings: as also all preachers and teachers not  
 Anno 1577. lawfully called; of which there was no small number:  
 cying or exercises and unlaw- who procured unlawful assemblies, and read and ministered  
 ful minis- the Sacraments by new rites and forms; and called together  
 ters. people out of their own parishes, and far distant: where  
 they held disputation, and broached new devised opinions;  
 exercises. Whereby many people neglected their honest  
 labour, and were brought to idleness, and seduced, and di-  
 vided into variety of opinions; and hence encouraged to  
 the violation of the laws, and breach of common order; to  
 the offence of such as desired to serve God according to the  
 order established in the Church. She commanded the Bi-  
 shops therefore to take order throughout their dioceses,  
 that no other rites and ceremonies should be used in the  
 Church, but such as were according to the order established  
 by law; nor that any be suffered to read or preach, or  
 exercise any function in the Church, but such as were law-  
 fully approved and licensed. And where there were not  
 any sufficient for learning to preach, there to limit the  
 Curates to read the public homilies. And because the  
 said assemblies, called exercises, were not appointed nor  
 warranted by her Majesty or her laws, she straitly charged  
 them to cause the same to cease, and not to be used; and  
 if any continued them, to commit such to prison, as main-  
 tainers of disorders: charging them to be careful and vigilant  
 in these things, lest she should be forced to make some of  
 them examples themselves. This remarkable letter to the  
 Bishops may be read at length in the Appendix.

Num. IX.  
 Sir Rob.  
 Cotton's  
 thought of  
 Grindal's  
 disgrace.

231

Twenty-  
 four Argum.  
 &c.

Of this disgrace put upon the Archbishop, and of the in-  
 jury religion seemed to suffer by it, Sir Rob. Cotton, a wise  
 man, had these words: "In those days there was an emu-  
 lation between the Clergy and the Laity; and a strife,  
 " whether of them should shew themselves most affectionate  
 " to the Gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of the  
 " worthiest men, where Jesuits now build their tabernacles;  
 " and poor country churches were frequented with the best

“ of the shire. The word of God was precious : prayer CHAP.  
 “ and preaching went hand in hand together ; until Archbi- IX.  
 “ shop Grindal’s disgrace, and Hatfield’s [Hatton perhaps] Anno 1577.  
 “ hard conceit of prophesying, brought the flowing of  
 “ these good graces to a still water.”

The Archbishop made a shift to rub out till June ; when <sup>The Arch-</sup> for the old fault, and no compliance, (though the Queen <sup>bishop con-</sup>  
 and also several of the Lords in the Star-chamber had <sup>fined and se-</sup>  
 required him,) the said Lords confined him to his house,  
 and sequestered him for six months. This was an extraor-  
 dinary thing, to tie the hands of an Archbishop of Canter-  
 bury, who is the great mover under the Prince in eccles-  
 astical matters, and the government of the Church ; the  
 Archbishop being now also in the midst of his visitation.  
 But Dr. Yale, his Vicar General and Principal Official, and <sup>His Vicar</sup> Judge also of his Audience, acted now for him. Howbeit in <sup>General</sup> acts for him.  
 the month of November Yale fell dangerously sick, and no  
 hope of his recovery : which occasioned the Archbishop to  
 write to the Council, “ that the discontinuance of the causes  
 “ depending, incident to Dr. Yale’s office, which were many,  
 “ would be injurious to the Queen’s subjects ; therefore  
 “ that he thought it necessary, that the office should be  
 “ supplied by some other to be appointed by the Lords  
 “ of the Council, during the time of his sequestration.”  
 The answer the said Lords gave him was, “ that they  
 “ thought it necessary, that his Lordship should make  
 “ choice of two persons, to take the charge of the office,  
 “ with all other things incident to Dr. Yale’s office, and to  
 “ execute the full, until further order should be taken in  
 “ that behalf by her Majesty.” This was dated Novemb. Cleopatra,  
 12, 1577. This looked like a favour of the Lords, shewing F. 2. Cott.  
 hereby their respect to the Archbishop, however under this  
 present disgrace. And he accordingly, as it seems, nomi-  
 nated Dr. Drury and Dr. Huse.

And by the help of these, now in the office of Vicar Ge- The deane-  
 neral and Principal Official, he proceeded and went on with ry of Bock-  
 the visitation of some part of his peculiars. For soon after, ing visited.

**BOOK II.** these two civilians deputed John Mullins, Archdeacon of London and Rector of Bocking, and John Stil, D.D. Rec-Anno 1577. tor of Hadleigh, to visit the churches and chapels, and people of the deanery of Bocking; as appears by the Register.

**Aubrey and Clark execute the office of Vicar General.** But it was not long that Drury and Huse executed this office; for I find not long after, it came into the hands of Dr. William Aubrey and Dr. William Clark; and that, as it seems, by the Queen's commandment, as we shall see by and by.

**Letters to the Archbishop, to inquire for recusants.** However the Archbishop lay under sequestration, yet his hands were not so wholly tied, but he was sometimes employed, especially in his own diocese, as he was by virtue of

a message to him, Nov. 18. from the Lords, to inquire after recusants, who began now to shew themselves more formidable, by the great increase of them in the nation:

and as in other dioceses, so especially in that of Oxford:

perhaps the more for want of a Bishop there. Whereupon

**232** in obedience to this order, he wrote this letter to the Dean and Chapter of that church, or him that had the care of

the spiritualties.

**The Archbishop's letter to the Dean and Chapter of Oxon about recusants. Grind. Regist.** “ *Salutem in Christo.* I have received letters from the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council;

“ the tenor whereof ensueth, After our right hearty com-

“ mendations unto your good Lordship, &c. These are

“ therefore to require you, taking unto you such assistance

“ as you shall think convenient in that behalf, to make dili-

“ gent inquisition, as well by the searching of the records,

“ as by the public fame in the country, and by all other

“ convenient ways and means that you can, of the names of

“ all such persons within the diocese of Oxford, as refuse to

“ come unto divine service, and also of the value of their

“ lands and goods, according to the effects of the said let-

“ ters. And that you will certify me what you shall find in

“ that behalf with all expedition possible.

“ I am informed, that the diocese of Oxford is more re-

“ plenished with such recusants, for the quantity thereof,

“ than any other diocese of this realm. Thus fare you CHAP.  
IX.  
“ heartily well. From my house at Lambeth this 18th of \_\_\_\_\_  
“ November 1577.” Anno 1577.

The like letters of the tenor abovesaid were written for the *peculiar* in Sussex, and also for the deanery of Bocking.

The Popish emissaries had, it seems, by this time, by Recusants  
their diligence, drawn over great numbers from going to punished by  
Church; and so had made a dangerous schism among the pecuniary  
Queen's subjects. It was seriously debated hereupon concerning  
concerning the best course to stop this evil: and it was thought  
the easiest punishment, and withal the most likely way to  
reduce the offenders, and such as wholly absented from the  
Church, to punish them in their purses, by the forfeiture of  
money for that neglect. But then it was to be considered,  
whether it might legally be done. The civilians gave  
their judgments for it: but the opinion of the common  
lawyers was to be also known. The Secretary therefore in  
the Queen's name sent letters to the Lord Keeper and the  
Lord Treasurer, that they should require the opinion of the  
Judges: and for that purpose to call them, all that were in  
town, together. Who accordingly sent to the Master of  
the Rolls, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, to summon them for that  
purpose. And he having understood their opinion, wrote  
to the Secretary the account thereof, December 3. to this  
purport:

“ That he had caused all the Judges, and others of her The Judges'  
“ Majesty's learned Council that were then in London, opinion  
“ to assemble together, and to consider what was to be done concerning  
“ by law against such as were recusants to come to the that kind of  
“ Church; and by conference by them had, together with penalty.  
“ Dr. Lewis, they thought, that by the statute of anno 1°  
“ of the Queen, the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes  
“ had authority to inflict any punishment by mulct, or  
“ otherwise, which the ecclesiastical law doth allow of. Be-  
“ cause all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is by the  
“ statute annexed to the Crown. And by the same statute  
“ full power is given to her Majesty to commit the same  
“ authority to such persons as should please her Highness.

**BOOK II.** “ And that such Commissioners should and might execute  
“ the same according to the tenor of the said commission.

**Anno 1577.** “ And hereupon it was agreed, that Dr. Lewis should, with  
233 “ the advice of some other civilians, set down what might

“ be done by the ecclesiastical law. And so the said Lewis,  
“ with Dr. Hammond, set down certain Articles, what the  
“ ecclesiastical law was in those cases.” Which Articles  
were,

I. The Bishop, and none other inferior Judge, may by  
the ecclesiastical law punish any person ecclesiastical or lay,  
by a pecuniary pain, for any ecclesiastical crime or offence :  
especially, if he shall perceive the said pain to be more  
feared, than the censure of the Church.

II. It is certain, that by the same law the Ordinary may  
punish by pecuniary pain such as abstain from going to the  
Church to hear divine service, without reasonable cause of  
excuse ; especially if it be of contempt.

III. It is also noted by some of the writers upon the law,  
that a Bishop may make a statute or ordinance, that an ex-  
communicate person shall pay 10*l.* for every month he hath  
contemptuously remained excommunicate.

“ From whence they concluded, that by the same Articles  
“ it seemed, that the ecclesiastical law was plain, that a pe-  
“ cuniary pain might be put upon such recusants. And  
“ that being so, he [the Master of the Rolls] saw no doubt,  
“ but that her Majesty’s Commissioners might execute that  
“ law by authority of their commission. And that was also  
“ the opinion of the Judges and others that had been in  
“ conference together. And for the manner of levying such  
“ pecuniary pains, if it were estreated into the Exchequer,  
“ the ordinary course there was well known, that such  
“ things as were there estreated were to be levied of lands  
“ and goods, and also of the body, if there were neither  
“ lands nor goods.”

The names of them that were at the abovesaid conference  
were, the Lord Dyer, Justice Southcote, Justice Manwood,  
Justice Mounson, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Attorney General, Mr.  
Solicitor General. And this is some historical account of

this affair. The Queen saw it was high time to put a stop to recusancy ; which she thought best to do by money-CHAP.  
IX.  
Anno 1577. penalties, if so be it might be done legally. Which when she understood by her lawyers it might, she made use of the Archbishop to be informed of the names of all such recusants, their lands and goods.

Now, while the Archbishop lay under restraint and se-Faculties in  
Ireland  
from the  
Archbi-  
shop's  
Court con-  
sidered. questration, it was deliberated at Court about the Faculties for Ireland, (which hitherto were taken out of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court here,) whether it were more expedient, that these Faculties should still proceed out of his Courts, or from Commissioners to be appointed in Ireland ; especially considering the act made in the beginning of the Queen, for empowering the Archbishop of Canterbury only to grant Faculties in all the Queen's dominions ; which seemed to be against such a commission, and for reserving the Faculties still to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Hence some learned person wrote upon this argument in favour of the Court of the Archbishop here ; shewing, how it was one Garvey, and one Dr. Ackworth, a civilian, (the latter a man of no good fame, and put from his places for the dissolute life he led,) that for their own private advantage first moved for a commission of this nature ; and that contrary to an act of Parliament, made at such time as the authority of the Bishop of Rome was utterly abolished within this realm ; when these Faculties were allotted to the Archbishops of Canterbury only. That for special reasons, that Parliament thought it not convenient these Faculties should pass from divers men's hands. That such persons in Ireland as sued for Faculties might obtain them upon the commendation of their respective Ordinary by a common messenger, without the pains of travelling themselves into England. That if this commission should be granted, forasmuch as the greatest reason pretended was the Prince's commodity in passing great numbers of Faculties, it is like many unworthy persons, as well as worthy, would be confusedly admitted. Whereas this inconvenience is prevented by the Ordinary's commendation to the Archbishop of the persons to receive

**BOOK II.** the Faculties. These and divers others were the considerations propounded in a MS. paper in the Cotton library.

**Anno 1577.** Which paper shall be exemplified in the Appendix.

**Num. XI.**

**The Lord Treasurer's** latter end of November, the Lord Treasurer sent a private message to the Archbishop by Goodman Dean of Westminster; containing some account after what manner making his the Star-chamber would proceed in his business; and withal shop concerning his Lordship's directions to him, how he should demean himself in respect of the offence he gave the Queen by the exercises: all writ by his own hand. Which was to this tenor:

“ It is meant, that declaration shall be made of the Queen’s Majesty’s doings in directing the exercises to cease, with the causes thereof. And namely, upon sundry informations from the Bishops and Judges of the realm, of the inconvenience of the continuance. And so her actions shall be justified by the Council.

“ Secondly, It shall be declared, how her Majesty did direct the Archbishop to notify her order for the cessation of the said exercises to all the Bishops of the realm; and how he refused so to do. Whereby he did shew himself disobedient to her Majesty, and her supreme authority ecclesiastical. And for that purpose her Majesty could do no less than to restrain him, as she hath done. And that her Majesty findeth it expedient to have the world understand her actions in this matter; and also to have the Archbishop’s misdemeanors declared, and to call him to answer to the same. Therefore he is to answer hereunto in that open place.

“ And where he hath many times since by humble writings submitted himself to her Majesty’s mercy, and hath shewed himself sorrowful for the offending of her Majesty, desiring forgiveness thereof, and promising hereafter due obedience in all his ministry and charge; her Majesty, notwithstanding such private submission, findeth it expedient to have his submission and acknowledgment of his fault made in places public. And therefore he is there to make answer to these things.

“ In these things percase some enlargement shall be, both CHAP.  
“ to set forth her Majesty’s doings justifiably, and his re- IX.  
“ fusal to obey reprehensively. But in these two parts will, Anno 1577.  
“ I think, consist the whole.

“ It is meet for the Archbishop to these things to an-  
“ swer, as may content her Majesty, for so many needful  
“ respects as is hard in few words to recite; as well for  
“ God’s cause and his religion, as for the satisfaction of her  
“ Majesty, and pacifying her displeasure.

“ And therefore it were good for the Archbishop, by way  
“ of answer to the first, to allow of the Queen’s Majesty’s  
“ proceeding, grounded upon such causes, as to him it doth  
“ now appear did move her Majesty thereto. And herein  
“ to use good speeches of her Majesty, as a Prince that in all  
“ her public doings hath shewed her wisdom, in doing  
“ nothing without good cause to move her thereto. And  
“ therefore they were to be greatly condemned, that would  
“ in any wise seek to find fault with her Majesty. And in  
“ this point the Archbishop should do well to use the more  
“ large speech, as in good reason he may do without offence  
“ of his conscience.

“ To the second, concerning his offence to her Majesty,  
“ if he forbear the particular recital of his fault with the  
“ circumstances, he may, with the better estimation and less  
“ burden to his conscience, use a more general speech to  
“ acknowledge his fault, and to cry pardon. For which  
“ purpose his Grace may say, that he is very sorry that he  
“ hath in this sort offended her Majesty, as he is charg-  
“ ed: and that he requireth her Majesty to pardon him;  
“ and not to interpret his doing to have been with any  
“ meaning to offend her Majesty. But considering he now  
“ seeth upon what considerations her Majesty did proceed,  
“ he is very sorry that he hath herein offended her Majes-  
“ ty. And to conclude with all humble request of pardon,  
“ and firm promise of obedience to her Majesty, as far forth  
“ as in all duty he is bound.

“ If the Archbishop would consider hereof, and set down  
“ in writing his answer, or the sum thereof, that it might

**BOOK II.** “ be seen beforehand, it is thought that thereby some good might follow. And herein he is to be admonished to  
 Anno 1577. “ frame himself as far forth as by any good means he may, “ to seek to satisfy her Majesty.”

This was the Lord Treasurer’s counsel : but the Archbishop thought not fit to comply so far as was advised ; but still esteeming himself not to have done amiss, he would not ask pardon, which supposed a fault. Nor did he appear in person before the Lords in the Star-chamber, but sent an humble writing to them the next day, *viz.* November the 30th, brought by Sir Walter Mildmay ; that they would intercede to the Queen for his liberty, and for taking off his sequestration, which he had suffered patiently six months : yet first of all declaring the innocence of his own doings ; then his quiet and thankful bearing of the punishment inflicted, and his great trouble of mind at the Queen’s displeasure with him : all in very submissive terms. But no further he would go, as may appear by the submission itself, which ran in these words:

*To the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majesty’s Privy Council in the Star-chamber.*

The Arch-  
 bishop’s ad-  
 dress to the  
 Star-cham-  
 ber. Cott. libr.  
 Cleop. F. 2. “ Right honourable and my singular good Lords : I  
 cannot deny, but that I have been commanded both by  
 the Queen’s Majesty herself, and also by divers of your  
 honourable Lordships in her name, to suppress all those  
 exercises within my province, that are commonly called  
 prophecies. But I do protest before God, the Judge  
 of all hearts, that I did not of any stubbornness, or wilful-  
 ness, refuse to accomplish the same, but only upon con-  
 science. For that I found such kind of exercise set  
 down in the holy Scriptures, and the use of the same  
 to have continued in the Christian Church. And was  
 persuaded, that (the abuses being reformed, which I al-  
 ways offered myself ready to labour in) the said exercises  
 might yet serve to the great profit of the Church ; and  
 feared that the utter suppressing of them would breed of-  
 fence. And therefore was a most humble suitor unto her

“ Majesty, that I might not be made the chief instrument in CHAP.  
“ suppressing the same: yet not prejudicing or condemning IX.  
“ any, that in respect of policy, or otherwise, should be of Anno 1577.  
“ contrary judgment, or being of authority should suppress  
“ them. For I know right well, that there be some things  
“ of that nature, wherein divers men may be of divers opin-  
“ ions, and abound in their own sense (being not repug-  
“ nant to the analogy of faith) without any prejudice of  
“ their salvation, or any prejudice of either to other. Not-  
“withstanding, howsoever others, being otherwise persuad-  
“ ed, might safely do it, yet I thought it not safe for me  
“ (being so persuaded in mind) to be the doer of that where-  
“ of mine own heart and conscience would condemn me.

“ And whereas I have sustained the restraint of my  
“ liberty, and sequestration of my jurisdiction now by the  
“ space of six months, I am so far from repining thereat, or  
“ thinking myself injuriously or hardly dealt withal therein  
“ at her Majesty’s hands, that I do thankfully embrace,  
“ and frankly with all humility acknowledge her princely,  
“ gracious, and rare clemency towards me: who having au-  
“ thority and power to have used greater and sharper seve-  
“ rity against me, and for good policy and example think-  
“ ing it so expedient, hath notwithstanding dealt so merci-  
“ fully, mildly, and gently with me.

“ But the greatest grief that ever I have had, or have, is  
“ the loss of her Majesty’s favour, and the sustaining of the  
“ displeasure of so gracious a Sovereign; by whom the  
“ Church and realm of England hath been so long and so  
“ happily governed. And by whom myself, privately and  
“ specially above other subjects, have received so many and  
“ so great benefits above all my deserving. For the re-  
“ covery of whose gracious favour, I most humbly beseech  
“ your Lordships to be a means to her Majesty for me. 237  
“ The which obtained, I shall esteem far above all worldly  
“ benefits whatsoever. And I protest here before God and  
“ your Honours, that not only my dutiful and humble obe-  
“ dience to her Majesty shall be such as she shall have no  
“ cause to repent of her gracious goodness and clemency

BOOK " shewn unto me ; but also that by most fervent, hearty,  
 II. " and daily prayer, as I have done hitherto, so I will con-  
 Anno 1577. " tinue, according to my bounden duty, to make most ear-  
 " nest suit unto Almighty God for the long preservation of  
 " her Majesty's most happy reign, to the unspeakable be-  
 " nefit of the Church and realm of England.

" Edm. Cantuar."

What the Now because the Archbishop had said in his paper, that  
 judgment of he found the exercise set down in Scripture, meaning 1 Cor.  
 the learned was of these xiv. it may be noted, that this was the sense and interpreta-  
 prophecies. tion some of the learned in those times put upon that place,  
 and that hence an obligation lay upon all the Churches  
 of Christ to observe the practice. For which I refer the

Num. XII. reader to a paper in the Appendix, being a *diatribe* upon  
 1 Cor. xiv. 29. *Prophetæ duo aut tres loquuntur, &c.*

Inconven- To this I add the great inconveniences that ensued this  
 ences of the sequestration of the Archbishop, as they were drawn up by  
 Archbi- shop's se- some learned civilian at that time.

MSS. G. Petyt. Ar- I. " *Imprimis*, All inconveniences which do fall *in eccl-  
 mig. e-  
 siis vacantibus* (in which case the law doth call them *ec-  
 clesias viduatas, et pastoris solatio destitutas; ac idcirco  
 multis dispendiis subjectas*; i. e. widowed churches, and  
 " left destitute of the comfort of a pastor, and on that ac-  
 " count subject to many harms) do all concur in this case.

II. " *Item*, The processes which were wont to go forth  
 " under the Archbishop's name and title, whereby they  
 " had the greater credit and authority, they be now much  
 " abused, and therefore not esteemed : and in many cases  
 " the validity thereof like to be brought in question, by  
 " reason they go forth in the officers' names.

III. " *Item*, Whereas the convocating of the Clergy of  
 " the province of Canterbury had always by writ, by him  
 " first received from the Prince, been gathered together,  
 " prorogued and continued by the Archbishop of Canterbu-  
 " ry, as head of that province under the Prince : if it be  
 " now otherwise done without him, it will be a new prece-  
 " dent of dangerous and doubtful sequel.

IV. " *Item*, The Archbishop was wont to reserve, to his CHAP.  
" own ordering, *custodiam episcopatum vacantium quoad* IX.  
" *spiritualia*; i. e. the custody of vacant bishoprics as to Anno 1577.  
" spirituals, and examination of clerks presented to bene-  
" fices: and also avocate to his knowledge and hearing  
" divers causes of great weight, and thereby to end great  
" controversy: which now he cannot do.

V. " *Item*, Whereas by law the Archbishop is to visit his  
" whole province, and to reform the disorders in the same,  
" the fourth part thereof is not yet visited: where, by con-  
" junction of the places already visited, there is like to be  
" great need of reformation in divers great matters. And 238  
" in places already visited, perfect reformation could not be  
" had by reason of this sequestration.

VI. " *Item*, He can now give no orders, nor grant any li-  
" cences to preach, to such as be worthy; nor yet can re-  
" move disordered and unworthy Preachers, whereof there  
" be too many.

VII. " *Item*, There be many things, which, as well by  
" the statutes as customs of the realm, must necessarily  
" be done by the Archbishop himself in his name, as in  
" consecration, confirmation, and translation of Bishops, cer-  
" tifying of persons excommunicate, and many such other like.

VIII. " *Item*, The Archbishop, being chief in the High  
" Commission, was wont to despatch the matters of greatest  
" weight belonging to the same. Whose authority and  
" presence gave the greater credit to those doings, and ter-  
" ror to the malefactors.

IX. " *Item*, Where, as well the Bishops and others of  
" the Clergy, as also of the Laity, throughout the whole  
" province, were wont to resort to the Archbishop, to con-  
" sult with him, and have his direction in matters of great  
" weight; whereby many controversies and occasions of  
" strife and slander within their dioceses were cut off; al-  
" though there do arise many like occasions daily, yet there  
" lacketh the authority of the same Archbishop for the ap-  
" peasing thereof.

X. " *Item*, This long sequestration is cause of great en-

**BOOK II.** “couragement to the enemies of the Gospel, and great hindrance to the proceeding of the same.”

**Anno 1577.** But notwithstanding, the before specified submission of the Archbishop would not take effect, neither would the declaration of these inconveniences prevail. Nor was he restored to his liberty, nor the exercise of his jurisdiction, as yet. Nor do I find that he ever after much enjoyed the Queen’s favour: insomuch that he was desirous to resign his archbishopric, perhaps upon the grief of the small countenance he had from her, as well as for the affliction of losing his sight; as we shall see hereafter.

Talk of depriving the Archbishop.

Sir Francis Knowles’s thoughts hereof.

In January following it came to that pass with the Archbishop, that there was much talk of depriving him, since his submission and recantation was not thought sufficient, and considering the need there would be of an Archbishop to act and preside in the Church. But this was very ill represented by the true Protestants, and they were highly concerned at it; and urged, how much it would prove to the joy of Papists, and their encouragement. Sir Francis Knowles, Treasurer of the Queen’s Chamber, wrote to the same purpose to Secretary Wylson; “If her Majesty will be safe, she must comfort the hearts of those that be her most faithful subjects even for conscience sake. But if the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be deprived, then up starts the pride and practice of the Papists, and down declines the comfort and strength of her Majesty’s safety. And then King Richard the Second’s men will flock in Court apace, and will shew themselves in their colours. From the which company the Lord bless her Majesty. And the thinking thereof doth so abhor me, that I am more fit to die in a private life, than to live a courtier;

**239** “unless a preventing heart may enter into her Majesty before times.” But the Archbishop’s crime was not thought so big as to merit a deprivation; and the disgust it might give being considered, the thoughts of depriving him was laid aside; and it was determined to proceed more mildly; and that the Archbishop should only still continue under his sequestration *ab officio*.

But in this extremity, his necessary business was managed by Dr. William Aubrey and Dr. William Clark, who by the Queen's order supplied the place of Dr. Yale, late Vicar General, being it seems dead ; and the two other civilians of the Archbishop's nomination laid aside. Dr. Bartholomew Clark was now Dean of the Arches, to whom, Jan. 20, 1577, Dr. Wylson, one of the principal Secretaries, signified by his letters the establishment of William Aubrey and William Clark to officiate for the Archbishop, this letter being thus superscribed, *To the right worshipful, my very loving friend, Mr. Bartholomew Clark, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Dean of the Arches* ; and ran in this tenor, whence it may appear, they were the Queen's and Council's appointment, not the Archbishop's.

“ After my very hearty commendations unto you, these are to advertise you, that my Lords of the Council, having in consideration for some to exercise the jurisdiction of the Court of Audience and the vicarship *in spiritualibus* bus; and taking advice of men learned, as well in the law of this realm as in the civil law, willed me to inform the Queen's Majesty of their proceedings, and to know her Highness's pleasure : who being very careful, that the offices might be exercised by such as were very sufficient in all respects, did of herself name Mr. Dr. William Aubrey to be one, and referred to the Lords the nomination of the other. Who yesterday liking very well of her Majesty's choice, did all agree with one consent, that Mr. Dr. William Clark should be joined with Mr. Dr. Aubrey ; and they two to exercise these offices *communiter et divisim*, during her pleasure. This their commandment I was willed to signify unto you, that you would give notice thereof to whom it appertaineth, for the speedy order to be given to exercise the jurisdictions. Thus fare you heartily well, from my house at St. Katharine's, this 20th of January.

“ Your assured loving friend,  
“ Th. Wylson.”

**BOOK II.** The same day Dr. Bartholomew Clark repaired to the Archbishop within his manor at Lambeth; and there he Anno 1577. presented the abovementioned letter to the sight of the said The Archbishop, and withal declaring to him, that it belonged mits the office of Vicar General to him in this behalf so to do, the said most reverend Father committed accordingly the office and authority to Dr. to them by command Aubrey and Dr. William Clark, to exercise as well the office of from above. Auditor of Causes, and the business of the Court of Audience, as the vicarship general in spirituals, and Principal Official, in as ample manner and form, as the late venerable man, Mr. Thomas Yale, LL.D. held and exercised it—*ad beneplacitum dictæ illustriss. Dominæ nostræ Reginæ*.

Under this instrument the Archbishop wrote, *Ita est, Edmundus Cantuarien.* To which also were the hands of William Lewin, LL.D. John Coldwel, Doctor of Physic, and Richard Frampton, Gent. present and witnesses.

Dr. Lewin appointed to the Arches.

These two substitute Dr. William Lewin to exercise the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the deanery of the Arches, as he lately executed the foresaid office of Commissary in and through the deanery of the Arches, by force of a commission from Edmund the Lord Archbishop. Dr. Bartholomew Clark, it seems, lay under some suspension.

Likewise all licences to preach, &c. institutions to benefices, commissions to visitations, &c. signification of persons that stood excommunicate, instruments for sequestration of fruits, and the like, passed from these two civilians, yet still with a deference to the Archbishop, and consultation with him in what they did. But sometimes upon letters sent to him from the Queen or the Lords of the Council, he did act in person, and issue forth orders in his own name, as we may observe in the sequel of this history.

## CHAP. X.

*Prevents taking timber out of his woods. Commends a contribution for Chard : and for Bath. A Bishop consecrated by him. Who now officiates for the Archbishop. Stubbs's book. The Council's letter to the Archbishop relating thereto. His orders to the Preachers hereupon ; and to some Preachers as would not administer the Sacraments. Difference between Sandys, now Archbishop of York, and Grindal, about Battersea.*

WE must expect now, while the Archbishop's hands were Anno 1578. thus tied, but little action from him : yet what I find, I will relate.

In the midst of his troubles, he was not guilty of any thing that might bespeak him negligent, or wanting to his duty or calling. This partly appeared in his care for the good estate of his see ; which at this time there happened an occasion to manifest. As there were wood-lands belonging to the archbishopric, so was the Archbishop vigilant for preserving the timber thereof, and neither sold it for his own gain, nor used any of it more than was necessary for the reparation of houses and farms. Now it fell out, that the Queen wanting timber either for shipping or her other works, some that had authority to take timber for her provisions, appointed to take presently some quantity out of his woods, lying near the city of Canterbury. And this 241 perhaps was the rather done, since he lay at present under such a cloud. But the Archbishop still preserved the same constant temper, and resolution of discharging his duty. And therefore hearing of this, laboured to stop it what he could ; and despatched a letter hastily to Court to his friend the Lord Treasurer, May 24, 1578, acquainting him with this affair, and letting him know first, that there was but small store of timber in those woods ; and withal, that not only three of his own mansion-houses standing at or near

**BOOK II.** unto Canterbury, and divers of his farmers' houses and milns, were to be maintained therewith; but also that  
Anno 1578. timber was to be brought from thence to Lambeth by water, for maintenance of that house: for that the woods of the see in the parts near to that palace were so decayed, that there was not convenient timber so much as to make planchers for a stable. He signified moreover to the Treasurer, that he was informed there were others in that part of Kent had such store, that they could spare, and did sell. And that for his own part, as he had ever been careful to preserve his timber, so he did not intend, during his incumbency, to make any sale of it at all. And therefore in conclusion he desired the said Lord, either to give out his order for the staying of that which was appointed to be taken, or otherwise, that neither then nor at any other time after, during his Lordship's pleasure, none should be taken in the same woods. And I suppose thus seasonably interposing, he had his request.

Contribution for Chard.

All the use I find the Court made of the Archbishop this year was, that the Queen granting by letters patents dated February 26, 1578, licence and permission to certain of the inhabitants of the town of Chard in the county of Somerset, to ask the charity as well of spiritual men as temporal, in all places of her Highness's realm of England and her other dominions, towards the new building and setting up the town of Chard, (the chiefest and greatest part whereof was lately wasted by fire,) during the term of two years; the Archbishop was employed to signify the Queen's pleasure to the rest of the Bishops. Whereupon he issued out his mandate to the Bishop of London to commend this work unto all the rest of the Bishops in the province of Canterbury; and to will and require them to cause the contents to be executed throughout every of their dioceses and jurisdictions.

Anno 1579. The next year the Queen granting letters patents to the Bath. city of Bath for a licence for seven years, to gather the devotion of all her loving subjects towards the building of a

church and hospital within the same city, there were sent unto the Archbishop to be distributed certain orders imprinted for the collection.

CHAP.  
X.

Anno 1579.

The Archbishop's officers, who now acted all under him and for him, were Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clerk, who exercised the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury ; Dr. Lawse, Commissary of the diocese of Canterbury ; Dr. Redmayne, or Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Mullins, were the Commissaries for the deanery of Bocking ; Mr. Richard Kitson for the deaneries of Malling, Pagham and Terring, in Sussex ; Mr. Joseph Heins for the deanery of Shoreham and Croyden.

Some beginning of a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Norwich happened in the month of June this year. And an inhibition was issued the same month to the Bishop thereof from Aubrey and Clerk. But it seemed not to go on, but to receive delays, till the year 1582, when we shall hear of it again.

I find the Archbishop in this year at Croyden ; so that either his confinement was taken off, or rather he had leave for the sake of his health to retire to his house at Croyden. And here John Wolton, S. T. P. was by him confirmed Bishop of Exon, Friday July 24, and consecrated, Aug. 2, in the chapel there, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of Rochester assisting. Thus we see how he exercised this part of his archiepiscopal function even under his sequestration by commission from the Queen.

In this year happened a matter that gave the Queen high disgust. She was in treaty with the Duke of Anjou about joining herself in marriage with him. This was a thing, which however desirous the people were of seeing her married in hopes of issue, yet they could not endure to hear of : partly out of an innate hatred to the French, and partly out of a particular dislike of this person : of whom many reports went concerning his dissolute life and manners. But of all others, the Puritans made the most noise. And one of them, named Stubbs, a student in the law, and a man

**BOOK** of parts, but very hot, wrote a most violent book against the  
 11. match, entitled The Gaping Gulph. The Queen saw how  
 Anno 1579. dishonourable these clamours were to herself, and how of-  
 The Gaping fensive they might prove to the French, with whom she  
 Gulph.

saw it her interest to keep all fair. Therefore she speedily  
 issued out a proclamation for seizing the book, the author,  
 and printer. And withal, the Lords of the Council wrote  
 a letter dated in October to this purpose to our Archbishop,  
 with the proclamation enclosed: whereby may be under-  
 Num. XIII. stood the whole matter. See it in the Appendix. Therein  
 to take off any surmises, (covertly hinted in the book,) as  
 though the Queen meditated some alteration in religion,

The Coun-  
 cil's letter  
 to the Arch-  
 bishop re-  
 lating there-  
 to.  
 they shewed, " how fully the Queen was determined to  
 " maintain the religion which she had at first established in  
 " the realm; and that, if need were, even with the hazard  
 " of her own person. And this they endeavoured to

" strengthen by divers arguments, for the full satisfaction  
 " and quieting of her subjects in that behalf. And that  
 " she had for that very cause sustained the malice of divers  
 " powerful princes her neighbours. That the book having  
 " been dispersed about in many places, and perhaps in his  
 " diocese, divers of her subjects, and especially some of the  
 " Clergy, might be induced to think unjustly and unduti-  
 " fully of her Majesty. That it was therefore the Queen's  
 " pleasure, that he, with as much speed as he could conve-  
 " niently, should call together the noted Preachers, and  
 " other ecclesiastical persons in his diocese of good calling,  
 " and to have the proclamation read against the said libel.  
 " And then to signify unto them the Queen's resolution to  
 " maintain the religion without all change. And that she  
 " intended not by any treaty with the Duke of Anjou to be  
 " ever brought to make any alteration. And that the said  
 243 " Prince had shewed himself lately a friend to those of the  
 " religion, by the hazard of his own estate and life; and  
 " moreover deserved to be honoured for the honour he did  
 " her Majesty, in coming to see her. That he, the said  
 " Archbishop, should likewise admonish these Preachers,

“ in their sermons not to meddle with any such matter of CHAP.  
 “ estate, as in truth not appertaining to their profession ; X.  
 “ but to contain themselves within the limits of their calling. Anno 1579.

“ Which was to preach the Gospel of Christ in all purity,  
 “ without intangling themselves in secular matters. And  
 “ to teach the people to be thankful to God for liberty of  
 “ conscience, peace, and wealth, which they had hitherto en-  
 “ joyed. And not to go about by intermeddling in such  
 “ matters, to give occasion of disquiet and distrust to the  
 “ subjects of this realm. By which their disorderly deal-  
 “ ing [for some such, it seems, there were among the Preach-  
 “ ers] there could not but grow prejudice to the cause of  
 “ religion.

“ And as for other of the ecclesiastical order, which could  
 “ not be present at this exhortation, but lived more remote,  
 “ the Archbishop was required to send his letter to them.  
 “ But that, if any people should, notwithstanding the endea-  
 “ vours of the Preachers, not rest satisfied, but should  
 “ entertain undutiful and unnecessary conceits of her  
 “ Majesty, then to charge the said Preachers to give him  
 “ notice thereof : and he by his authority to call such per-  
 “ sons before him ; and by better information, or otherwise,  
 “ correct them in their error.”

Upon this command from above, the Archbishop acted, The Arch-  
bishop's  
orders here-  
upon. and sent his letters of orders to Dr. Aubrey. And Aubrey accordingly sent his to Dr. Lawse, Commissary of the diocese upon. of Canterbury ; to Dr. Redman, Archdeacon there for the rest of the diocese ; to Mr. Mullins and Dr. Styl, for the deanery of Bocking ; to Mr. Kitson, for the deanery of South Malling, Pagham and Terring ; and to Mr. Herne, for the deanery of Shoreham and Croyden. Aubrey's letter to these ran in this tenor :

“ After my hearty commendations, having received  
 “ letters from my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, the copy  
 “ whereof I have sent unto you herein enclosed, together  
 “ with a copy of a letter sent to his Grace from the Lords  
 “ and others, her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,

**BOOK II.** “ and also her Majesty’s proclamation in print ; I thought it my duty, according to the charge given unto me, to

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**Anno 1579.** “ pray and require you upon receipt hereof, with all expedition, to procure within the exempt parishes of that his Grace’s diocese of Canterbury, the contents of the Lords’ letters to his Grace, and of his Grace’s letters to me, to be effectually and carefully in all points accomplished ; and to certify his Grace of your proceedings therein, as occasion shall require, according to the effect and meaning of the said several letters. So I bid you right heartily farewell. From London, the 9th of October 1579.

“ Your assured loving friend,

“ Will. Aubrey.”

**244** That that was done upon this at London was, that Dr.

**The Clergy summoned.** Aubrey, October 9, commanded all Rectors and Curates of the deanery of the Arches to appear immediately before him in St. Mary Bow church the next day, *viz.* the 10th of October, by the private counsel of the reverend the Archbishop. At the day and place there appeared Edmund Sympson, Rector of St. Dunstan’s east ; Will. Knight, Rector of St. Pancrase, and Curate of Bow church ; Josias Gilpin, Rector of St. Vedast ; John Boteman, Rector of St. Michael in Riola, [the Quern ;] John West, Curate of St. Michael, Crooked-lane ; Nicolas Kennam, Curate of St. Mary Aldermary ; Nicolas Brook, Rector of St. Mary de Botehawe ; Tho. Stallard, Rector of All-Saints, Lombard-street ; Geoffrey Waters, Curate of St. Leonard’s, in East-cheap. Before these the said Aubrey commanded the said letters of the Lords to be read ; and then gave them charge singly, on the Queen’s part, to observe and do with effect all the matter mentioned therein.

**The Council to the Archbishop concerning some Preachers that refused to celebrate the Communion.**

Many Ministers now-a-days took livings, and would only preach to their congregations, but refused to administer the Sacraments : because, I suppose, they did not like some things in the offices appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. But they provided others for that part of the ministerial office : a thing which gave much offence to the

Queen. This occasioned the Lords of the Privy Council to CHAP.  
write a letter in January to our Archbishop, *viz.*

X.

Anno 1579.

“ After our hearty commendations: whereas her Ma- Grind. Reg.  
“ jesty is credibly informed, that divers and sundry preach-  
“ ers in this realm do only apply themselves to the office  
“ of preaching; and upon some light conceit, to the dis-  
“ honour of God, the breach of her Majesty’s laws, the of-  
“ fence of good subjects, and the great contempt of the Sa-  
“ craments, which groweth thereby, do separate themselves  
“ from the executing of the one part of the office of a  
“ priest; which is as well to minister the said Sacraments  
“ as to preach the Gospel; and that by this occasion some  
“ are counted and termed *reading* and *ministering* Min-  
“ isters; and some Preachers, and no-sacrament Ministers:  
“ therefore we are in her Majesty’s name to require your  
“ Lordship to take a view of all such within your dio-  
“ cese as do so disjoin the one part of the function from  
“ the other; and do not at certain times in the year, as  
“ well minister the holy Sacraments in their own person in  
“ what place soever they receive any portion for preach-  
“ ing; and yourself by your ecclesiastical censures to com-  
“ pel them to execute both. And such as you shall find in-  
“ tractable, to send them up to us; and to certify us imme-  
“ diately upon your said view, how many you find of those  
“ recusants within your diocese. That we may thereupon  
“ satisfy her Majesty in that behalf. And so we commit your  
“ Grace to God. From London, the 17th day of January.

“ Your very loving friends,

“ Tho. Bromely, Canc.	W. Burghley,	E. Lincoln,
“ J. Sussex,	J. Hunsdon,	Jam. Crofte,
“ Chr. Hatton,	Fr. Walsingham,	Tho. Wilson.”

The Archbishop next day, *viz.* Jan. 18, sent this letter 245 to Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clark, to require both with all The Arch-  
convenient speed to take a view by inquisition, and all other bis-  
good means within his diocese, of all such ecclesiastical business to  
persons as were any ways culpable in any the disorders ex- Aubrey and Clark.

**BOOK II.** pressed. And such as were obstinate, and would not, upon their admonition, conform themselves, to certify their names unto him; to the intent her Majesty might be satisfied in that behalf accordingly.

**Difference between Grindal and Sandys about Battersea.**

Anno 1579. There happened some difference (which lasted till this time) between our Archbishop and his successor in the see of York, about the demeans of Battersea; which for some special reason (which was shewn before, under the year 1571) was let to him for his life by the Dean and Chapter of York. This lease Archbishop Sandys would have Archbishop Grindal to have cancelled, since he was removed from York; but he thought good still to retain it, that so the present lessees might receive no prejudice for certain things which Sandys had called in question. And for the reason and vindication of these his doings, he made this Declaration of the state, as well of the chief mansion-house and demeans in Battersea, containing about fourscore acres, that were reserved (as they had been of long time appointed) for the occupying of the Archbishops of York, as also of the farms and cottages in Battersea, Wansworth, and Penge, that had always been in the occupation of the farmers of them; and to shew that the late doings of the now Archbishop of Canterbury concerning Battersea were to be well thought of, as done chiefly for the benefit of his succession.

Which Declaration was this which follows:

**The Archbishop's Declaration concerning the state of Battersea.**

Bishop-thorp.

“ Laurence Booth, being Archbishop of York, gave (in the latter end of King Edward the Fourth's time) all his lands in Battersea, Wansworth, and Penge to the Dean and Chapter of York, upon condition that they should have the same as they had Bishopthorp. To the which Chapter, long before that time, one Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, had granted his house and lands at Bishopthorp, near York, *ea intentione, quod idem capitulum concederet eadem successoribus praefati Walteri Archiepiscopi, qui pro tempore fuerint.*

“ After the death of the said Archbishop Booth, his successors, with confirmation of the said Dean and Chapter, made grants successively for the lives of the patentees of

“ the custody of their house at Battersea, and divers leases, CHAP.  
“ as well of the said demeans, as of other their said lands, X.  
“ in like manner as they did of the rest of the lands of Anno 1579.  
“ their see. Divers of which leases came to the hands of  
“ one Thomas Kerrie. Whose leases Archbishop Lee did  
“ renew in 31 Henry VIII. And then did let to him in  
“ one lease, confirmed by the said Dean and Chapter, not  
“ only the said demeans, but also divers other of the  
“ said farms for fourscore years, with a covenant on the  
“ lessee’s part, (as had been before used,) that when any  
“ Archbishop of York, or any of his household, should be  
“ resident at his said mansion-house at Battersea, then the  
“ lessee, upon a month’s warning, should give up the occu-  
“ pying of the said demeans to the said Archbishop and his  
“ successors, so long as they or any of their household  
“ should remain there. And likewise the said Archbishop 246  
“ Lee, and the Archbishops Holgate and Heath, did let  
“ out all the rest of their lands, as well in Battersea as Bi-  
“ shopthorp, except such lands in Bishopthorp as were ever  
“ reserved in the Archbishop’s own hands.

“ The said lease made to Kerrie came after to one Hill,  
“ who, finding the weakness of the covenant contained in  
“ that lease, did cause the said demeans to be kept in til-  
“ lage. So that neither the Archbishop Holgate, Young,  
“ nor Grindal, had the same according to the meaning of the  
“ said lease. Whereupon there came much trouble and  
“ suit in law between the said Archbishops and the said  
“ Hill their farmer. Wherein Archbishop Young (that  
“ failed in his suit to evict the said lessee) paid above 60*l.*  
“ in costs and damages to the said Hill: who was hereby so  
“ puffed up, that he used Archbishop Grindal worse than he  
“ had used any of his predecessors; not only with arrogant  
“ speeches, but also in keeping the said demeans from him;  
“ and in suing his workmen that cut down some of his  
“ wood upon the said demeans, for his provision at Batter-  
“ sea in a parliament time. For defence of which suit such  
“ evidence was sought out, as seemed to contain sufficient  
“ matter for the disproof of the said Hill’s lease. Where-

**BOOK II.** " upon, after the said evidence had been considered by my  
Anno 1579. " Lord Chancellor, that then was her Majesty's Solicitor,  
 " Mr. Ayloff, now one of the Justices of the King's Bench,  
 " Mr. Ploidon, and Mr. Wilbram, and no doubt being  
 " by them made, why the said lands should not be reason-  
 " ably let in lease, there was by their advice a lease made  
 " by the said Dean and Chapter to the said late Arch-  
 " bishop of York for his life, according to the precedents  
 " of former leases of Bishopthorp and Battersea. And pre-  
 " sently after that, for the removing (if it could be) of the  
 " said Hill, that dealt with the said Archbishops so unre-  
 " sonably, contrary to the meaning of his lease, another  
 " lease was made (of that which the said Hill had) to Ri-  
 " chard Ratcliff and Richard Frampton [servants to the  
 " Archbishop] for twenty-one years, in such reasonable  
 " manner as was thought to give just cause to every suc-  
 " cessor to like well hereof, being made much more bene-  
 " ficial for the succession than any lease before made of the  
 " said demeans.

" And although the said now Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 " whilst he was Archbishop of York, did understand (after  
 " a verdict was given against the said Hill) that divers  
 " other leases at Battersea and Bishopthorp were much  
 " more clearly void in law, yet did he suffer no lease there  
 " (but only the lease of the said Hill, who had dealt so ill  
 " as aforesaid) to be impugned. But contrary, when he  
 " made new leases there, of such things whereof the old  
 " void leases were near expired, he bound the new lessees  
 " not to take any things of the old lessees at least during  
 " the years of their said old leases, which were so void in  
 " law.

" Seeing then the now Archbishop of Canterbury had his  
 " lease of Battersea long before he was like to be removed  
 " from York, (the late Archbishop of Canterbury then liv-  
 " ing,) and although his lease were made to him for his life  
 247 " according to the former precedents; yet he never took,  
 " nor went about to take, any benefit of his lease after his  
 " remove from York, although he forbore the cancelling

“ thereof for a time, lest thereby prejudice might come to CHAP.  
“ some that had leases there, of things usually letten, that X.  
“ the now Archbishop of York called in question: and see Anno 1579.  
“ ing the now Archbishop of Canterbury, after the taking  
“ of his said lease, and long before his remove from York,  
“ did among other things demise the said demeans, not  
“ only in more beneficial manner divers ways than any for-  
“ mer lease thereof was made, but also with such sure pro-  
“ vision for his successors, *viz.* that the lease is to become  
“ forfeit, if all the said fourscore acres of demeans be not  
“ upon warning left quietly to every Archbishop, when he  
“ shall be either at his house at Battersea, or within sixty  
“ miles thereof; I hope it may most reasonably be thought,  
“ that the said now Archbishop of Canterbury was not for  
“ the premises to be ill, but well thought of, in making so  
“ reasonable and beneficial a lease for the succession, to the  
“ lessees, which were to deal in a doubtful title for the  
“ evicting of the old troublesome tenant’s lease; the suit  
“ whereof (howsoever the title fell out) was like to be very  
“ chargeable; and so it hath proved.”

This is so largely related, to shew how well he deserved  
of his see, by preserving the rights and revenues of it.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Archbishop calls his diocese to prayers and humiliations, occasioned by an earthquake. The Council orders the same prayers throughout all the dioceses. He decides a difference in Merton college; and in the University of Cambridge, between the Doctors and Heads. Sends articles of inquiry for backsliders. Popish emissaries multiply. Some Bishops consecrated. Goes on with his metropolitical visitation. A Convocation. What was done therein. They petition the Queen for the Archbishop. He devises a form of penance to be used.*

Anno 1580. **T**HE beginning of this year 1580 was thought fit (especially a terrible earthquake happening) to be set apart for Prayers and devotions enjoined by the Archbishop. The beginning of this year 1580 was thought fit (especially a terrible earthquake happening) to be set apart for devotion and prayer, repentance and alms. Therefore the Archbishop was minded, that all his diocese should be exhorted and stirred up to these points of devotion, resorting publicly to the church, and at night each family privately to pray together. And Redman, his Archdeacon, and Lawse, his Commissary, had this letter and charge in order thereunto, for the peculiars in London, from his officer Dr. Aubrey.

248    "After my hearty commendations premised; My Lord, Grind. Reg. "his Grace's pleasure is, that with all convenient speed you "shall give order to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate of "the peculiar jurisdiction of the deanery of the Arches in "London, that they exhort their parishioners to resort "devoutly to their churches upon Wednesdays and Fri- "days, to hear some short exhortations to repentance, "either by preaching or homilies, with other service of the "day. And that they do of their own accord, without "constraint of law, spare those days one meal, converting "the same, or some part thereof, to the relief of the poor. "Calling also their households together at night, to make "hearty prayer to God, to shew mercy to us who have de- "served his anger. And that with the Litany they join

“ such Psalms and prayers as they shall choose, or devise, CHAP.  
 “ fit for that purpose. And thus I bid you heartily well XI.  
 “ to fare. London, April 12, 1580.” The like order he Anno 1580.  
 gave forth for his whole diocese.

The earthquake before mentioned was of that violence, A great  
 that it affected all with a great consternation. Nor do I earthquake.  
 think it amiss to relate what Camden writ of it. “ The History of  
 “ sixth day of April, at six of the clock in the *evening*, the Queen Eli-  
 “ air being clear and calm, England on this side York,  
 “ and the Netherland almost as high as Colen, in a mo-  
 “ ment as it were fell a trembling in such a manner, that in  
 “ some places stones fell down from buildings, the *bells*  
 “ in steeples struck against the clappers, and the very sea,  
 “ which as then was very calm, was vehemently tost and  
 “ moved to and fro. The *night* following, the ground in  
 “ Kent trembled two or three times: and the like again on  
 “ the first of May in the dead time of the *night*.”

This earthquake and the abovesaid injunction was taken notice of by the Lords of the Council, April 23. And whereas the Archbishop had upon this account directed an order for prayers and humble devotion, and composed a prayer for *families* throughout his diocese, they authorized the same by their allowance and approbation; and moreover required him to enjoin the observation of it in all other dioceses, by this letter of theirs directed to him:

“ After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Coun-  
 “ Considering the state of this time, whercin it hath pleased cil to the  
 “ the Most Highest, for the amendment of all sorts of Archibishop  
 “ people, to visit the most parts of this realm with the late  
 “ terrible *earthquake*, as an extraordinary token of his  
 “ wrath against them, and fatherly admonition to turn  
 “ from their offences, and contempt of his holy word, as  
 “ also of his infinite goodness and mercy to deal more fa-  
 “ vorable with us therein, than he hath dealt with other  
 “ nations in the like case; in that we (thanks be unto  
 “ his majesty) have received no great hurt thereby, in  
 “ comparison of that they have had sundry times hereto-  
 “ fore by the like occasion; whereby not only their houses

**BOOK II.** “ and cities have been overthrown and destroyed, but also  
 many thousands of people have pitifully perished.

**Anno 1580.** “ And that understanding that you have considered

**249** “ upon and appointed a good and convenient order of  
 “ prayer, and other exercises to be used in all the parish  
 “ churches of your diocese upon Wednesdays and Fridays  
 “ for the turning of God’s wrath from us, threatened by  
 “ the said *earthquake*; with a godly prayer for the like re-  
 “ spect, to be used of householders with their *families*: we  
 “ do not only commend and allow your good zeal therein,  
 “ but also think the same to be very meet to be generally  
 “ used in all other dioceses of this realm; requiring you to  
 “ give order, that in every of the same the said wholesome  
 “ and godly order of prayer may, for the respect aforesaid,  
 “ be executed, followed, and obeyed, during such time as  
 “ you think meet. And so we bid your Lordship most  
 “ heartily well to fare. From the Court, April 23, 1580.

“ Your loving friends,

“ T. Bromely, Cane. W. Burghley, F. Knollys,  
 “ R. Leicester, J. Croftes, C. Hatton,  
 “ T. Sussex, F. Bedford, F. Walsingham,  
 “ T. Wylyon, W. Mildmay.”

According to the tenor whereof the Archbishop sent out his orders.

Decides a difference in Merton college.

In this month of April, the Archbishop was concerned in deciding a difference in Merton college Oxon, where he was visitor. It was between the Warden and Fellows on one part, and Will. Wilks, a Fellow there, on the other, who had taken the vicarage of St. Peter’s in Oxford. Where, by the statutes of the house, for the value of it, he was adjudged by the house to have lost his fellowship. He on the other hand reckoning himself wronged, appealed to the Privy Council. They remitted him and his cause to the Archbishop; who, after due consideration of the statute, decreed the matter in favour of Wilks. The decree

Grind. Reg. began, *Edmundus Dei Providentia Cant. Archiepiscopus—dilecto nobis in Christo custodi—sociis et scholaribus col-*

*legii sive aulae de Merton, &c.* Dated April 22, 1580. CHAP.  
The English letter that accompanied it will explain to us \_\_\_\_\_  
the contents thereof; which was as followeth : Anno 1580.

“ Where I have [am] given to understand, that there is <sup>writes to</sup> them.  
 “ a question and doubt made amongst you, whether Mr.  
 “ Will. Wilks, this bearer, one of the Fellows of your col-  
 “ lege, should by the statutes lose his place there, for that  
 “ he hath accepted the vicarage of St. Peter’s in the East,  
 “ within the city of Oxford; and being moved by letters  
 “ from certain of her Majesty’s Privy Council, and other-  
 “ wise, to decide the controversy: I have thought good  
 “ therefore to certify you, that I have considered of the  
 “ place of that statute that giveth the occasion of the  
 “ doubt, and also of the value of that vicarage, by such  
 “ means as for that time I could inform myself. And there-  
 “ fore I have under the seal of my office sent unto you my  
 “ order, which I require you hereby quietly to observe and  
 “ allow, until you, according to the true tenor thereof,  
 “ shall prove some further matter otherwise to move me. 250  
 “ And so I commit you all to the tuition and government  
 “ of the Almighty.” Observe here the Archbishop acteth  
 in his own name. But to this order they were disobedient,  
 as we shall hear hereafter.

Soon after, in the month of June, his experience and wisdom was required and made use of in a controversy <sup>Employed in a contro-  
versy hap-</sup> arisen in the other University, *viz.* that of Cambridge; <sup>pening in</sup> where a contention arose between the Vice-Chancellor and <sup>the Univer-</sup> Doctors of the town on the one part, and the Masters and <sup>city of Cam-  
bridge.</sup> Heads of the colleges on the other, touching two graces lately propounded by the late Vice-Chancellor in favour of the Doctors of the town and others. Wherewith the Doctors being Heads found themselves aggrieved, for that such graces should be propounded and proceeded in without their privity, as they pretended, against the late statutes and ordinances of her Majesty. Hereupon the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of that University, earnestly prayed our Archbishop, for that either party had sent up one, *viz.* for the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Barrow; and for the Heads

**BOOK** of the colleges, Dr. Howland, Master of St. John's college;   
 II. \_\_\_\_\_ to open unto him as well the reasons of the one, as the  
 Anno 1580. grieves of the other, for the proceedings; that he would do  
 the said Lord the pleasure and ease, at that present, being  
 busily occupied at Court about great causes, as to hear  
 both parties, and to examine the same, which he the rather  
 desired his Grace's travail in, for that he was sure the Uni-  
 versity and their statutes were better known unto his  
 Grace, than unto him. He left this business either to him-  
 self alone, or to call any other that had been of that Univer-  
 sity to assist him therein, as he should see cause. Whereby,  
 as the Chancellor added, he should do a godly act in mak-  
 ing peace between them, and do him a great good turn.  
 And what he should think meet, he [the Chancellor] should  
 do for the stay of these innovations, to signify to him; and  
 also what his opinion and advice should be, for quieting  
 and ordering this contention.

The Archbishop accordingly took this matter into his hand, and the last day of June signified to him the sum of his thoughts concerning it. Which I choose to set down in the Archbishop's own words.

The Archbishop signifies his judgment in this matter.

“ After my right hearty commendations to your good  
 “ Lordship. According to the request of your Lordship's  
 “ late letter, I have had before me this forenoon (being ac-  
 “ companied with my neighbour Mr. Dean of Westmin-  
 “ ster) Mr. Dr. Howland and Dr. Barrow, and heard at  
 “ some length what each party could say; and have  
 “ thought good to send unto your Lordship herein the  
 “ substance of that which was uttered on both sides.

“ The controversy did stand in two principal points.  
 “ First, Whether these two late graces were disorderly  
 “ and somewhat fraudulently obtained.  
 “ Secondly, Whether the very matter and substance of  
 “ the graces were against the statutes.

251 “ In the first matter we did not dwell long, being a mat-  
 “ ter of circumstance. Yet thus much we perceived; that  
 “ in the manner of proceeding for the obtaining the said  
 “ graces, things were handled (though not directly against

“ the words of the statute,) yet with some cunning and CHAP.  
 “ fineness, and not so sincerely as were to be wished in XI.  
 “ such cases, and with such circumstance. Anno 1580.

“ About the second we stood most: wherein Dr. Howland alleged the precise words of the statute, cap. 34. “ that the *pricking*, as they term it, of officers is by special privilege in the same statute reserved to the Heads of houses; and by a latter interpretation from your Lordship, to the Heads, or their deputies.

“ To that Mr. Dr. Barrow allegeth another statute, cap. 42. entitled *De Officio Cancellarii*, wherein is a branch, “ that the Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, may make new statutes, with this proviso, *Sic ut hiis decretis nostris nihil detrahant aut officiant*: ‘ Which in this case,’ saith Dr. Barrow, ‘ this new statute, to adjoin the Doctors to the Heads of colleges, doth not; although Mr. Dean and I are of contrary opinions, referring the determination to your Lordship.’ The said Mr. Barrow, for further defence, allegeth another statute, made by grace, as these two last were, concerning the Scrutators: which office is now brought from free election appointed by the Queen’s Majesty’s statute, cap. 36. to go in course by combination as the office of the Proctors doth. To this Dr. Howland answered, that he believed your Lordship was made privy to the alteration of that statute for the Scrutators; and added further, that if error were committed in that, it was no sufficient warrantize for other errors afterwards to be attempted; and especially for these late errors in these two last graces. And thus much in substance was alleged on both parts for the former grace, to adjoin Doctors to the Heads for election of offices.

“ For the second grace, that Heads of colleges, being Divines, should be bound to preach in course as other younger men do; Dr. Howland alleging, that by express words of her Majesty’s statute, cap. 11. they are not bound further than their own free good-will shall move them. The words be these: *Post tantum laboris suscep-*

BOOK " *tum, et tot pericula atque examina nolumus plus laboris*

II.

" *Doctoribus imponere, quam ipsi volunt sua sponte sus-*  
Anno 1580. " *cipere.* Dr. Barrow, besides some glance at the usual

" commonplace, that Heads ought to give good exam-  
" ple, &c. alleged, that another of the Queen's statutes,  
" which appointeth order only for sermons to be had on  
" Sundays before noon, was altered by grace to sermons  
" on Sundays and holydays, both forenoon and afternoon.  
" Which was answered to be no derogation to the Queen's  
" statute, but contrariwise rather a more ample accomplish-  
" ing of the same.

" A little was said also by Dr. Barrow of the interpreta-  
" tion of another statute, wherein is declared that it shall  
" suffice to dispute twice against a Master of Art answer-  
" ing in Divinity, where the words of the statute be, a  
" man for his form to proceed in Divinity should dispute

252 " twice against a Bachelor in Divinity. And yet was  
" it thought by Dr. Howland, that your Lordship's con-  
" sent was given to all the said interpretations and altera-  
" tions. And surely for the time to come, I wish your  
" Lordship should give strait charge that no alteration or  
" interpretation of statute hereafter do pass by grace, be-  
" fore the same have been seen and allowed by your Lord-  
" ship.

The Arch-  
bishop  
shews the  
Chancellor  
of the Uni-  
versity his  
opinion. " Now where your Lordship is desirous to know mine  
" opinion for quieting and ordering of this contention, I  
" know your Lordship of yourself can best do it; and I  
" count the University happy that it hath you for Chan-  
" cellor in these unquiet times. Your wisdom and author-  
" ity may work more good with them than could be done  
" otherwise. Notwithstanding I will most gladly impart  
" mine opinion; which is this: I think it very requisite  
" that these last graces should remain as dashed, and not  
" put in execution. The example will do harm, if the  
" Queen's statutes be thus tossed, and the plain meaning  
" of them overthrown. So that some mild admonition from  
" your Lordship, joined with exhortation to concord and  
" amity, I trust, will pacify the now Vice-Chancellor and

“ the Regents, &c. who have of long time repined at that CHAP.  
“ statute for elections by the Heads: although the altering \_\_\_\_\_ XI.  
“ of it (in mine opinion) would be occasion of many bitter Anno 1580.  
“ contentions. And especially they will remain the better  
“ satisfied, if your Lordship some way signify, that if the  
“ Heads have any way abused their privileges, they will see  
“ it reformed for the time to come.

“ On the other side, (for the Heads I mean,) I wish  
“ that your Lordship should admonish and exhort them  
“ also to use their authority well and indifferently, to  
“ choose the best learned for their lectures; and for the  
“ Vice-Chancellor always to prick two fit men, and never  
“ hereafter to practise; that of the two nominated, one  
“ should be an unfit man, and as it were a *stale*, to bring  
“ the office to the other, (which they did now in nominat-  
“ ing Dr. Hatcher, and taste of the fruits thereof,) which  
“ ministereth a just offence to the rest of the University.

“ I wish also that the Heads which are Divines should  
“ be exhorted to preach diligently without compulsion:  
“ which will satisfy in the other point.

“ And further, when the Vice-Chancellor sendeth for as-  
“ sistance in conferences in public matters, I would like  
“ well of it, if he sent also for the Doctors of Law and  
“ Physic to join with the Heads; it would be some con-  
“ tentation to them. And indeed so it was most usually  
“ (though not always) practised in my time.

“ This is my simple opinion, to the which Mr. Dean also  
“ agreeth: referring notwithstanding the whole order to  
“ your Lordship. I have warned Dr. Howland and Dr.  
“ Barrow to be with your Lordship to-morrow morning. I  
“ make the more haste, because I wish things quieted be-  
“ fore the Commencement.

“ I do greatly commend the sentences of humility and 253  
“ submission contained in the letters of the University to  
“ your Lordship. God keep your Lordship. From Lam-  
“ beth this last of June 1580.

“ Your Lordship's in Christ,  
“ Edm. Cantuar.”

**BOOK II.** How well the Lord Burghley approved of the Archbishop's

**Anno 1580.** advice may appear, in that the very next day (*viz.* July 1.)  
The Chancellor sends his orders to the University, and the other to the Heads of the houses: which latter let me here exemplify.

" I have received your letters by Dr. Howland, Master of St. John's college. By which, and by his report, I have understood many more particular things than presently I am at leisure to answer by writing. But considering the state of the controversies arisen, both for lack of good leisure, and doubting mine own understanding in such academical questions, I did commend the whole causes with all appendances to my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury's good grace, to be by him considered at length, and to advertise to me his opinion: which he hath done at good length. And therein, after a further private weighing of the matters, I have at one instant time imparted my determination to both the messengers, Mr. D. Howland and Mr. D. Barrow. And for a fuller satisfaction of the Vice-Chancellor and the body of the University, I have at more length than well my leisure served me for greater matters at this time concerning her Majesty, written, or rather in haste scribbled, my letters. To which I doubt not, but Mr. Vice-Chancellor will make you, with the rest, acquainted. And therefore I omit to repeat the same unto you, praying you, as heads or fathers of great families, so to behave yourselves in temperance, as concord may rest in your families; and that for no particular interest in gain or preferment the public bands of charity be broken. But as you can teach us your scholars under your pupils, so in your own actions let it appear that every one of yourselves can forgive the errors of others.

" And though I do disannul both the graces, which are different in nature, yet for the latter tending to increase preaching, though by any new law you be not compelled, yet see that you be a law to yourselves. That of *non docendo* you keep not the name of *Doctores*. And so by

"haste I end. From the Court at Nonsuch, *primo Julii* CHAP.  
"1580." And thus much for *University matters*. XI.

The state was awakened at this time by reports concerning a great many in the nation that formerly came to church, and were conformable to the laws of the realm in matters of religion; but now fell off, and forbore any more to resort to the public service. Whereat the Queen admired, and was apt to lay the blame upon the Bishops; to whom she had granted an ecclesiastical commission for the taking cognizance, and punishment of such things. Wherefore the Lords issued out their letters to the Arch-<sup>254</sup> bishop, for to have all such backsliders and neglectors of religion punished by such as attended the execution of the said commission. And that inquiry should be made concerning such as had been before converted, how they stood as to conformity. And if they were at liberty, and still remained obstinate, to be again taken up. That especial notice should be taken of such as had the education of children; that they should be chiefly looked unto: lest, if their principles were not sound, they might do much harm in their influence upon those that were under them. But I had rather set down the letter of the Lords to our Archbishop, whereby this affair will appear more clear and plain.

"After our hearty commendations: whereas the Queen The Coun-  
"hath been informed, that divers persons within the pro- cil to the  
"vince of Canterbury, both of the common and better concerning  
"sort, who of late time have been conformable to the laws some that  
"of this realm concerning religion, are now fallen off.  
"and have withdrawn themselves from coming to church,  
"to the evil example of other her Majesty's good subjects,  
"and to the great offence of her Highness, who doth not a  
"little marvel by what means this relapse should happen;  
"having delivered sufficient authority unto your Lordship,  
"and others joined unto you, by virtue of her Commission Commis-  
"Ecclesiastical, warranted by the laws of this realm, where- sion Eccle-  
"by you might at all times have repressed the insolency siastical.  
"and corrected the disobedience of such as therein should

**BOOK II.** “ have presumed to offend, if such care and vigilancy had  
 been used within your charge as appertaineth.

**Anno 1580.** “ Her Highness’s pleasure therefore is, that for the pre-  
 sent reforming and punishing those that have, and do  
 herein disobey the laws, you give order to have them  
 forthwith convented before such as do attend the execu-  
 tion of her Majesty’s High Commission, and proceeded  
 withal according to the direction of the said High Com-  
 mission. And first, that consideration being had of such  
 as have been heretofore convented before the High Com-  
 missioners, in what terms they stand for their conformity;  
 how many of them are at liberty; and in what sort;  
 and how many do remain committed, and where. And  
 such of them as shall be found at liberty, and do con-  
 tinue obstinate, to be returned to prison; and such fur-  
 ther order to be taken with them and the rest, as is pre-  
 scribed in the said Commission.

**School-  
 masters.** “ And for as much as a great deal of the corruption in  
 religion grown throughout the realm, proceedeth of lewd  
 schoolmasters, that teach and instruct children as well  
 publicly as privately in men’s houses; infecting each-  
 where the youth without regard had thereunto, (a matter  
 of no small moment, and chiefly to be looked unto by  
 every Bishop within his diocese,) it is thought meet for  
 redress thereof, that you cause all such schoolmasters as  
 have charge of children, and do instruct them either in  
 public schools or in private houses, to be by the Bishop  
 of the diocese, or such as he shall appoint, examined  
 touching their religion: and if any shall be found cor-  
 rupt and unworthy, to be displaced, and proceeded withal  
 as other recusants; and fit and sound persons placed in  
 their rooms.

255 “ And to the end her Majesty may understand what  
 shall be from time to time done in the execution of the  
 said Commission, to give order, that certificate be made  
 of the proceedings in the said Commission unto us of her  
 Majesty’s Privy Council. Wherein not doubting but  
 you will answer her Majesty’s good expectation, accord-

“ ing to the trust reposed in you, we bid your Lordship CHAP.  
 “ heartily farewell. From the Court at Nonsuch, 18th XI.  
 “ June, 1580.” Anno 1580.

In obedience to which, the Archbishop issued out his mandate to his officers, June the 21st, to make diligent inquisition throughout his diocese of the contents of the Council's letters. And for the more effectual doing whereof, he sent withal Articles of Inquiry enclosed; which were as follow:

“ *Imprimis*, Diligently to inquire what persons within The Arch-  
 “ your parish or charge, of what degree or calling soever bishop's  
 “ they be, do absent themselves from their parish church Articles of  
 “ upon pretence of conscience or religion; and how long Inquiry for  
 “ they have so done. recusants. Grind. Reg.

2. “ *Item*, What persons have of late absented them-  
 “ selves from their parish church upon contempt or pre-  
 “ tence aforesaid, that heretofore resorted thereunto.

3. “ *Item*, What persons do you know within your pa-  
 “ rish that have been heretofore convented before the Queen's  
 “ Majesty's High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, for  
 “ religion; and especially for not coming to church, that  
 “ are at liberty, and yet have not conformed themselves.

4. “ *Item*, What schoolmasters are within your parish,  
 “ and what their names are that teach publicly, or privately  
 “ within any man's house within your parish, of what state,  
 “ calling, or condition soever he or they be; in whose  
 “ house or houses any such schoolmaster or teacher is.

5. “ *Item*, Whether any such schoolmaster, or school-  
 “ masters, is reported, known, or suspected to be backward  
 “ in the religion now established by the laws of this realm,  
 “ that are thought any way to be secret hinderers thereof.”

The Archbishop wrote also to the Bishop of London, Writes to  
 signifying the foresaid message from above; desiring him the Bishop  
 with all convenient speed to see the contents of the letter for the exe-  
 duly executed; and also to send his letters to all the rest cution of  
 of the Bishops of his province where the sees were full:  
 and that he himself minded by his officers to take order for  
 the sees vacant; and to send to every of them several co-

**BOOK II.** pies of the Council's said letters ; requiring them, and every Anno 1580. of them, carefully and effectually, as they would answer the contrary, to see all the same executed in every of their dioceses, and to certify him of their proceedings. That he might return certificates thereof to the Lords of the Council.

**Sees vacant.** The sees vacant, which the Archbishop himself by his officers took care of, as was mentioned before, were Oxford, Winton, Coventry and Litchfield, Gloucester and Bristol.

**256** The ground of all this trouble was the secret coming in of emissaries from the Pope (being English youth bred up in seminaries abroad) with instructions to pervert the people from their allegiance to the Queen and the religion established ; by persuading them of the damnable danger they ran themselves into by casting off the Bishop of Rome. The Parsons and chief of these were Parsons and Campion, Jesuits. The **Campion.** latter whereof came into England this year. And after he had been scouting up and down the nation to do mischief, was taken, committed to the Tower, and executed the year ensuing. By his, and his fellow's labours, backed with the Pope's bulls and indulgences, to such as they could deceive, grew a considerable defection from religion. Hence the state began to be awakened, and called again into question those of the Roman persuasion, to whom it had before granted much favour ; in setting free those of them that had been imprisoned, and winking at the rest, while they remained quiet.

We have the Archbishop employed again in another business, pertaining to his archiepiscopal office.

**Consecrates Watson and Overton Bishops.** For John Watson, Dean of Winchester, the see being void by the death of Horne, late Bishop, succeeded, and was confirmed, Sept. 16, 1580. and consecrated, Sunday the 18th following, in the chapel of Croyden, by the Archbishop, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of Rochester assisting : these being present, David Lewis, William Clark, Bartholomew Clark, William Lewen, LL. DD. William Wilson and John Sapcotts, the Archbishop's Chaplains, with others. Also William Overton, a learned and a pious

man, D.D. a dignitary in the churches of Chichester and CHAP.  
XI.  
Salisbury, was, upon the death of Bentham, the last Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
of Coventry and Litchfield, appointed to succeed in the Anno 1580.  
see ; and was confirmed, Friday the 16th of December, [Septem-  
ber I suppose,] in Bow church, and consecrated Sept. 18.  
following, by the Archbishop, John Bishop of London  
and John Bishop of Rochester assisting.

The metropolitical visitation, which the Archbishop had begun, upon his entrance into the archbishopric, was for some years intermittent by reason of his troubles. But Goes on  
with his vi-  
sitation. now in this year it revived again. For there was such a visitation for the church of Peterborough instituted May Peterbo-  
the 13th. For that was the date of the Commission ; which rough visit-  
ed. was issued out, not from the Archbishop, but from William Aubrey and William Clark, LL. DD. exercising the office of Vicar General and Principal Official, to John Dey of the University of Oxford, James Ellis, LL. D. and Richard Bancroft, B. D. And so from this year 1580. onward in the years 1581, 1582, 1583. the visitations of several churches were on foot, the Commission for them all issuing out from Aubrey ; as though the Archbishop still remained under sequestration, as we shall relate in due place.

A Convocation was held this year, meeting at St. Paul's ; A Convoca-  
tion. wherein (though Fuller call it a *silent convocation*) were Church various weighty matters treated of, and laboured to be rati- Hist. book fied. As concerning making of Ministers ; concerning Fa- ix. p. 135.  
culties ; concerning commutation of penance and excommu-  
nication. Wherein our good Archbishop, though under 257  
this cloud, and not appearing, (but Elmer, Bishop of London, being in his room at the head of this Synod,) yet had a great hand : labouring for some good reformation of things still amiss in the Church.

But the Synod wanting their head, the Archbishop, (who The Synod  
petition for  
the Archbi-  
shop. by reason of his being sequestered or confined came not to it,) at their first meeting together drew up an humble petition to the Queen to restore him to his place. And it was done by the elegant pen of Toby Matthew, Dean of Christ's

**BOOK II.** Church, in their name. Which petition is extant in Fuller's Church History. It set forth, "how exceedingly grievous they were, that the most reverend Father, after so many years, should fall into so great and so durable an offence of her Majesty. That he was a man that did not often offend; and but once in his life seemed to have displeased her; and that not so much with a wilful mind, as by a tender conscience. Of which so great was the force, that eminent authors and the best men had writ, that whatsoever was done, the conscience reclaiming, or erring or doubting, was done amiss, and to be condemned as no little sin. That the Archbishop had led a life, free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime; preserved his religion from all, not only corruption of Popery, but from schism, and had suffered persecution for righteousness sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the Gospel. Therefore they most humbly and unanimously beseeched her, not only to lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the Church to him, and him to the Church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and in a word, to all pious people. And for their own parts they promised her, if she would grant this their supplication, they would never be wanting in their care of settling the Church, in propagating religion, in taking away schisms, and in being mindful of and thankful for this favour." But all this address proved ineffectual.

Now I will set down some brief journal of this Convocation 1580.

**Journal of it.** The first session was on Tuesday, Jan. 17. when the Bishops meeting in the chapter-house of St. Paul, and the Extract of Synods, presented Litany said in English, an instrument of substitution being nes Rev. sent to the Bishop of London from our Archbishop, the said Fra. Atterbury, D. D. Bishop took the said charge upon him. And then willed Decan. Carliol. the Clergy of the lower house to choose a Prolocutor, (the former Prolocutor, *viz.* Whitgift, being now made a Bishop,) commanding to them three very reverend Deans; Humfrey,

Dean of Winchester; Day, Dean of Windsor ; and Goodman, Dean of Westminster. CHAP. XI.

The next session, Jan. 25, Dr. Day was presented Pro- locutor by Matthew, Dean of Christ's Church Oxon, and Mullins, Archdeacon of London, the speech being made by the former, an eloquent man : and so he was confirmed. Then the Bishops discoursed among themselves of certain things to be reformed in the Church.

The third session, Jan. 27, the Bishops being met in the chapter-house, the Bishop of London, presiding in the Convocation, produced certain letters of the Lords of the Privy Council, written to the most reverend Father, concerning certain errors and heretical opinions, broached by a new sect of heretics, commonly called *the family of love*. Which being read, the said President and the other reverend Fathers had discourse for a while concerning the contents of the said letter : and also for some reformatiōes to be had against such as refused to conform themselves to the religion received in this kingdom of England, and established by public authority.

This done, the Prolocutor and six others were called up, and the said letter, together with a copy of the bill conceived in writing for reformation to be had and provided against the foresaid recusants, was delivered to them. And lastly, the President commanded the said Prolocutor and the Clergy to enter into deliberation concerning the manner and form of a subsidy to be granted the Queen.

This was the work cut out for the lower house.

In the fifth session, Friday Feb. 3. the Bishops being set, the Prolocutor, and four other of the lower house, came before them : who said, they had treated for some time with the Bishops in writing upon certain Articles against the abovesaid new sect of heretics.

And in the afternoon of the same day, being the sixth session, the Bishops being met, they took into their consideration the Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at West-

**BOOK II.** minster by prorogation anno 1575. and drew out of them  
 certain chapters, which they thought more necessary, in-  
 Anno 1580. tending to offer them to be confirmed by act of Parliament.

In another session, Febr. 17, the subsidy was engrossed, and agreed upon to be presented to the Queen by the Bishops of London, Winton, Lincoln, St. David's, Sarum, and Wigorn. But concerning the businesses of the *family of love, &c.* nothing was further agitated nor concluded. And many sessions spent unprofitably until the 2d of March, when the Bishop of London adjourned the house, with the consent of his brethren, to the 25th of April 1581. Which day being come, the Queen by her writ put it off till a further time.

**Articles endeavoured begotten enacted.** Those chapters mentioned before, drawn out of the Articles agreed upon in a former Synod, which this Synod laboured to have enacted, I am able to give some account of, out of an authentic paper endorsed, *Articles delivered to the Lords from the Lower House of Parliament*: as though they had passed the Lower House. On which also is Grindal's own hand written. For this consult the Appendix.

**The contents of them.** The sum of these Articles were, "that no Bishop should make any Minister, but of the full age of four and twenty, and a Graduate, or at least able to give an account in Latin of the Thirty-nine Articles, and to note the sentences of Scripture whereupon those Articles were grounded. And any presentee to a benefice, not so qualified, should not be instituted by any Bishop upon pain of suspension to be inflicted on him by the Archbishop, from making of Ministers for two years.

**259** "That henceforth there should be no commutation of penance, but in rare respects; as the dignity of the person, or for fear of some desperate event. And then the penalty of money to be large, according to the person's ability. And even then the person so excused should make some satisfaction in the parish church, by declaring his repentance and sorrowful mind.

"That more strait punishment be assigned for adul-

“ tery, fornication, and incest ; as imprisonment, open pen- CHAP.  
“ ance in markets, &c. XI.

“ That no dispensations be granted for marrying without Anno 1580.  
“ banns, but under sufficient large bonds, with certain con-  
“ ditions.

“ None to have dispensation for plurality of benefices,  
“ but such as by their learning were worthy, and best able  
“ to discharge the same. That he be a known Preacher,  
“ and be bound to reside at each benefice some reasonable  
“ time in the year.”

And whereas the censure of excommunication, as exe-Excommu-  
nicated by lay persons in ecclesiastical courts, was much dis-  
liked by the Archbishop and the other Bishops, and espe-  
cially being used upon such slight occasions sometimes ; a

thing which made the Church so clamoured against ; there-  
fore the Upper House had earnestly recommended the consi-  
deration of this matter to the Lower House ; and they gave  
their judgment as follows, “ that excommunication might The Synod's  
“ not be taken away wholly from ecclesiastical judges, judgment  
of it.  
“ having been always used to be inflicted by them ; and the  
“ alteration of that punishment being accompanied with so  
“ many difficulties, to the interrupting almost of all ecclesi-  
“ astical jurisdiction, unless many other matters of bodily  
“ punishment were granted in the room of it. Which they  
“ thought in these days would be more offensive. And  
“ they desired that certain honest persons, skilled in the  
“ law ecclesiastical, might open to them the inconveniences  
“ that would ensue ; and how hardly this point would  
“ abide alteration.”

But about the reformation of the abuse of this Church-Excommu-  
censure there was much agitation in this Synod. And one nication to  
there was (who I am apt to believe was our Archbishop, or be reform-  
some one of his officers) drew up a writing, shewing an ex-  
pedient for keeping up the authority of the spiritual courts,  
against such as contemned and disobeyed them ; whereby  
they incurred the crime of contumacy, commonly punished  
by excommunication : in the room whereof he propounded,  
that that censure should be wholly abolished ; but the con-

**BOOK II.** sequence of it after forty days (*viz.* imprisonment) should remain in force. And that instead of the writ *de excommunicando*, Anno 1580, *cato capiendo*, should be a writ *de contemptore jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ capiendo*. This is a very good paper, which Num. XV. I have also reposed in the Appendix. The writer shewed that this terrible Church-censure was very sparingly to be used; as formerly it was only in case of heresy, usury, simony, piracy, conspiracy against Princes, disturbing of the common peace of the Church or State, murder, sacrilege, perjury, incest, adultery, false witness, and such like. And that in all crimes of the most heinous and horrible nature excommunications might be pronounced by the Archbishops or Bishops in their own persons, as was wont 260 to be in the primitive Church. But as to alteration of laws ecclesiastical, it had been a true observation from time to time, that it never happened, but whatever fair appearance it had, it turned ever to some notable prejudice.

The Arch-bishop's care about it.

The handling of this weighty subject of *excommunication*, which had been so abused hitherto, (though upon it the discipline of the Church did so much depend,) was owing in a great measure to our Archbishop, who earnestly recommended the consideration and reformation of it to this Synod. To that which was already moved concerning this matter, I shall mention another paper put in, to be considered of the same argument. The substance whereof was, that *excommunication* should be used only in greater crimes; and that in less, *suspension* and *imprisonment*, together with the manner how either should be inflicted. The paper was as follows.

*Propositions to be considered of.*

Another paper put in for the reforming this Church-censure. “First, To name those crimes which are termed *graviora*, i. e. more grievous, [for which *excommunication* was only to be inflicted.]

“Secondly, In greater crimes, if the party appear not after the third citation, (every one containing the crimes laid to his charge,) then to be excommunicated.

“So in lesser crimes, or in causes between party and

“ party, if he that is cited do not appear upon the first citation, then *facta fide* of the serving of it, he may be pronounced *contumax*. If upon the second citation he continue his obstinacy, then *facta fide*, he may be fined. And thirdly, if that will not avail, then he may be suspended *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ*, if a layman; or *a beneficio*, if he be a Clerk. Fourthly, and if all the premises will not bring him in, then the Bishop may have authority to send his warrant to the Sheriff, or some Justice of the Peace, for the attaching of the party, and committing him to prison, until he enter bond with sufficient sureties to appear, and pay the charges past.

“ Secondly, If any sentence given, the party appear not at the time appointed, *quum sententia debeat executioni mandari*, then to be suspended. And if he continue so by the space of a month, then to be imprisoned, either by the Bishop himself, or by his warrant, as before, till he conform himself to the said sentence.”

But besides these cares about the due and regular execu-  
tion of this highest censure of the Church, another business  
lay also before this Convocation, namely, *penance* for open  
sins, another great and necessary part of ecclesiastical disci-  
pline. This also needed reformation. And herein the The Arch-  
Archbishop contributed his pains: that it might not be bishop pre-  
performed only as a matter of form, but produce a good scribes a  
effect, to bring the sinner to amendment; and to serve as a  
seasonable warning and example to all. Therefore did he  
himself devise a form of penance to be for the future ob-  
served; and laid it before the Synod. Which I shall here  
set down.

“ First, I wish at every public penance a sermon, if it be 261  
possible, be had. Secondly, In the same sermon the griev-  
ousness of the offence is to be opened; the party to be shop's di-  
exhorted to unfeigned repentance, with assurance of God's it.  
mercy, if they so do; and doubling of their damnation,  
if they remain either obstinate, or feign repentance where  
none is, and so lying to the Holy Ghost. Thirdly,

**BOOK II.** “ Where no sermon is, there let a homily be read, meet for  
 Anno 1580. “ the purpose. Fourthly, Let the offender be set directly  
 over against the pulpit, during the sermon or homily, and  
 there stand bareheaded with the sheet, or other accustomed  
 note of difference; and that upon some board raised a  
 foot and a half, at least, above the church floor; that  
 they may be *in loco editiore, et eminentiores omni populo;*  
 i. e. in an higher place, and above all the people. Fifth-  
 ly, *Item,* It is very requisite that the Preacher, in some  
 place of his sermon, or the Curate after the end of the  
 homily, remaining still in the pulpit, shall publicly inter-  
 rogate the offenders, whether they do confess their fault,  
 and whether they do truly repent: and that the said of-  
 fenders or penitents should answer directly every one  
 after another, (if they be many,) much like to this short  
 form following, *mutatis mutandis.*

**Interroga-**  
**tories to be**  
**put to the**  
**penitent.** “ *Preacher.* Dost thou not here before God, and this  
 congregation assembled in his name, confess that thou  
 didst commit such an offence, *viz.* fornication, adultery,  
 incest, &c.?

“ *Penitent.* I do confess it before God and this congre-  
 gation.

“ *Preacher.* Dost thou not also confess, that in so  
 doing thou hast not only grievously offended against the  
 majesty of God in breaking his commandment, and so de-  
 served everlasting damnation, but also hast offended the  
 Church of God by thy wicked example?

“ *Penitent.* All this I confess unfeignedly.

“ *Preacher.* Art thou truly and heartily sorrowful for  
 this thine offence?

“ *Penitent.* I am from the bottom of my heart.

“ *Preacher.* Dost thou ask God and this congregation  
 heartily forgiveness for thy sin and offence: and dost  
 thou faithfully promise from henceforth to live a godly  
 and Christian life, and never to commit the like offence  
 again?

“ *Penitent.* I do ask God and this congregation heartily

“ forgiveness for my sin and offence: and do faithfully CHAP.  
 “ promise from henceforth to live a godly and Christian life, \_\_\_\_\_ XI.  
 “ and never to commit the like offence again. Anno 1580.

“ This done, the Preacher or Minister may briefly speak  
 “ what they think meet for the time, place, and person :  
 “ desiring in the end the congregation present to pray to  
 “ God for the penitent, &c. and the rather, if they see any  
 “ good signs of repentance in the said penitent.

“ Provided always, that order be given by the Ordinaries,  
 “ when they assign penances, that if the penitents do shew  
 “ themselves irreverent or impenitent at their penances,  
 “ that then their punishments be reiterated; and be re-  
 “ moved from the church to the market-place. That though 262  
 “ themselves may thereby seem incorrigible, yet their pub-  
 “ lic shame may be a terror to others.

“ If the Ordinary see cause to commute the wearing  
 “ of the sheet only, (for other commutation I wish none,)  
 “ then appoint a good portion of money to be delivered  
 “ immediately after the penance done in form aforesaid by  
 “ the penitent himself to the collectors for the poor; with  
 “ this *proviso*, that if he shew not good signs of repentance,  
 “ he is to be put again to his penance with the sheet.  
 “ And then no money at no time to be taken of him.”

I have the copy of another paper drawn up by a Convocation (if I judge right) about six years after, *viz.* 1586, or 1587, and prepared to be offered to the Parliament to be enacted; the grounds whereof were laid in this Synod, as may be observed by him that reads it, which who that pleases may do in the Appendix. It propounded several Num. XVI. things to be reformed about Ministers, excommunication, commutation of penance, and dispensations.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Council's letters to the Archbishop in behalf of a Jesuit that recanted; and concerning the recusants that refused conference. The Archbishop's orders and directions hereupon. Visits Merton college. A Bishop consecrated. Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clark, acting for the Archbishop. Grants a licence to the Lord Cheney to remove his ancestors' bodies.*

Anno 1581.

Nicols a  
Jesuit re-  
cants.

THE Archbishop was employed by the Council, May 1581, in two matters: both which he duly executed. There was one John Nicols, a Jesuit, (among sundry other Jesuits, Seminary and Mass Priests,) taken and laid up: who at last was brought by conference, and the grace of God, to be convinced of his errors, and was the first that made a recantation, which he did before a sufficient audience in the Tower. By books also written and published by him, he gave forth to the world good and apparent testimony of his faith and conformity. The Privy Council therefore (as they signified to the Archbishop from Whitehall, May the 10th) thought him fit to be comforted and encouraged; to the end that, by the example thereof, others, that yet remained obstinate, might the rather be induced to follow the way by him begun. And because by his writings he seemed to be well learned, and able to instruct the Church of God, it was intended, that the next convenient living ecclesiastical that fell, should be conferred on him. In the mean time for his reasonable maintenance, to enable him to live, they prayed his

263 Lordship, notwithstanding his sequestration, to deal with the rest of his brethren the Bishops, for a contribution to be made among them all, for some convenient portion of money to be paid unto him quarterly, for his necessary wants for apparel, sustenance, and continuance in his studies.

The Arch-  
bishop  
sends to the

This the Archbishop took care of, and sent his letters to the Bishops accordingly, May the 13th. He also set down

the rate of each Bishop, *viz.* in what proportion their contribution should be : as himself 7*l.* London 3*l.* Winchester 4*l.* Ely 4*l.* Hereford 3*l.* Sarum 3*l.* Bath and Wells 3*l.* Anno 1581. Wigorn 3*l.* Lincoln 40*s.* Chichester 40*s.* Norwich 50*s.* St. David's 40*s.* Litchfield and Coventry 40*s.* Peterborough 40*s.* Bishops for his maintenance. St. Asaph 40*s.* Bangor 30*s.* Rochester 30*s.* Exon 30*s.* Landaff 20*s.* Oxon, Gloucester, and Bristol, vacant. *Summa 50l.*

The letter the Archbishop wrote on this occasion was to this tenor, (having first exemplified the Council's letters to him, " After our right hearty commendations unto your " Lordship : whereas among sundry Jesuits," &c.)

" I have thought good therefore, by virtue of the said The Arch-  
 " letters, to pray and require your Lordship, according to bishop's  
 " the old ancient order in such cases accustomed, to trans- letter for  
 " mit to every of my brethren, the Bishops of this province,  
 " a copy of these presents, with the rate taxed and appoint-  
 " ed particularly to every one of them ; the whole sum  
 " among us all amounting to 50*l.* yearly. Nothing doubting  
 " but that your Lordship, and all the rest of my brethren,  
 " will have due consideration of the request made by my  
 " Lords, and of the reasons by their Lordships alleged  
 " to move us thereunto. And the rather, for that this con-  
 " tribution is not like to be of any long continuance. And  
 " for as much as appointing of the place and person, to  
 " whom the said contribution shall be paid to the use of the  
 " said Nicols, is referred unto me, I have thought good to  
 " signify to your Lordship and the rest, that I have ap-  
 " pointed my servant, Richard Frampton, to receive the  
 " said several contributions here at my house in Lambeth.  
 " And that Midsummer next shall be the next quarterly day  
 " for payment for us that dwell near London ; and so from  
 " quarter to quarter, till the said Nicols be provided : re-  
 " quiring the rest of our brethren that dwell far off to pay  
 " their rates half yearly : that is to say, at Michaelmas next,  
 " for one half year, and at the Annunciation following for  
 " another half year—praying your Lordship, and all the  
 " rest of my brethren, that the said days and times so ap-

**BOOK II.** “ pointed may be duly observed; so as my Lords of the Council shall have no cause to find us slack in so good a matter, &c.

**Anno 1581.**

*May 13, 1581.*

“ Your Lordship in Christ,

“ Edm. Cantuar.”

The Lords  
to the Arch-  
bishop to  
search for  
recusants.

The Parliament having lately made a law for the better keeping the subjects under their obedience to the Queen, and against such as refused to conform themselves in matters of religion, and especially in coming to church, the Queen’s

**264** safety and the peace and good estate of the whole realm depending so much thereupon; the Lords sent their letters to the Archbishop to make an inquisition, what persons there were in his diocese that refused; and to procure learned and godly persons to have conference with them to reduce them; which if they refused, to return their names unto the *Custos Rotulorum*. This the Archbishop communicated to his officers, and enjoined them to see to the performance.

But to understand this matter we must read the Council’s letter, which was in this tenor:

The Coun-  
cil’s letter.  
Grind. Re-  
gist.

“ After our right hearty commendations unto your Lordship. Whereas in the last sessions of Parliament there was, upon good and advised deliberation by her Majesty, with the common consent of the whole realm, a certain act made for the retaining of such her Majesty’s subjects in their due obedience, as, abusing her Highness’s former goodness and lenity, refused to conform themselves in matters of religion, specially for coming to the church according to the law: for as much as the execution of the said statute was thought most needful for the assurance and safety of her Majesty’s person and this realm, and the preventing of such mischiefs and inconveniences as otherwise might happen, if every one might be suffered to do what him listed; her Majesty, being very desirous to see all her subjects truly united in one consent and uniformity of religion, according to the laws of the realm, for

“ the better service of Almighty God and quietness of this CHAP.  
realm, hath willed us to require your Lordship forth- XII.  
with, upon the receipt hereof, to make, or cause to be made, Anno 1581.  
diligent search and inquiry, as well according to your for-  
mer certificates of recusants, as by other the best means  
that you can, what persons there be within your diocese  
which do at this present refuse to come to the church, and  
to conform themselves according to the said statute. And  
finding any such you shall do well, by conference with  
some learned and other godly disposed persons, to ad-  
monish them, and by instruction to persuade them to  
come to the church, and to behave themselves as by the  
said law is required.

“ And in case any shall refuse so to do, then to take, or  
cause to be taken, witness in writing, both of the warning  
so given, and their refusal, under the hands of the Parson  
or Curate, or other honest persons, which we pray you in  
every shire within your diocese to prefer unto the *Custos Rotulorum*, and to the Justices of the Peace at the next  
sessions. So as the said persons may be indicted and or-  
dered as by the same law is appointed.

“ And generally, we pray you to have a good regard to  
the execution of the rest of the branches of the said act  
touching reconcilers, sayers and hearers of Mass, school-  
masters, and other like matters, appertaining to your pas-  
toral duty and charge. So as there may be no remissness  
or negligence found in you, as you will answer the same  
before Almighty God and her Highness; who expecteth  
a good account at your hands and your brethren's in these  
things. And so heartily praying you that hereof there be  
no default; and from time to time advertise us of your 265  
proceedings, we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From  
White Hall, the 28th of May 1581.

“ Tho. Bromely, Canc. W. Burghley, E. Lincoln,  
“ T. Sussex, F. Bedford, R. Leicester,  
“ Fr. Knollys, Jam. Croftes, Fra. Walsingham.”

In obedience to these orders, the Archbishop despatched

**BOOK** his letters to his officers of the diocese with the copy of  
 II. the Council's letter, and several Articles whereupon they  
 Anno 1581. should proceed. The letter was as followeth :

The Arch-  
bishop to his officers. “ *Sal. in Christo.* I have of late received letters from  
 “ the Lords and others of her Majesty's most honourable  
 “ Privy Council, the tenor whereof ensueth, *After our right*  
 “ *hearty commendation*, &c. as above ; these are therefore  
 “ to will and require you, and either of you, to have due  
 “ regard to see the said letters with all convenient speed  
 “ duly executed throughout my whole diocese of Canter-  
 “ bury, according to the purport and tenor thereof. And  
 “ hereof fail you not, as you will answer to the contrary.  
 “ And for your better instruction for inquiry to be made  
 “ in this behalf, you shall receive certain Articles herein en-  
 “ closed. And so I commend you to the grace of God.  
 “ From Lambeth this 30th of May 1581.”

*To my loving friends, Mr. W. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Dr. Lawse, my Commissary there, and to either of them, give these.*

The Articles were these :

The Arch-  
bishop's di-  
rections of  
inquiry for  
recusants.  
Grind. Reg. I. “ First, You shall make inquiry, as well according to  
 “ the former certificate heretofore made of recusants, as by  
 “ other the best means you can, what persons above the age  
 “ of sixteen years at this present do refuse to come to the  
 “ church, and to conform themselves according to the sta-  
 “ tute made in the last session of Parliament. When any  
 “ such recusants are by inquisition known and found, you  
 “ shall use conference with them, and every of them. And  
 “ joining to you therein some learned and other godly dis-  
 “ posed persons, you shall admonish, instruct, and persuade  
 “ them to repair to the church, and there to behave them-  
 “ selves as by the said statute is required.

II. “ *Item,* If any such person, after warning given, shall  
 “ refuse so to do, then you shall take two witnesses thereof  
 “ at the least ; and cause the warning and refusal to be writ-  
 “ ten : and the same being written, to be subscribed by the  
 “ said witnesses, and by the Parson, Vicar, and Curates, of

“ that parish, where such recusant at the time of the refusal      CHAP.  
“ and warning shall happen to dwell.      XII.

III. “ *Item*, You shall send, or cause to be sent, the same Anno 1583. writing, in good and plain form, to the *Custos Rotulorum* and Justices of Peace of that shire where the persons recusants have their dwelling at the time of the warning and refusal, at the next sessions. That the said obstinate persons may be there indicted and ordered, as by the said statute is appointed. 266

IV. “ *Item*, You shall also inquire whether, since the end of the last Parliament, any person or persons within my diocese have gone about, or practised, to move, withdraw, or persuade any her Majesty's subjects within your diocese or charge, from their natural obedience to her Majesty, or from the religion now by her Highness's authority established within her Majesty's dominions; to obey or to be reconciled to the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, or to the Romish religion, or to profess any obedience to any pretended authority of the see of Rome, or of any other prince, state, or potentate.

V. “ *Item*, You shall inquire, whether any persons within your diocese, after the end of the said last sessions of Parliament, have been willingly reconciled, absolved, or withdrawn, as aforesaid; or have promised any obedience to any such pretended authority, prince, state, or potentate, as is aforesaid.

VI. “ *Item*, You shall inquire whether, since the said time, any person have said or sung Mass within your diocese: and also whether any person hath since the said time willingly heard Mass sung or said.

VII. “ *Item*, You shall inquire whether any schoolmaster of suspected religion, or that is not licensed to teach by the Bishop or Ordinary, doth teach in any public or private place within this diocese.”

These directory Articles in order to the execution of the late act against recusants, and the Council's letter, were sent to all the Bishops of his province by the Archbishop according to his office.

BOOK  
II.

**Anno 1581.** Another command the Archbishop received from the Lords of the Queen's Council concerning the cause of one Merton college visited by the Archbishop. Wilks, a Fellow of Merton college in Oxford; whom they had expelled out of his fellowship, because he had taken another living, *viz.* St. Peter's in Oxford, upon pretence of some college statute. This man, as he reckoned, having injustice done him, made his complaint above. Wherefore the Council referred this controversy to the judgment of the Archbishop, who was their visitor. The statute was, that if any Fellow obtained *uberius beneficium*, i. e. a benefice of more value, that then the exhibition that he received of the house presently ceaseth. Now the question was, whether St. Peter's was better than his fellowship. The Archbishop's determination was, (as was told before,) that Wilks should enjoy his living and his fellowship, until it were proved before him, or his deputies, that the living was a better benefice than his fellowship. Which not being obeyed by the college, the Archbishop proceeded to visit the said college; and suspended the Warden, Thomas Bickley, and some of the Fellows, for contempt in refusing him upon some doubtful statutes; they urging, that they ought to be interpreted by the Head and eight of the senior Fellows: and that though Archbishop Peckam and Archbishop Chicheley did interpret some of their statutes, as Patrons, he, the Warden, did not believe that the interpretations of either were obeyed.

**267** And he believed, that the Patron of the college, that is, the Archbishop, might correct the faults, negligences, and defects of the college, being not reformed in the college according to the statutes; and that the Patron might visit the college: but whether he might minister injunctions or not, he knew not. But the Warden and the rest were fain at length to make their submissions, and so were remitted from their suspensions.

Metropolitical visitation.

The metropolitical visitation went forward. In prosecution whereof a commission issued out dated at London, July the 5th, from Aubrey and Clark, for the visiting the church of Chichester. It was directed to Richard, Bishop of the diocese; and also to Giles Fletcher, LL. D. Henry Blaxton,

Daniel Gardiner, and William Cole, Masters of Art; and CHAP.  
John Drury, Clerk, Bachelor of Laws. XII.

John Bullingham, S. Th. P. being appointed Bishop of Anno 1581.  
Glocester, (having lain some time vacant,) was confirmed Bishop of  
Friday, Sept. 1. and consecrated Sunday following, by the conse-  
Archbishop, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of crated.  
Rochester assisting.

I find but one thing more the Archbishop did this year, Licence to  
and that perhaps may be too little to be mentioned, unless to remove the  
some, who know how to make use even of minuter circum- Lord Che-  
stances. He granted a licence to Henry, Lord Cheney, to ny's body.  
remove his father and his ancestors' coffins and bodies,  
from a little chapel near unto his parish church of Minster,  
in the county of Kent, and to place them in his church of  
Minster; the chapel and other lands thereabouts being by  
him sold to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The licence bore date  
October 22, 1581.

I find Dr. Aubrey acting again in the Archbishop's stead, Aubrey re-  
about the recommendation of the condition of a poor man commends  
of the town of Chard, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, a poor man's  
whose house and goods were destroyed by fire, and that had case to the  
obtained the Queen's letters for a contribution within the diocese of Bath and  
diocese. The said Aubrey, by virtue of his Vicarship General, Wells.  
sent his letters missive to the *custodes* of the bishopric of Bath and Wells in the month of February, according to the Queen's letters in that behalf. Which I will here subjoin.

“ After our hearty commendations, &c. The Queen's  
“ Majesty, of her great clemency and goodness, hath granted  
“ unto one Richard Kirford of Chard, letters patents under  
“ her Highness's Great Seal, for the gathering of the charit-  
“ able devotion of well-disposed persons, toward the relieving  
“ of the said poor man, being undone, together with his  
“ wife and children, by means of sudden mischance of fire:  
“ I am therefore, both in consideration of my duty towards  
“ her Majesty, pitifully respecting the miserable estate of  
“ the poor man, as also for very conscience sake and Chris-  
“ tian charity, very vehemently moved and enforced to seek

BOOK " some way that may help and succour his great extremity

II. " and need ; which cannot be well done without your assist-

Anno 1581. " ance and aid. Wherefore seeing the said Richard by rea-

" son of his gout is not able to travel personally about his

" business, I earnestly desire you, that you will take order

" with the Ministers and Churchwardens of every parish

" within the diocese of Bath and Wells, with as convenient

268 " speed as you may, that they will gather the devotions of

" every the said parish, and write upon the back-side of the

" copy of her Majesty's said patents the sum of money

" which shall be contributed : and that they will send or

" bring their collections, with the said copies of the said pa-

" tents, and deliver the same before Whitsuntide next to

" your Register ; and he to keep the same until the said

" Richard Kirford, or his deputy or assign, shall receive

" the same money so gathered and received at his hands.

" The copies of her Majesty's patents are sent unto you

" by this bringer ; so many as shall serve your archdeacon-

" ries. I pray you be careful that this may be done speedily

" and effectually. And in so doing you shall give the poor

" man, his wife and children, a good cause to pray for you.

" And thus I bid you heartily farewell. From London

" the 24th of February 1581.

" Your loving friend,

" Will. Aubrey."

Besides this, in this month of February, Aubrey (as exercising the office of Vicar General, while the Archbishop by his sequestration was disabled) granted a licence to Tho. Jones, M. A. to preach throughout the whole province : he granted letters dimissory to Henry Rowse, B. A. to be promoted to the order of Deacon and Priest in any church or chapel, or other convenient place, by John, Bishop of Gloucester. He granted a licence to Will. Stokes, to perform the office of a Curate in any parish church throughout the whole dioceses of Ely, Bristol, Hereford, Bath and Wells, and St. David's. And lastly, he directed a commission to Bar. Clark, Official of the Court of Arches, to admit Will. Griffith,

LL. D. into the number and college of advocates of the metropolitical court of Canterbury. CHAP.  
XII.

Yet do I find the Archbishop himself, in his own person, about this time granting a commission to John Gibson and Steph. Lakes, LL. DD. to take cognizance and proceed in all causes and businesses, suits and complaints, &c. within the city and diocese of Cant.—and all and singular other matters, *quæ ad officium Commissarii Consistorii nostri ibi dem de jure vel consuetudine ab antiquo spectare dinoscuntur, faciend. exercend. atque expedienda.* Dated January 30, 1581.

Anno 1581.  
The Arch-  
bishop  
grants a  
commission  
for the  
commissa-  
ryship of  
Canterbury.

## CHAP. XIII.

269

*Orders to the Archbishop to certify the dwellings of recusants. A Bishop of St. David's confirmed. Licenseth a Scotch Divine. Metropolitical visitations. Dr. Aubrey Vicar General. The Archbishop's submission and declaration. His sequestration taken off. His letter to Bishop Whitgift, to decide a controversy, wherein the Bishop of Litchfield was concerned. Dr. Beacon, of St John's college, commended.*

LETTERS again came to the Archbishop, in April 1582, against recusants, who still required more looking after. And as their inconformity had been the last year certified by our Archbishop and all the Bishops, for their respective dioceses ; so now it was required of them to certify the place of their residences, in order to their imprisonment in the King's Bench the next Easter, according to the late law. The letter from the Council to our Archbishop ran in this tenor :

“ After our hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Council “ Whereas the Queen's Majesty is given to understand, to the Arch-  
“ that notwithstanding many favourable means heretofore the purpose.

BOOK " used for the reducing and retaining her Highness's sub-  
II. " jects in their due obedience to the same, hath hitherto  
Anno 1582. " very little prevailed, but that divers remain still obstinate,  
" refusing to come to the church, and conform themselves  
" in matters of religion, according to her Majesty's [laws :]  
" albeit we doubt not but that according to our former let-  
ters you have made true and perfect certificate of all such  
" persons within your diocese unto the Justices, &c. and  
" that they have thereupon caused them to be proceeded  
" with according to law: yet to the intent we may particu-  
" larly understand how things have passed both in your  
" diocese and elsewhere, we have, for certain good consider-  
" ations, thought meet to require you, as we have done the  
" like to the rest of the Bishops, to cause in every parish  
" within your diocese a diligent search and inquiry to be  
" made of all such persons, as sith the end of the last ses-  
" sion of Parliament have forborne to come to the church;  
" and having been thereof lawfully convicted, do neverthe-  
" less not conform themselves as they ought to do: and  
" thereupon to cause a certificate to be made in writing sub-  
" scribed with your hands, and the hands of some of the  
" Justices of the Peace of the shire, where every such of-  
" fender hath his residence. To the intent the same may  
" be, according to the meaning of the law, delivered over  
" into the Court, commonly called the King's Bench, in the  
" next Easter term. Wherein we pray you to use all such  
" expedition as you may: and to address the said certificates  
270 " unto us first in some convenient time, before or at the  
" beginning of the said term; to the intent that we may  
" peruse and consider the same, as cause shall require. And  
" so on her Majesty's behalf willing and charging you, that  
" hereof you make no defaults, we bid you right heartily  
" farewell. From Greenwich, the 1st of April 1582."

Whereupon the Archbishop sent his letters to the officers  
of his diocese, to have due consideration and regard to the  
Council's said letters; to see them duly and speedily ex-  
ecuted; and to use such care and diligence therein as the  
tenor of the said letter required.

Marmaduke Middleton, late Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, was December 6 confirmed Bishop of St. David's in England: who was the last Bishop made or confirmed in this most reverend Prelate's time. What a miserable preferment this Welch bishopric proved to this Irish Prelate, (who seemed to have been a grave and good man,) may be perceived by a letter which he wrote to Secretary Walsingham soon after his going down. For having anno 1583 visited his diocese, as well *in clero* as *in populo*, he signified to him, "that he found great wants in both. In the *Clergy* very few sufficient men. Their benefices poor; and yet many of them hardly obtained; as with money, or granted for leases; and they not having the third penny. In the people small Popery, but greatly infected, by want of Preachers, with atheism, and wonderfully given over to vicious life. In the confines between his diocese, Hereford and Landaff, of late, divers obstinate Papists had shewed themselves daily; converting the people daily in those parts. For whose apprehension he had sundry times written to men authorized for the peace, yet could they not be taken, by reason they had knowledge thereof. And he himself wanting authority might only wish well, but could do small good. There were also divers in his diocese that pretended to be Ministers, and had counterfeited divers Bishops seals, as Gloucester, Hereford, Landaff, and his predecessor's, being not called at all to the Ministry. Who with divers others of great misdemeanors had been borne withal: some by the space of eight, ten, twelve, and some fourteen years. And now being touched made small account of his jurisdiction, but exacted upon his severity: practising not only to stir up the ill-will of the people against him, but also the dislike of his honourable friends. As for his own estate, he came barely into the country, without Chancellor, or any other assistance. And being a stranger, he was hardly entertained; especially in ministering of justice, where corruption had borne so long sway. All his lands, even to his very doors, were in lease by his predecessor. All the spi-

C H A P.  
XIII.

Anno 1582.

Bishop of  
St. David's  
confirmed.The sad  
condition of  
that diocese.

PaperOffice.

**BOOK II.** “ritual livings, worth 10*l.* by the year, advowsoned. All  
Anno 1582. “his houses, except one, down to the ground ; and that one  
in most extreme ruin. Himself in great debt both to the  
“Queen’s Majesty and others. His livings in annual rents,  
“(fees and patents deducted,) not above 150*l.* and he infe-  
“rior in all authority to his predecessor, [who was of the  
“Council in Wales, in the commission of the peace, and  
“held the chancellorship in his own hands, and held three  
“livings and a prebend *in commendam.*] So that neither  
**271** “could he live with credit, nor keep hospitality. Nor could  
“he prefer learned men without *Quare impeditis, or dou-*  
“ble : which he was unable to defend : neither to govern  
“the people, who little esteemed ecclesiastical jurisdiction ;  
“and already condemned him for his uprightness, where-  
“with heretofore they had not been acquainted.” All this  
and more was the sorrowful complaint this new Bishop made  
of himself and his diocese.

A Scotch-  
man li-  
censed.

Grind. Reg. A licence to administer holy things throughout the province of Canterbury was granted by Dr. Aubrey (who now executed the office of Vicar General) to one John Morrison a Scotchman, who had received his Orders in Scotland, according to the way of ordaining Ministers in the reformed Church there. Which licence, because it was somewhat unusual, I shall here set down—*Cum tu præfatus Johannes Morrison, &c.* In English thus: “Since you the fore-  
“said John Morrison about five years past, in the town of  
“Garvet in the county of Lothian of the kingdom of Scot-  
“land, were admitted and ordained to sacred Orders and  
“the holy Ministry, by the imposition of hands, according  
“to the laudable form and rite of the reformed Church of  
“Scotland ; and since the congregation of that county of  
“Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith and sincere  
“religion now received in this realm of England, and esta-  
“blished by public authority : we therefore, as much as  
“lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratify-  
“ing the form of your ordination and preferment [*præfe-*  
“*c tionis*] done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a li-  
“cence and faculty, with the consent and express command

“ of the most reverend Father in Christ the Lord Ed- CHAP.  
 “ mund by the Divine providence Archbishop of Canter- XIII.  
 “ bury, to us signified, that in such Orders by you taken, Anno 1582.  
 “ you may, and have power, in any convenient places in  
 “ and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to  
 “ celebrate divine offices, to minister the Sacraments, &c.  
 “ as much as in us lies, and we may *de jure*, and as far as  
 “ the laws of the kingdom do allow, &c.” This was granted  
 April 6. The exact copy whereof I have transcribed in the  
 Appendix.

Nº. XVII.

The commissions that were issued out this year for visit-  
 ing of the suffragan dioceses *jure metropolitico*, were as fol-  
 low. There went forth a commission to visit the diocese of  
 Norwich from Aubrey and Clerk : which two acted, as was  
 said before, in all archiepiscopal matters and concerns ; and  
 the instruments ran only, *Tempore reverendi Patris D.*  
*Edmundi Grindal*. This visitation was begun in the year  
 1579.

Soon after in this year 1582, Aubrey had the sole juris- Aubrey Vi-  
 diction and office of Vicar General ; the writs and instru- car General.  
 ments from this time running all along in his name, and no  
 name of Clark henceforward mentioned.

Which makes me apt to think, that from henceforth our The Bi-  
 Archbishop had his sequestration taken off, and was re- shop's sub-  
 stored to the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And mission and  
 I meet with a submission by him made without mention of declaration  
 the month or year ; which being well taken of the Queen of his do-  
 might occasion the taking off his suspension : and therefore 272 ings.  
 perhaps this may be the proper place for it. After which  
 submission, the Lords of the Council signified to him the  
 reason of the Queen's displeasure that had been conceived  
 against him. Upon which the Archbishop made this fol-  
 lowing further confession and declaration of himself :

“ That being advertised of the cause of her Majesty's  
 “ offence, as was set down by the Lords of the Council,  
 “ and of her gracious inclination towards him upon his  
 “ humble submission, doth confess that he is most heartily  
 “ sorry that her Majesty hath been offended with him, as a

**BOOK** " matter more grievous to him than any worldly calamity.

**II.**

**Anno 1582.** " And though he refused to execute her Majesty's commandment by reason of scruple of conscience, which moved him to think, that the exercises might have been in some points reformed, and so continued: and understanding that her Majesty therein did use the advice and allowance of certain Bishops, his brethren, who by likelihood certified, that they in their own dioceses found the same more hurtful than profitable: in and for that he is persuaded that her Majesty had herein a sincere and godly meaning to the quietness of her people; and that also her commandment was not against positive law or constitution of the realm; he cannot but think and speak honourably and dutifully of her Majesty's doings, as of a godly Prince, meaning well of the Church and her people in this her Majesty's direction and commandment. " And as he is most heartily sorry, that he hath incurred her Majesty's grievous offence for not observing that her commandment, so doth he most humbly and lowly beseech her Highness not to impute the same to any obstinate intent, meaning to disobey her Majesty; but only that he was then moved in conscience to be an humble suitor to her Majesty to be spared from being the special instrument in suppressing the said exercises. And to the intent her Majesty may think that he meant no disobedience in any maintenance of them to continue contrary to her commandment, he doth pray her Majesty to be truly informed, how he himself did in his own bishopric, and other peculiar jurisdictions, suffer no such exercises to be used after the time of her Majesty's said commandment."

The Church  
of Litch-  
field and  
Coventry  
visited.

January 20. a commission was issued out from Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, in his own name, to visit the city and diocese of Litchfield, being in a disturbance, directed to Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester; Will. Aubrey, LL.D. the Archbishop's Vicar General; Richard Cosin, LL. D. and —— Griffith, Preacher of God's word.

The commission ran in these words, *Nos pro eo quo fun-*

*gimur in universa nostra provincia munere, et illustrissimorum consiliariorum literis adducti et excitati.* An inhibition to the Bishop of Coventry was likewise issued out from the Archbishop himself, February 18. To the chief of these Commissioners, *viz.* Bishop Whitgift, the Archbishop now wrote letters, to direct him in the deciding a great debate between two civilians, Beacon and Babington, contending for the chancellorship of that diocese, which controversy, it seems, came before the Council; and they referred it to the Archbishop. Whose letter was as followeth:

CHAP.  
XIII.

Anno 1592.

“ After my very hearty commendations to your good 273  
 “ Lordship. Where by order from the Lords and others The Arch-  
bishop to  
Bishop  
Whitgift  
about the  
 “ of the Queen’s Majesty’s most honourable Privy Coun-  
 cil, I sent to your Lordship a commission [to visit] the visitation.  
 “ Dean and Chapter of Litchfield, being then in hope that  
 “ their Lordships and I should be able, without your  
 “ Lordship’s trouble, to order and compound the contro-  
 “ versy between my Lord of Coventry and Litchfield, and  
 “ Beacon and Babington, for the office of Chancellor within  
 “ that diocese: but now having travailed with my Lord  
 “ Bishop to yield his conformity and consent, that Beacon Beacon and  
Babington’s  
 “ and Babington together, according to a joint commission  
 “ of his own granting, might quietly exercise the juris-  
 “ diction, until the right and validity of that patent might  
 “ be tried by order of law, as my Chancellor and Dr. Ham-  
 “ mond, after deliberate hearing of the cause, did also  
 “ think reasonable, (as by the copy of their order here en-  
 “ closed may appear to your Lordship,) and being no way  
 “ able to win his Lordship to suffer that order to take  
 “ place, whereof the Lords of the Council and I like well,  
 “ I am forced to execute it by my own authority, which I  
 “ could not so conveniently do any way, to void appeal  
 “ and other impediments, as by a visitation. The burden  
 “ whereof, partly by direction of the Lords of the Council,  
 “ I make bold to lay upon your Lordship. Not meaning  
 “ notwithstanding to trouble you and the rest to travail  
 “ any further than to Litchfield itself; and there, only  
 “ while you are in visiting of the cathedral church, to call

**BOOK II.** “ my Lord Bishop and those two competitors of the office

**Anno 1582.** “ before you ; and by your Lordship’s wisdom to command the controversy quietly, if you can : and if your Lordship cannot, then to take the pains to examine the matter ; and to certify at your convenient opportunity in whom you shall think the fault to be, and to prorogue the visitation of the diocese until the last of June ; and the other for the church, as your Lordship shall think convenient.

“ And for your Lordship’s better information, I have sent you sealed in a packet herewith, all such writings as were exhibited unto me by my Lord Bishop and both the competitors ; to the end that your Lordship, if the necessity of the case shall so require, may frame articles for the examination of all whom the controversy doth concern. I have likewise sent to your Lordship a commission, in your Lordship’s name, to Beacon and Babington, to exercise the jurisdiction for the government of the dioceses, *pendente visitatione*, being conformable to the order ; with a determination notwithstanding, that your Lordship shall alter or revoke the same commission upon any cause, making me privy thereof by your Lordship’s letter.

“ And for that this only controversy is the cause of this visitation, I do mean that it shall be merely charitable, and not to burden the Clergy of any procurations as yet ; and withal not to trouble your Lordship much longer about this matter there, than you shall be occasioned otherwise to tarry for the speeding of the visitation of the church : yet your Lordship may direct these competitors to attend upon your Lordship elsewhere, if you think

**274** “ good, and find occasion for the appeasing of the controversy, and which is so offensive in the opinion of the Lords of the Council and mine ; and so scandalous to all parties whom it concerneth, and so prejudicial and hurtful to the quietness of the diocese, that I trust your Lordship will take pains to end it : and if you cannot so do, yet until it may be otherwise done, to have care of

“ the government of the diocese, in effect yours, during CHAP.  
 “ this commission. And thus laying many burdens upon XIII.  
 “ your Lordship, I commit the same to the grace and pro- Anno 1582.  
 “ tection of the Almighty. From Lambeth this — day  
 “ of February 1582.”

I set down the letter of this ancient and pious Prelate Remarks  
 thus at large, being now one of his last actions in his pub- <sup>upon his</sup> former let-  
 lic administration, approaching near the conclusion of his ter.  
 holy and exemplary life. In which letter may be observed  
 his great care and diligence in looking after matters relating  
 to the Church, his concern for offences and scandals, his  
 labour for peace, his justice and integrity, his tenderness of  
 putting the inferior Clergy to charges, and withal his ac-  
 curacy in business notwithstanding his age.

There was soon after, according to our Archbishop's grave  
 direction and advice, an instrument of the substitution of  
 Beacon and Babington, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction  
 within the city and diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, made  
 to them by the abovenamed Commissioners, *viz.* the Bishop  
 of Wigorn, Dr. Aubrey, Dr. Cosin, and Mr. Griffith. But  
 notwithstanding this determination, the two that contested  
 could not be brought to agreement, till more pains was  
 taken with them by the Bishop of Worcester, as we shall  
 see.

And in truth, great reason there was, that the Archbi- The con-  
 shop should be so much concerned in deciding and pacify- tention be-  
 ing this quarrel, both as it was brought into his Court, as con and the  
 also because it grew into such sharp and unbecoming pro- Bishop of  
 secution, to the breach of Christian charity. Dr. Beacon Litchfield.  
 was a learned man, and perhaps had the best right; but  
 the Bishop inclined to confer his interest on Babington,  
 and so did a person not so well qualified; and in the judg-  
 ment of Whitgift, one of the visitors, not sufficient for the  
 place. And Beacon, partly in anger to the Bishop, and  
 partly in zeal to carry his cause, sued the Bishop in the  
 Star-chamber, in the Chancery, at the Council Table, and  
 before the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Common  
 Pleas, and at assizes and sessions in the country, yea, and

**BOOK II.** in his own consistory ; and brought action upon action against him almost for every thing he did, and every word Anno 1582. he spake, as the Bishop himself complained to the Lord Treasurer, about this very time that the Archbishop sent the above specified letter to the Bishop of Worcester, to proceed in the method mentioned, to put some end to this unhappy controversy.

**Beacon's character.**

Both the Bishop of Litchfield and Dr. Beacon were to be blamed ; but take Beacon of himself, he was a learned and well-deserving man. He was Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, and wished well to the study of divinity, and the prosperous estate of learning and the Universities. And for one thing relating thereto he deserves to be men-

**275** tioned with honour. About the year 1587, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, who was also High Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, he took the freedom to put him in mind of a singular piece of grace and favour that had been some years past granted by the Queen to the University, by his Lordship's means. And this remained in the records of Cambridge. It was, that she would herself have the names of all them that were learned, and students in divinity, sent to her ; and from thence would take out persons from time to time, to supply the vacant benefices in her dispose and patronage. This she communicated to the University by their Chancellor ; and it had this effect, that it revived the scholars then under great discouragements, and made every one fall to the study of divinity, in hopes of partaking in due time of the Queen's said favours. But this was hardly ever begun to be put in execution, or soon intermitted, as the said Beacon honestly signified to the Chancellor. He urged also to him the general complaints in those days, for want of sufficient instruction of the people in divers counties, of sharing of ecclesiastical livings between corrupt patrons, ordinaries, and hirelings ; and of suffering many godly preachers in both Universities to remain less profitable to the Church, and less comfortable to themselves, and to the no less discouragement of the younger students. He therefore, in the name of all, made

**His good letter to the Chancellor of Cambridge.**

humble suit to him, being Chancellor of Cambridge, or rather to both Chancellors, that the said order of the Queen might be hereafter more religiously observed. And that every second or third year either University should be ordered to send up the names of their learned and well-disposed students in divinity, ripe and willing to be sent into the Lord's harvest; and those names to remain with the principal Secretaries, or Clerk of the Signet, and the Lord Chancellor, as faithful remembrancers of her Majesty's zeal and disposition for their timely preferments. And then he shewed what an influence this would have upon the Queen's subjects for imitation; and how it should revive the dulled and discouraged spirits of the University students; who, after their bodies and strength wearied and spent with study, might have some certain hope of seasonable employment, for the good of the Church, and their own profit and maintenance. But because this is but a digression, I leave the reader to peruse this good motion of Beacon, in his letter placed in the Appendix; and so I go on with our busi-<sup>Nº. XVIII.</sup> ness.

When the visitation of the church of Litchfield was despatched, the same Commissioners had order from the <sup>The diocese of Litchfield visited.</sup> Archbishop to visit the diocese also: which was done the spring and summer of the next year; and by this time the two contending parties about the chancellorship were brought in effect to agreement. But in June, for some considerations, it was thought fit to send to prorogue the said visitation to the last of June, a letter coming to the visitors from the Archbishop's Vicar General, dated June the 13th, so to do; it being his Grace's pleasure in that behalf. Which proved very unseasonable, as well because the Bishop of the diocese was by this means still kept from inspecting and taking care of his own diocese, and also be-<sup>276</sup> cause divers things in a good way of readiness were now to be let alone. Whereupon Whitgift sent this letter to the said Vicar General Aubrey, shewing the inconvenience of it, and to move his Grace therein.

**BOOK II.** “ *Sal. in Christo.* I have received your letter for the

Anno 1582. “ prorogation of the visitation of the diocese of Litchfield,  
 Bishop Whitgift to Dr. Aubrey about the prorogation of the visitation. “ and have taken order accordingly. But I could have wished it otherwise. Dr. Beacon and Mr. Babington are agreed; and so is my Lord the Bishop and Dr. Beacon. This may be a means to set them at variance again. Moreover the diocese in sundry parts is out of frame;

“ and the Bishop allegeth the cause to be this visitation, “ and the restraint of his jurisdiction. You know that we cannot deal therein, being out of that diocese; and yet the fault of all is laid in us. As for Mr. Babington, I do not think him a man sufficient for that government. And therefore I pray you move my Lord’s Grace to be content to suffer the visitation to cease; that the Bishop may have his jurisdiction, and reform the defects of his own diocese: that he have no cause to excuse himself by us, and to lay the burden upon our necks, who have nothing to do therewith, the commission being but *pro forma*, as you know, and to reduce the Bishop to that conformity, which now he hath, as I think, consented unto, [*i. e.* in the controversy for the chancellorship, the Bishop standing for one party.] And so with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell. From Grimley, the 23d of June 1582, [1583.]

“ Yours assuredly,

“ Jo. Wigorn.”

Which letter had this effect, that the Archbishop soon after sent an instrument, dated June the 27th, called *Relaxatio Jurisdictionis Episcopi Coventrien. et Litchf.* By virtue whereof he restored to the Bishop the exercise of his jurisdiction and authority in his diocese. The doing of which, I suppose, the Archbishop hastened, feeling his approaching departure, dying within nine days after.

## CHAP. XIV.

277

*The Archbishop blind. Desires to resign. The Queen grants it. His care of a contribution for Geneva. Their case signified from the English Ambassador at Paris. Letters of the Council and Archbishop to the Bishops in their behalf. The Archbishop founds a free-school in St. Bees. His petitions to the Queen. His pension for his life.*

IT was some time before this, that the good Archbishop Anno 1582. became blind, yet not without some hope of the recovery of The Arch- his sight; but now in the latter end of this year 1582 all bishop blind. hope thereof seemed to vanish. This made him very willing to lay aside the charge of his bishopric; and as he had formerly desired the Queen to discharge him of his great and weighty office in the Church, which she would not then do; so now in January, she sent Piers, Bishop of Sarum, her Almoner, to him, to signify that it was her pleasure that he should resign, and thereby enjoy her Majesty's favour, and that he should have an honourable pension as-  
The Queen sends to him to resign. signed him. And finding him not well able to manage his high function, she soon after signified the same by the Lord Treasurer.

As soon as he understood this, he first signified to the said Lord certain causes that had detained him from offering again a resignation: as, "that he had before entered some hope of recovering his sight, as some others in like case had done: also, the good hope he conceived, by divers good likelihoods, of recovering her Majesty's gracious favour; by which, being obtained, he trusted to discharge the duty of a Bishop as well as some others: he had also founded a school in the north where he was born; which for lack of a mortmain was not yet finished: divers suits also were commenced to the overthrow of certain leases granted unto some of his servants, being the only reward of their long service: wherein his little

The Arch-bishop's answer to this message.

**BOOK II.** “authority,” he said, “as long as he remained Archbi-

**Anno 1582.** “shop, might somewhat help to the maintenance of their

“right: a multitude of his other servants were not yet  
 “provided for: his opinion, that her Majesty desired not  
 “his resignation, which he had before in time of his better  
 “health offered: and that some other also, as unable to  
 “serve as he, had offered the like, which she, as he had  
 “been informed, would not admit. These were the con-  
 “siderations which hitherto had stayed him from offering  
 “of this resignation of his place. But now, knowing her  
 “Majesty’s mind, he would do it with all his heart; and  
 “would prepare himself accordingly to satisfy her pleasure,  
 “hoping for her favour, which he esteemed above all  
 “worldly things: trusting yet, and humbly praying, that  
 “by his Lordship’s means she would permit and tolerate  
 “him to continue in place till a little after Michaelmas  
 “next, when the audit of the see was kept for the whole  
 “year; that he might see some end of his said suits, the  
 “finishing of his school, and the multitude of his poor ser-

**278** “vants provided for; meaning in the mean time, both by  
 “his officers and himself, by God’s grace, to have a vigi-  
 “lant care for the good government and well ordering of  
 “his cure. In which time he should also be more able to  
 “make a perfect account of all things, to the satisfaction of  
 “his successor. And after that time he would be most  
 “ready, with all humble thanks to her Majesty, to resign  
 “his place unto her Highness’s disposition. Which favour  
 “he wished to obtain by the interest of him, the Lord  
 “Treasurer.” This he wrote from Lambeth, January 30,  
 1582, and subscribed his hand after that manner, that one  
 may conclude it to be done by one that had not the use of  
 his eyes.

**His care about a contribution for Geneva.** In the midst of these his concerns and afflictions, a mat-  
 ter came before him, wherein he shewed his earnest care  
 and charitable heart. In the year 1581, the Duke of Sa-

voy, by the Pope, and other Popish setters on, and by his  
 own ambition accompanying, laboured to obtain the city  
 and dominion of Geneva, famous for its religion, and a

great nurse of pious men, and harbourer of exiles for religion: and which had been taken, had it not been prevented by the seasonable aid of some of their neighbours, the Helvetians. Their condition by this time was reduced very low: and a gentleman was sent from them hither into England, to obtain contribution for them in this their necessity.

But first he repaired to Brook, the Queen's Ambassador resident at Paris, and brought with him letters from the Syndics of Geneva to the said Ambassador, for the more effectual recommendation of him and his message into England. Whereupon the Ambassador wrote this letter, October 25, to Sir Francis Walsingham the Secretary, giving him certain intelligences relating to the present case of Geneva; and how not only Christian compassion, but care of ourselves, might induce us to assist and help that poor afflicted state.

“ Having received, right honourable Sir, a letter from Ex Epist.  
 “ the Syndics and Counsellors of the town of Geneva by D. Fra.  
 “ the hands of Monsieur Mallet, I thought it my duty to Walsing-  
 “ let you understand thereof, enclosing herewith the copy of ham; penes  
 “ the said letter; to the intent the contents thereof may be  
 “ known unto your Honour. The said Monsieur Mallet is  
 “ sent from the citizens of Geneva towards her Majesty,  
 “ for to declare what hath passed this year during their  
 “ late troubles, with petition for some relief towards the  
 “ sustaining of their charges, which hath been much above  
 “ their power and small ability.

“ They have, and shall have, the more need of her Ma-  
 “ jesty's bounty, in respect that the Duke of Savoy, though  
 “ he entertaineth a treaty to compound the war, yet he  
 “ continueth sundry secret preparations towards the annoy-  
 “ ance of those of Geneva at the next spring. Through  
 “ the which subtile dealing of the Duke of Savoy they are  
 “ constrained to continue wages unto men of war; as like-  
 “ wise with much cost to fortify their town. It is, I suppose,  
 “ sufficiently known unto her Majesty, the Duke of Savoy

CHAP.  
XIV.  
Anno 1582.

BOOK II.  
 Anno 1582.

“ hath not enterprised this action against them of Geneva,  
 “ as one moved thereunto only for his own pretences, but  
 “ rather persuaded and provoked through the malice of  
 “ the Pope and his associates, confederate against those of  
**279** “ the religion reformed. So as though they of Geneva bear  
 “ yet the brunt, the action is intended and bent against all  
 “ princes, estates, and others professing the religion. Which  
 “ being so understood and known, I beseech you then, Sir,  
 “ their case of Geneva may be in such earnest sort recom-  
 “ mended unto her Majesty, as she may be thereby justly  
 “ moved to do for them, as for members of Christ’s Church  
 “ injured and oppressed. Whereby herewith she may re-  
 “ press, and keep far from her the same malice pretended  
 “ in like manner against her Majesty and her estate.  
 “ Through the which good deeds, and the benevolence  
 “ which she shall vouchsafe to bestow on them of Geneva,  
 “ I trust her Highness is to obtain at God’s hand much  
 “ grace and mighty defence against her enemies, with his  
 “ peaceable continuance of her happy reign. Which God  
 “ send. Beseeching you, Sir, that you will move her Ma-  
 “ jesty so happily herein, as that piety shall more persuade  
 “ to advance this cause, than the opinion of frugality may  
 “ hinder such a godly, politic, Christian deed. Where-  
 “ with, Sir, I betake you into the hands of the Almighty,  
 “ who assist you in this, and in all other your affairs. From  
 “ Paris, October 25, 1582.

“ Your Honour’s humbly to command.

“ I beseech you, that herewith it may be remembered,  
 “ how if the Duke of Savoy do proceed unto the marriage  
 “ of the Duke of Florence’s daughter, as they say, that  
 “ then he is not only to be thereby much strengthened  
 “ in Italy through the same alliance; but is like to be  
 “ aided with the entire favour of the Pope and King of  
 “ Spain: the rather, because this marriage is understood to  
 “ be procured at the instance of the Spanish King and  
 “ Pope. And moreover it is to be considered, how the  
 “ Duke of Savoy shall be enriched with the dowry of two

“ millions in gold. The which sums are to be employed in CHAP.  
 “ bank. Whereby the yearly revenue of the Duke of Sa- XIV.  
 “ voy will be increased unto the sum of 200,000 crowns.” Anno 1582.

And no doubt Secretary Walsingham promoted this af-  
 fair, for which so great reasons were alleged. In fine, it was heartily espoused by the Queen and her Council. And in January letters were written from the Council to all the Bishops, to promote a liberal charity upon this occasion, through their several dioceses: shewing at large the present low and afflicted condition of Geneva. By the Council's special order the gentleman, the agent, was also conducted by Piers the Queen's Almoner, Bishop of Salisbury, and Cary the Dean of Windsor, to the Archbishop, to whom he was particularly recommended by that state: that by his advice a course might be resolved upon, the fittest and most convenient to be taken. The Council also advised him, to request the Bishop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's, to join with them and the other in this so needful a service for the Church. And so prayed them all to make them [*i. e.* the Council] privy to their intent and proceedings. And here I think it well worthy to set down the Council's letter to the Bishops.

“ After our hearty commendations unto your good 280  
 “ Lordship. Whereas through the manifold and danger-  
 “ ous practices intended by the Pope, and certain other  
 “ Princes his confederates, the last year against the town of  
 “ Geneva; a matter publicly known, the young Duke of  
 “ Savoy being made an instrument therein, (as by whose  
 “ pretensions to some kind of an ancient title to that  
 “ *seigneurie*, their counsels might be best disguised,) the  
 “ said Duke having for certain months, with a good power,  
 “ most straitly besieged it; and standing in great likeli-  
 “ hood to have taken it, had not the Bernates and the can-  
 “ tons of Switzerland, confederates of that town, entered  
 “ into an association for their defence: the said town of  
 “ Geneva is now by this means brought into great extre-

The Coun-  
cil's letter  
in behalf  
of Geneva.  
Grind. Reg.

**BOOK II.** " mity and need of relief, the most part of their revenues

**Anno 1582.** " being, as we are credibly informed, well near wasted in  
 maintaining of soldiers for their better defence: and the  
 magistrates thereof, being forewarned sundry ways, that  
 the fire is not altogether quenched, but that the next  
 spring it is meant that new attempts shall be made by  
 force against them, have of late sent a gentleman with  
 letters to her Majesty, to acquaint her Highness with  
 this hard state they stand in; and for their better support  
 to require a loan of some competent sum of money for  
 their aid: forasmuch as the occasions her Majesty hath of  
 employment of great sums of money are many and  
 weighty, beside the chargeable war of Ireland, moved  
 also by the Pope and his adherents, by reason whereof  
 her Highness hath not at this present such opportunity  
 to relieve them as their necessity requireth, and as other-  
 wise she would, if time might thereto serve:

" We have therefore thought good, for the care we have  
 of an action of so good importance, and as we persuade  
 ourselves your Lordship also hath, that that poor town  
 may in some sort taste of the Christian charity that ought  
 to be in us, to recommend their case unto you, and  
 heartily to pray you, as in a matter that especially touch-  
 eth all of your quality, both in conscience and calling, by  
 way of Christian persuasion to move the wealthier sort of  
 the Clergy, and other godly-affectioned within your  
 diocese, to contribute some part of that blessing that God  
 hath bestowed upon them, towards the relief of that poor,  
 afflicted town: which in some part may seem to have de-  
 served the fruits of Christian compassion, by former cour-  
 tesies and favours shewed to sundry her Majesty's sub-  
 jects in the time of the late persecution in Queen Mary's  
 time. Wherein as they shall render charity for charity,  
 and give good demonstration to the world, that in their  
 wealth and peace they are not careless of the afflictions of  
 Joseph; agreeable with the Apostle's doctrine, *Memores*  
*estote affictorum, quia fuistis afficti*: so shall you give  
 us cause to think, that you not only care, as in Christian

" compassion you are bound, to relieve the present distress CHAP.  
 " of that poor town, which through God's goodness hath XIV.  
 " served in this latter age for a nursery unto God's Church, Anno 1582.  
 " but also to satisfy this our request; to the end we may  
 " continue that good opinion we have of your Lordship, as  
 " in the maintenance and conservation of true religion, as 281  
 " appertaineth to one of your calling. And so praying  
 " your Lordship for your better direction in this collection  
 " to follow such order as shall be prescribed unto you by  
 " our very good Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to  
 " whom we have especially recommended the care hereof  
 " within his province; not doubting but he will carefully  
 " and circumspectly direct you, how to advance this cha-  
 " ritable relief, and that without any open occasion of  
 " grudge or offence, we bid your Lordship right heartily  
 " farewell. From the Court at Windsor the day of  
 " January, 1582.

" Your Lordship's very loving friends,  
 " T. Bromely, Canc. W. Burghley, E. Lincoln,  
 " R. Leicester, H. Hunsdon, Jam. Crofts,  
 " Chr. Hatton, Fra. Walsingham."

Upon this our Archbishop in the said month of January, though it were in the midst of his troubles, wrote this large and effectual letter to all the Bishops of his province; and likewise to his Dean of Canterbury, his Archdeacon, and Dr. Lake's Commissary there: likewise to the Deans of every cathedral church and the guardians of the spiritualties in the sees vacant, *viz.* Ely, Bath and Wells, Chichester, and Oxford; exciting them to further the good work, and directing them in what method to proceed. The tenor whereof was as follows:

" *Sal. in Christo.* I have sent to you enclosed herein, a His letter  
 " letter from my Lords and others of her Majesty's most to the Bi-  
 " honourable Privy Council, in the favour and for the Geneva.  
 " relief of the city of Geneva. Which city of late hath gist.  
 " been sore distressed by wars, and brought to very low  
 " state, as more at large may appear by my said Lords'

**BOOK II.** “ letters. Wherein their Lordships have laid down most  
 godly and effectually many weighty reasons, drawn out  
 Anno 1582. “ of Christian charity, and the word of God, sufficient to  
 move and persuade all men to have pitiful and charitable  
 consideration of the miserable state of that poor town,  
 that hath been many years a safe refuge and haven for  
 such as have been constrained for profession of the truth  
 to fly from all places of the world. And although the  
 same reasons and exhortations in their Lordships’ letters  
 are so deeply and so fully delivered, that neither I can  
 or need to add any thing thereunto ; yet considering that  
 under her Majesty and their Lordships of her most  
 honourable Privy Council, the immediate charge of the  
 province doth appertain to me, and especially of the  
 Clergy, and that the consideration of this pitiful relief,  
 tending to the defence of so notable and sincere a Church,  
 dangerously sought, and distressed by many mighty  
 enemies, in truth, common to all such as love and tender  
 the maintenance of the Gospel, doth more peculiarly and  
 nearly touch and concern us of the state of the Church :  
 I think it my part and bounden duty to recommend the  
 furtherance of so good a cause to your Lordship, and  
 to do as much as in me lieth to increase your care here-  
 in.

**282** “ And therefore most earnestly to pray and exhort your  
 Lordship to employ all your travail and study towards the  
 effectual and speedy execution of my said Lords their  
 honourable and godly meanings. So as when returns  
 shall be made to their Honours and me of your proceed-  
 ings in this cause, your godly faithfulness, diligence, and  
 zeal therein, (besides the reward that you may assuredly  
 look for at God’s hand,) may also receive at their Lord-  
 ship’s hand good testimony and commendation.

“ The particular means and manner of the accomplish-  
 ment of this piece of good service to God and his Church,  
 are to be referred to your Lordship’s own wisdom and di-  
 rection, with remembrance of the cause well touched in  
 their Lordships’ letters ; that all things be done with as

“much secrecy, and with as little discontentment as may CHAP.  
“stand with the nature of such a matter. In my opinion XIV.  
“it shall not be inconvenient for your Lordship before you Anno 1582.  
“assemble the Clergy, to call unto you the Dean of the  
“cathedral church, and some well inclined persons of the  
“chapter of the same church, with some other of the better  
“sort of the Clergy in the diocese well affected, and im-  
“parting to them the contents of the Lords’ letters, to con-  
“sult and deliberate with them in what manner, and in  
“what places and times the rest of the Clergy is to be  
“assembled together for this purpose; and whether all in  
“one day, as it were in general synod; or one deanery at a  
“time; which is in my opinion more convenient and easy.  
“And in this conference it is fit, that your Lordship, with  
“their advice, shall make in writing a catalogue of all such  
“of the Clergy, that are known of any sort to be of any  
“ability, and meet to contribute; and to call together all  
“such, and to use unto them, by yourself, or by some other  
“sufficient person to be appointed by you, such exhortation  
“and persuasion as shall seem to you agreeable to the mat-  
“ter and nature of the assembly, excluding all others  
“from the place. And in this first conference you shall  
“do well, with the advice of the Dean and others, to make  
“choice of two or four gentlemen of the laity of best call-  
“ing and affection within the diocese, and to communicate  
“to them their Lordships’ said letters; and to treat with  
“them both for their own relief, and also to give their good  
“advices, with whom of the laity it shall be fit to deal;  
“and to entreat them, to be contented to be used as instru-  
“ments to further this good deed; and to receive them-  
“selves, or with you, a benevolence of such as shall be dis-  
“posed. And to the end that your Lordship may the  
“better direct the course of this service for yourself and  
“others of the Clergy, I have made a schedule herein  
“enclosed in what portion myself, and my very good Lords  
“and friends, the Bishops of London and Sarum, and the  
“Deans of Paul’s and Windsor, to whom it pleased the  
“Lords to commit the consideration of this cause, have

**BOOK II.** “generally given: wishing that this rate and portion may be followed, as nigh as may be, by your good inducement  
 Anno 1582. “and persuasion, according to the calling and ability of every man: heartily and earnestly praying and requiring your Lordship not to fail to cause to be delivered to their  
**283** “Lordships before Easter next a full certificate of this collection; sending there enclosed one schedule or catalogue, containing the names of the Clergy with such sums noted upon the names, what every man shall give to this relief: and another, containing the names of them of the laity that shall contribute in like manner, together with the whole sum of money contained in both. Thus referring the rest to your further care and good consideration, I commit you to the grace and tuition of the Almighty. From Lambeth the day of January, anno Dom. 1582.”

His own contribution.

What all the collections were, I know not, nor is it needful here to set down: but that which was prescribed and given by the Archbishop himself, and the rest appointed by the Council to meet together for the manery of this business, was as followeth. The Archbishop 100 mark, the Bishop of London 50 mark, the Bishop of Sarum 50 mark, the Deans of St. Paul's and Windsor 20 mark apiece. It was to be feared the inferior Clergy were not over bountiful, especially in the distant sees. I have seen the account the Bishop of St. David's gave of his Clergy and Laity in a letter to Secretary Walsingham: which was, “that concerning the collection for Geneva, he had dealt with some of the best of his diocese, whom he found not greatly willing, because it was in another country. And as for his Clergy, they alleged poverty.” Which perhaps was not an excuse, but a real truth, by reason of the horrible corruption of patrons in those parts, whereby the incumbents scarce enjoyed the third part of their livings.

The Archbishop provides a settlement for his free-school at St. Begh's.

The Archbishop's most charitable and useful foundation of the free-school at St. Begh's, his own native town, was not yet fully settled. He wanted the Queen's licence of mortmain for it. Therefore he had before this time pre-

ferred an humble petition to the Queen to this purport, CHAP.  
that she would vouchsafe to erect a free grammar school at XIV.  
St. Begh's in the county of Cumberland : and that provision Anno 1582.  
might be made for relief of certain poor scholars going out  
of that school to Cambridge and Oxford. The Queen's  
grant which he requested was to this effect, " That there  
" shall be at St. Begh's a free grammar school for ever,  
" which shall be called the free-school of Edmund Grindal,  
" Archbishop of Canterbury, and shall be founded of one  
" schoolmaster.

" That seven men are appointed to be governors of the The state  
" possessions and goods of that school: and that they and of the foun-  
" their successors shall be a corporation for ever *per nomen*,  
" &c. and shall have *perpetuam successionem*.

" That the Provosts of the Queen's college in Oxford,  
" and the Parsons of Egremont in Cumberland, for the  
" time being, shall be always of the number of the said  
" governors. And when any of the rest of the governors  
" die, the greater part then living shall elect new governors  
" within six weeks. And upon default thereof the Bishop  
" of Chester shall from time to time appoint new governors.

" That the Archbishop during his life may appoint the  
" schoolmaster, and make statutes for the school.

" That after the Archbishop's death, the said Provosts 284  
" of Queen's college may appoint the schoolmaster within  
" two months after the place shall be void. And in the  
" Provosts' default, the Master of Pembroke hall is to  
" appoint such schoolmaster.

" Item, That after the Archbishop's death, the said  
" Provosts of Queen's college, for the time being, with  
" advice of the Bishop of Chester, may make statutes for  
" the school: so as they be not contrary to the Archbishop's  
" statutes.

" That the governors have licence to take lands, and all  
" men licence to give lands, to the maintenance of that  
" school and scholars: so as the said lands be not holden of  
" the Prince *in capite*, or by *Knight service*: and that the  
" same exceed not the yearly value of ——. And that

**BOOK II.** “the profits of the same lands shall be employed to the maintenance of the said school and scholars; and not Anno 1582. “otherwise.”

The draught of this lay still before the Queen, remaining Jan. 30, unsigned. Which, among the rest of the Archbishop's present troubles, created him some uneasiness; and was one reason that retarded him from resigning, being desirous to get this first despatched.

**The Queen sends the Archbishop a new year's gift.** He had conceived now and then good hopes of recovering her Majesty's favour, and that from divers likelihoods. One

new year's gift, a silver standing cup of fifty ounces. Which he by will afterwards bequeathed to his constant friend the Lord Treasurer Burghley. But now it appeared the Queen not only continued to require his resignation, but also thought not fit to grant him further time to resign, than the Annunciation next approaching. Which when he under-

**His petitions to the Queen.** stood (though he had requested for sundry reasons to have held his place till Michaelmas) he humbly submitted unto her order.

And withal thanked her, for that, of her gracious goodness, she had made mention, as he was informed, of an honourable portion to be assigned unto him for his sustentation, in those few and evil days, as he said, which he had yet to live. He also thanked the Lord Treasurer most heartily for his mediation and pains taken concerning the premises, praying him to continue his honourable favour towards him, till this matter came to a perfect end.

**First petition.** He had two petitions to make to the Queen. The one was, that she would grant him the house of Croyden, and some small grounds pertaining to the same, and of no great value, having not at that hour any house of his own to put his head in, after he should remove from Lambeth. This he signified to his friend, the Lord Treasurer; shewing him that in all resignations of Bishops, so far as he had read or heard, there had been always one house at the least pertaining to the see, assigned to the resigner, as partly might appear by a note which he sent him, taken out of the history of Matthew Paris. Which I have laid in the Appendix.

Croydon house, he said, was no wholesome house ; and that both his predecessor and he found by experience : notwithstanding because of the nearness to London, whither he must often repair, or send to have some help by physic, he knew no house pertaining to the see so convenient for him ; nor that might better be spared of his successor for the short time of his own life. The other petition was, that he might not be called to trouble after his resignation for dilapidations. From which, as he was informed by the learned in the laws, he was by law upon a resignation excused. Notwithstanding, although he did not distrust the equity of his successor, yet because he had been so much troubled with suits for dilapidations, he was fearful. And therefore prayed, that he might have some good assistance, if the case should so require. And in conclusion, he prayed his Lordship that hereafter he might more at length inform him of both these matters ; and to further his petitions as opportunity served. This he wrote from Lambeth the 9th of February.

The assigning of the Archbishop's pension lay very much in the appointment of the Lord Treasurer. In order to which the Archbishop understood by Dr. Aubrey, that the said Treasurer was desirous to have some notes of the value of the archbishopric. Whereupon the last day of February but one, he sent the said Doctor and his own steward, to inform him of the estate of the same, and withal most instantly prayed him to be a means to her Majesty <sup>Applies to</sup> both for the proportioning of his pension ; (wherein he <sup>the Lord</sup> Treasurer doubted not her Majesty would have honourable consideration of his place, age, and infirmities;) and also to declare her pleasure for order, how the same might be answered unto him for the short time that he had to live : and as he, the Lord Treasurer, had been, next unto her Majesty, the principal procurer of all his preferments, which he would acknowledge while he lived with all thanksgiving ; so he prayed him in this doing to be a means to bring him to some hope of quietness in a private life, being now by age, sickness, and infirmity, not able to sustain the travails which

BOOK II.  
Anno 1582. appertained unto that great office. And by the grace of God he would not fail at the time heretofore appointed to resign up his place in due form, for her Majesty's better satisfaction in that behalf.

The Treasurer's message to the Queen for the Archbishop's resignation.

Lady-day now drawing near, and the aged Archbishop willing to be eased of his burden, the Lord Treasurer sent this message to some person attending about the Queen, (it seems to have been the Secretary,) to inform her Majesty at his leisure, that the Archbishop was now ready at Lady-day, being the end of the half year allotted him, to resign his bishopric, to be conferred by her upon some other, to enter into actual government of the Church of England, which sustained, he said, great lack for present action. That he yielded himself to her Majesty's goodness to have some pension during his short life, which he [the Treasurer] wished to be great and honourable, although it should be to the successor burdensome for the present. But he that should have it must shape his garment with his cloth for the time. That he had seen into the value of the Archbishop's possessions, and found them to be about 2780*l.* per ann. according to the rate of the book of first-fruits. That he had also seen the particular books of the annual receipts; which grew somewhat, but not much, above: and if the then Archbishop 286 might have 7 or 800*l.* a year pension, he thought his successor with good husbandry might make the rest to be 2000*l.* According to which he might compound for his first-fruits, and for no more. For some particular requests the present Archbishop made, (which the Lord Treasurer sent in a paper by itself,) he thought his successor might agree to; so as the value of the things demanded were parcel of the other pension.

## CHAP. XV.

*Moves for his resignation. Makes his last will. His bequests, and charitable gifts. His death. His monument and epitaph. The state of his school. His care of repairs. Dilapidations. His relations. His Chaplains and Officers.*

BUT the going through with the resignation was not Anno 1583. compassed by the 25th of March, according to the time the Queen allotted: for in April 1583, the Archbishop signified yet again to the Lord Treasurer, that he was ready to go through with the resignation of his place, as soon as it might please her Highness to appoint. I suppose she was not yet provided with one to put in his place, Whitgift Bishop of Worcester, if Fuller may be believed, resolving not to enter upon that see as long as Grindal was alive. Now did the Archbishop send Dr. Aubrey his officer to understand the Lord Treasurer's direction therein; praying him, that he would have favourable care of his pension, according to his continual wonted friendship towards him, and that his learned Counsel, at his Lordship's best opportunity and leisure, might have leave to attend upon him, and use such short conference, as his Lordship might well suffer, for the manner of the assurance thereof; which he wholly referred to his wisdom and consideration. And withal he sent a draught of his resignation by the said Dr. Aubrey, to whom he committed by mouth some order to understand his Lordship's pleasure in a point or two touching that matter. This message was from Lambeth, April 12, 1583.

The sum of his petitions were these four. First, To have the house at Croyden, which hath been lien at by his last predecessors. Item, To have the park at Croyden; wherein at his entry to this see, Sir Francis Carew, Kt. and one George Withers had several interests. For redemption

**BOOK** whereof the said Archbishop gave to them eighty-three  
 II. pounds, six shillings and eight pence; and did mind to  
 Anno 1583. leave the same after his death clear to his successor. *Item,*  
 To have a close called Stubbs, containing twenty acres, lying  
 near to the said house. *Item,* To have eighteen acres of  
 meadow lying at Norbury in Croyden.

The Archbishop all this while (though quick and unimpaired in mind) was but in a bad condition of health, beside  
 289 the loss of his sight. Which indisposition partly prevented  
 the further transacting of this business, and bringing it to a  
 conclusion: so that he remained still in May Archbishop.

Makes his last will.  
 The eighth day of which month he made his last will and testament; wherein he styled himself *Archbishop of Canterbury, whole in mind and of perfect remembrance.* “ There “ in, as he bequeathed his soul into the hand of his heavenly “ Father, humbly beseeching him to receive the same into “ his gracious mercies for his Christ’s sake, so he bequeathed “ his body to be buried in the choir of the parish church of “ Croyden without any solemn herse, or funeral pomp. “ Notwithstanding his meaning was, that if it pleased God “ to call him out of this transitory life, during the time “ that he should remain in the possession of the archbishop- “ ric of Canterbury, that the heralds should be reasonably “ compounded withal, and satisfied for their accustomed “ fees in such cases. And then the first bequest he made “ was, that having nothing worthy to be presented unto her “ Majesty, he humbly beseeched the same to accept at his “ hands, the New Testament of Jesus Christ in Greek, “ of Stevens’ impression, as an argument of his dutiful and “ loving heart towards her Highness.” This was a truly royal present, not only in respect of the book itself, whose author is the King of kings and Lord of lords, but in regard of the print, being one of the finest and correctest editions of the New Testament that ever was.

His be-  
quests.  
MSS. penes  
me.

The bequests of his will were of two sorts; such as were for the uses of charity, and such as were intended as testimonies of his favour or respect. Which I will set down ac-

cording as I meet with them contracted and abbreviated from the will itself; to which are added, his charities otherwise granted. CHAP.  
XV.  
Anno 1583.

*Given and appointed to be bestowed upon good uses by the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal, late Archbishop of Canterbury before his death.*

*Annual sums.*

*Imprimis,* In yearly revenues for the maintenance of one free grammar school in St. Beghes in Cumberland, where he was born, *30l. viz.*

To the schoolmaster *20l.*

To a poor scholar to be usher there *3l. 6s. 8d.*

And the rest to the reparations of the school, and to be laid up in a stock for the purchase of revenues from time to time, for the maintenance of poor scholars in the Universities, *viz. 6l. 13s. 4d.*

*Item,* In yearly revenues to Pembroke hall in Cambridge *22l. viz.*

To the Reader of Greek *2l.*

For the maintenance of one Fellow *10l.*

To the maintenance of two Scholars *6l. 13s. 4d.*

The residue to the use of the college *3l. 6s. 8d.*

And the said Fellow and Scholars are to be chosen of *28* such as have been brought up in the said school.

*Item,* In yearly revenues to the Queen's college in Oxford, for the maintenance of one Fellow, and two Scholars, to be chosen out of the said school. Whereof, to the Fellow above the allowance of a fellowship in the college, yearly *20s.*

To the two Scholars *6l. 13s. 4d.*

The residue to the college, *viz. 20l.*

*Sums not annual.*

*Item,* For five pounds yearly to be purchased for the maintenance of one scholar in Magdalene college in Cambridge, to be chosen of such as come from the said school, *100l.*

**BOOK II.** *Item, For the building and furnishing of the said school 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.**

Anno 1583. *Item, For the purchase of lands, or other profits, for the relief of the poor alms-houses in Croyden 50*l.**

*Item, For reparations of the parish church there 5*l.**

*Item, To Christ's college in Cambridge a standing cup, price 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.**

*Item, Given to divers of his servants, since his sickness above 330*l.**

*Other legacies given by his will.*

*Imprimis, To her Majesty a Greek Testament.*

*Item, To his successor, certain pictures and implements.*

*Item, To the Lord Treasurer a standing cup of fifty ounces.*

*To the Bishop of Worcester a ring with a sapphire.*

*To Sir Francis Walsingham a standing cup of forty ounces.*

*To Mr. Newel, Dean of St. Paul's, a gelding.*

*To the petty Canons and inferior officers of the church of Canterbury 10*l.**

*To Pembroke hall in Cambridge certain books, and a standing cup double gilt.*

*To the Queen's college in Oxford certain books, and a nest of bowls, and in money 50*l.**

*To the city of Canterbury to set the poor on work 100*l.**

*To the poor of Lambeth and Croyden 20*l.**

*To the poor of St. Begh's 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.**

*To the parish church of St. Begh's, a communion cup, and a great Bible.*

*To his servants unnamed, half a year's wages apiece : and all his household shall have their ordinary diet in his house for one month.*

*To divers of his kindred named, certain plate, horse, and householdstuff, and debts forgiven, and in money 450*l.**

*To certain Chaplains named, one advowson apiece, and books.*

*To divers of his servants named, certain geldings, and wages, and in money and debts forgiven 209*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.**

CHAP.  
XV.

To divers of his friends, in debts forgiven, &c. 98*l.*  
 To one John Brown, Fellow of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, certain books, a gown cloth, and a hood, and a bed and furniture thereto, 10*l.*

Anno 1583.

To Mr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, a horse. 289

To the said Mr. Redman, and to Mr. Scot, and Mr. Woodhal, if they take upon them the execution of his testament, 50*l.* apiece. And to such of them as shall refuse the execution 10*l.*

The residue is to be bestowed by the discretion of his executors, upon the poorest of his kinsfolk and servants, and upon poor scholars, and other good uses. The whole will may be perused by those that please, being placed in the Appendix.

Num. XX.

The executors he appointed for the performance of his will were William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, John Scot, Esq. steward of his house, and William Woodhal his nephew. And he prayed the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Francis Walsingham, to be his overseers.

It was not two months after he made his will, that the holy Archbishop concluded his life. For on the sixth of July (that very day thirty years, his first royal master, the good King Edward VI. deceased) he, spent with cares and labours, for the good of the Church, after a very exemplary and useful life, surrendered his soul to God. And so I find the day noted by a Minister of London in those times, in a journal which he kept; with this character of him subjoined, *vir pius, mitis, castus et bonus*; i. e. a pious, a mild, a chaste, and a good man: dying in his great climacteric year, *viz.* sixty-three.

July the 9th following, Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Scot, and Woodhal, Esquires, executors, as aforesaid, to the Archbishop, brought to Dr. Aubrey, Vicar General of the see, a little chest covered with black leather, bound about with iron, locked and sealed up, with the several seals of the Archbishop, *viz.* the archiepiscopal seal, and the seal of the faculties. Which said chest or casket had the said seals in it, sealed up before his death, and not opened sithence

MSS. D.  
Johan. Ep.  
Elien.

**BOOK** his decease. But having not then the key, whereby they  
 II. might then have taken out the same seals, to be defaced  
 Anno 1583. and broken, (the key being at Lambeth, the said executors,  
 by the consent of Dr. Aubrey, left the casket with Incent  
 the Register, to be by him safely kept, till they should  
 bring the key. The next day the key was brought, and  
 the two seals taken out, and delivered to Dr. Lewen, Com-  
 missary of the Faculties ; and then and there defaced, and  
 broken asunder by one Robert Lewis, a graver of seals.

Buried.

His monu-  
ment and  
inscription.

He was buried, according to his desire, in the chancel of Croyden church. And on the south side of the communion table against the wall is his effigies in stone lying at length, raised a pretty height from the ground ; his hands in the posture of praying : his eyes have a kind of white in the pupil to denote his blindness. A comely face ; a long black beard somewhat forked, and somewhat curling, vested in his Doctor's robes. As the monument is large and fair, so the verses and inscriptions are not short. I shall give an account of them, and the rather, because they give an account of the man. In one part of the monument are these verses placed, as the character of him :

290      *GRINDALLUS doctus, prudens, gravitate verendus,*  
               *Justus, munificus, sub cruce fortis erat.*  
               *Post crucis ærumnas Christi gregis Anglia fecit*  
               *Signiferum, Christus cælica regna dedit.*

Beneath his effigies on one side are these verses read ;

*Præsulis eximii ter postquam est auctus honore,*  
*Pervigilique greges rexit moderamine sacro,*  
*Confectum senio, durisque laboribus, ecce*  
*Transtulit in placidam mors exoptata quietem.*

On the other side these ;

*Mortua marmoreo conduntur membra sepulchro,*  
*Sed meus sancta viget, fuma perennis erit.*  
*Nam studia et musæ, quas magnis censibus auxit,*  
*GRINDALLI nomen tempus in omne ferent.*

The Ἐπιγραφὴ, or inscription, is large and historical; and CHAP.  
is as follows. XV.

Anno 1583.

## EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS

*Cumbriensis, Theologiæ Doctor, eruditione, prudentia et gravitate clarus, constantia, justitia, et pietate insignis, civibus et peregrinis charus; ab exilio (quod Evangelii causa subiit) reversus ad summum dignitatis fastigium (quasi decursu honorum) sub R. Elizabetha erectus, ecclesiam Londinen. primum, deinde Eborac. demum Cantuarien. rexit. Et cum hic nihil restaret, quo altius ascenderet, è corporis vinculis liber ac beatus ad cælum evolavit 6º. Julii, anno Dom. MDLXXXIII. ætat. suæ LXIII. Hic, præter multa pietatis officia, quæ vivus præstítit, moribundus maximam bonorum suorum partem piis usibus consecravit. In parœcia divæ Beghæ (ubi natus est) scholam grammaticam splendidè extrui, et opimo censu ditari curavit. Magdalensiæ catui Cantabr. (in quo puer primum academiæ ubera suxit) discipulum adjecit. Collegio Christi, (ubi adultus literis incubuit) gratum Μνημόσυνον reliquit. Aulæ 291 Pembrochianæ (cujus olim Socius, postea Præfectus extitit) ærarium et bibliothecam auxit, Græcique prælectori, uni Socio, ac duobus Discipulis, ampla stipendia assignavit. Collegium Reginae Oxon. (in quod Cumbrienses potissimum cooptantur) nummis, libris, et magnis proventibus locupletavit. Civitati Cantuar. (cui moriens præfuit) centum libras, in hoc, ut pauperes honestis artificiis exercearentur, perpetuò servandas, atque impendendas, dedit. Residuum bonorum pietatis operibus dicavit. Sic vivens, moriensque, Ecclesiæ, patriæ, et bonis literis præfuit.*

As to that part of the Archbishop's will that concerned his school, that most useful piece of charity, I have received from a learned gentleman and diligent searcher into antiquities, this account of the ancient and modern state of it; viz. That St. Bee's school was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, her letters patents bearing date the 15th of June, in the twenty-seventh of her reign, by the name of the *Wardens and* The state of  
St. Bee's  
school.  
Ralph  
Thoresby of  
Leeds, Esq.

BOOK *Governours of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the free grammar school of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Kirkby Beacock, alias St. Begh's, in the county of*

II. *Anno 1583.* *Cumberland.* The patent recites, that it was at the suit of the Archbishop in his lifetime, (for he was dead before the school was founded,) and after his death, at the suit of his executors, William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Scot, Esq. late steward of the household to the Archbishop; and William Woodhal, gentleman, his nephew.

Kirkby Beacock in the patent, more truly to be writ Kirkby Begogh, [i. e. *villa ad fanum Begæ;*] for so it is called in all the ancient charters, from Begogh, a famous Irish female saint, of great sanctimony: who settled there in the time of the Saxons; though she seem also to have reached to some parts of Yorkshire; where there is a town named Beal, alias Begh-hall, in memory of this Saint Begh.

William de Meschines erected a priory, and made it a cell of S. Mary's, *juxta muros Ebor. anno 1140,* giving thereunto *totam terram, et totum feodum inter has divisas,* viz. à *pede de Whitoft-haven [nunc White-haven] ad Kekel donec reddit in Egre, et per Egre quoisque reddit in mare,* &c. These lands vesting in the crown by the dissolution of monasteries, were granted to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Kt. from whom were purchased in old rents at Sandwath and St. Begh's *32l. 18s. 6d.* per ann. and some land there, of about *5l.* per ann. value, wherewith the said school was endowed.

In the 28th of the Queen, Tho. Chaloner, Esq. son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, gave an acre and an half of ground, parcel of the site of the priory: where the Archbishop's 292 executors built the school and master's house. He gave also forty loads of coals yearly out of his coal-mines of St. Begh's, to be spent there: reserving a right to place two scholars in the school by the name of Chaloner's scholars.

Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven hath lately at his own charge added a fair library to the school; and a benefaction of *5l.* per ann. Dr. Lamplugh, late Archbishop of York, gave also *5l.* per ann. to it. Which some say is since withdrawn.

Several lands formerly belonging to the school are either sold, or let out for a thousand years: but, I hope, in so weighty a trust, it hath been done upon very good consideration. There now remains in cash 17*l.*

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XV.

Anno 1583.

The interest whereof brings in 10*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* per ann.

Out of the whole revenue there is allowed to the master, 20*l.*

To an usher, 8*l.*

To their steward and receiver, 3*l.*

And for a Court dinner, 13*s.* 4*d.*

The residue was kept as a stock for repairs, and other extraordinary occasions. But now usually what is spared is given to the master; and heretofore did commonly make his salary better than 40*l.* per ann.

It was always the Archbishop's care to preserve the revenues of the sees, over which he presided, and to keep the houses in repair, and laid out largely for that intent yearly.

His execu-  
tors sued  
for dilapida-  
tions.

But yet soon after his death his executors were troubled for dilapidations by his next successor, Whitgift, translated from the see of Wigorn. Whereat they applied to the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, appointed by Archbishop Grindal overseers of his last will: shewing them, how the said Archbishop was ever, for all the sees wherein he sat, known and taken to be the most diligent repairer of his houses; and was otherwise *bonus paterfamilias*; i. e. "a good husband" for preserving the commodities of his sees. And that he left his houses generally in much better case, than they were left by Archbishop Parker. Though, in truth, the said Archbishop was a great repairer; yet all little enough by reason of the lamentable condition all was found in: which was to be laid at the door of Cardinal Pole, the said Parker's immediate predecessor. And yet he took but 600*l.* of the said Pole's executors. So that Grindal left no notorious decays, but all things in as good state as houses of that ancientness and largeness were usually maintained in; and might for ever by common estimation be kept in sufficient repair with as little, or rather less yearly charge, than Grindal yearly bestowed of his own money, over and beside

**BOOK II.** the sum which he received of Parker's executors, which  
Anno 1583. was  $350l.$  For Archbishop Grindal having very good ex-  
 perience and understanding in what state of repairs Bishops  
 ought to leave their houses, did in his life-time so carefully  
 provide for convenient repairing of his, and bestowed there-  
 upon such large portions, that it was thought his successor  
 would have cause in equity to demand little or nothing for  
 dilapidations. And this was well known to a number both  
**293** of his servants and others, that were to have portions of the  
 remain of his goods.

**The Arch-  
 bishop's ex-  
 penses upon  
 the church  
 and houses  
 of London.** And for proof of this they made it appear what expenses  
 he had been at, when he was Bishop of London: that he  
 bestowed on the reparation of St. Paul's church  $1184l. 18s.$   
 $11\frac{1}{2}d.$  That the palace of London was very sufficiently re-  
 pairied, and so left at his departure, and like long to con-  
 tinue so with small charge; having expended on that house,  
 during his incumbency,  $147l. 2s. 2d.$  proved by his stew-  
 ard's bill. Moreover expended on Fulham house and the  
 bridges,  $356l. 15s. 7\frac{1}{2}d.$  very sufficiently repaired, and so left.  
 Lastly, expended upon Hadham house  $200l. 10s. 9d.$  very  
 sufficiently repaired, and so left.

**The execu-  
 tors' plea.** In conclusion, the executors offered their reasons to the  
 two foresaid persons of quality, that moved them to think,  
 that they were not so deeply to be charged for dilapidations as  
 was required by the present Archbishop by a view by him  
 made. First, because there were some things in the view,  
 of that nature that they could not be comprehended under  
 the name of dilapidations. And some things there were  
 that had been long in decaying, as battlements of stone, &c.  
 that either were not necessary, or would yet for many years  
 continue without hurt to the house, or much more decay of  
 them, as upon perusing the same might particularly appear.  
 That there were also many places counted to be in decay  
 that were in as sufficient repair as might reasonably be re-  
 quired. There were also many decays valued at so high a  
 rate, as they might after the usual manner be repaired suffi-  
 ciently for much less than they were rated at. In consider-  
 ation whereof the executors of the said Archbishop Grin-

dal were humble suitors, that his present Grace would be pleased to take 250*l.* in full satisfaction: yet so as the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in whom the late Archbishop reposed special trust, should consent thereto. This relation that I have given of this matter will acquaint us how faithful our Archbishop was in that trust, (none of the least,) in keeping up the edifices, and not thinking much in bestowing a part of the revenues, that they might remain in good and creditable condition; a thing very apt to be neglected, to the scandal of the Clergy; many at least of them; who have enjoyed ample incomes from the Church, and lived plentifully upon them; and yet have not had (I will not say the grace, but) the gratitude, to lay out any competent share of them upon God's houses or their own, to keep them as they found them; leaving decays and ruins as monuments of their ingratitude to posterity.

He lived and died unmarried. His relations, besides those occasionally mentioned in the beginning of this history, his last will and testament will supply us with some account of. I meet with no males of his name, but one, named William Grindal, who is called his servant, to whom he gave a legacy. All the rest of his kin were sisters children. And they, or at least some of them, were these; William Woodhal his nephew, who is wrote *Esquire* in this Archbishop's register, whom he made one of his executors. He had several nieces by his brother Robert Grindal deceased; namely, Mabel, Anne, Barbara, and Frances; to each 294 of whom he gave 50*l.* by his will. And several nieces by his sister Elizabeth Woodhal, late deceased also; namely, Dorothy, Katharine, Elizabeth, and Isabel; to each of them also he bequeathed 50*l.* His said sister had also yet another daughter, called Mabel, but deceased; who left children also behind her; to whom the Archbishop their great uncle left 50*l.* to be divided among them. He had another niece, named Isabel Wilson, perhaps wife to Wilson his chaplain; and another, whom he called his niece Woodhal, wife, I suppose, of Woodhal his nephew before mentioned: and lastly,

BOOK yet another niece, named Frances Young: to which three  
II. he also gave legacies.

Anno 1583. His household officers, chaplains, and servants, were many.  
His chap- Whereof these were some at his death. His chaplains were,  
lains, offi- Mr. Wilson; to whom by his will he gave the advowson of  
cers, and the parsonage of Wonston in the diocese of Winton; which  
servants. was his option, upon the consecration of John Watson Bi-  
shop of that see: Mr. Robinson, Provost of Queen's college,  
Oxon, to whom he bequeathed the advowson of a dignity  
and prebend in the church of Litchfield, or the advowson of  
certain dignities and prebends in the church of St. David's:  
Mr. John Chambers; to whom also he gave an advowson in  
the church of St. Paul's or some other falling void. All  
which seemed to have been options. His officers were these:  
John Scot, Esq. steward of his house, and one of his execu-  
tors; Richard Ratcliff, Gent. his comptroller; Richard Framp-  
ton, Gent. his secretary; Tho. Estwick, his gentleman usher;  
Tho. Nicolson, usher of his hall; John Sharp, clerk of his  
kitchen; Richard Somerdine, yeoman of his horse; Will.  
Henmarsh, Gent. Tho. Palmer, Gent. Rob. Sandwich of Stil-  
lington, Will. Grindal, Will. Hoxby, Rich. Matthew, John  
Acklam, Will. Hales, Will. Tubman, Reginald Gledal, Tho.  
Fox: to all whom he gave legacies.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Observations upon this Archbishop. His temper. His affection for true religion. His abilities in preaching. His government of the Church. His labour to furnish the Church with learned Ministers. His zeal for the exercises on that account. Some things observed concerning them. His constancy. His plainness and freedom. His humility. His dealing with Puritans. His free counsel to the Queen.*

AND thus I have brought to an end my relation of this great and good man: who all along led an unblemished and useful life; devoting himself to the service of God, and the advancement of pure religion, purged from all the dregs of Popish superstition: and for these ends (by the good <sup>295</sup>providence of God) saved out of the Romish fires, wherein several of his companions perished under Queen Mary. I have now nothing else to do but make some reflections upon him, and to enter into some considerations of his temper and qualifications, as a man, as a Christian, and as a Minister, a Bishop, and a chief Pastor of the Church of Christ in this kingdom.

He was of a mild and subdued temper, and friendly <sup>His temper.</sup> position; (a good groundwork to build true religion upon:) in his deportment courteous and affable: not touchy, nor soon angry: well spoken and easy of access; and that even in his elation: always obliging in his carriage, loving and grateful to his servants, and of a free and liberal heart.

His fear of God, and sincere love of religion, evidently <sup>His reli-</sup> appeared in his willingly foregoing of his own country, his <sup>gion.</sup> ease, his presidentship in Pembroke hall, his good prebends in the churches of St. Paul's and Westminster, and all his preferments and hopes; and living abroad in a strange land, that he might preserve his conscience, and serve God in purity and truth, cheerfully comporting with narrower and straiter circumstances of living.

**BOOK****II.****A great  
preacher.**

He was a great preacher in King Edward the Sixth's time, and one of the eminentest in that faculty both at Court and University. And at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Protestant religion was to be declared and inculcated to the people, he was one of the chief, employed to that end frequently in the *pulpit* at Paul's, and before the Queen and nobility. Whereby at that unsteady, ticklish time, he did good service to religion, the minds of men being more enlightened in religious matters, then controv-  
erted, and their judgments rectified and confirmed.

**Dreads Po-  
perty.**

Upon his first coming over from his exile, Queen Elizabeth being possessed of the crown, when preferment in the Church was to be laid upon him, his dread of Popery created him some demur in accepting the same; fearing to comply with the very appearances and shadows of it in the habits and some other rites appointed, till he had satisfaction, partly by serious consideration with himself, and partly by the advice of certain foreign Divines, chiefly P. Martyr and Henry Bullinger, men of the greatest learning in divinity that age afforded: being instructed, that many things, yea inconveniences, were to be borne with for the Church's peace and safety. And therefore afterwards, when some for these external matters in religious worship made seditions, and brake the Church's quiet, he thought himself bound, as a faithful and careful overseer of the Church of Christ in England, when all his mild persuasions and arguments proved ineffectual, to prosecute the refusers, and to use the severer methods warranted by the laws against them.

**His govern-  
ment.  
Provides  
the Church  
with  
preachers.**

And this leads us to consider him in his government, when ecclesiastical power and conduct was committed to him. One of his chief cares in this station was to supply the churches under him with preachers; of which there was a great scarcity everywhere in his time; and the people then especially needing them, when so much superstition and ignorance, by the industry of the late Popish policy, had overspread them. Yet withal our Archbishop took special care what preachers he allowed. Of this he once made this

protestation to the Queen: "That for his own part, (and CHAP.  
 " he spoke it without ostentation,) he was very careful in al- XVI.  
 " lowing such persons only as were able and sufficient to be  
 " preachers, both for their knowledge in the Scriptures,  
 " and also for testimony of their good life and conversation.  
 " And that he gave great charge to the rest of the Bishops  
 " of the province to do the like. That he admitted no man  
 " to the office that professed either Papistry or Puritanism.  
 " And that generally the Graduates of the University were  
 " only admitted to be preachers; unless it were some few  
 " that had excellent gifts of knowledge in the Scriptures,  
 " joined with good utterance and godly persuasion."

Therefore while he was at York, he procured above forty learned preachers, and they Graduates, within less than six years, to be placed in that diocese, (a great number in those times,) besides those he found there; and there he left them. "The fruits of whose travails in preaching," as he told the Queen, "she was like to reap daily, by most assured dutiful obedience of her subjects in those parts. " For his opinion firmly was, that by frequent preaching "the word of God two very good things would prevail "among the people, viz. true religion towards God, and "obedience and loyalty towards the Prince." And for the proof of the latter, he mentioned a remarkable instance that once happened in Queen Elizabeth's reign: which was, that Anno 1569. when all the north, almost, had made an insurrection and rebellion, the town of Halifax (where had been a considerable while good preaching) remained firm and loyal to her, and set forth four thousand men armed, to resist and quell these seditious persons.

Another thing which in his high station he laboured to redress, was the ignorance and sloth of the Clergy. And in order to this reformation, and for the furtherance of the Clergy. Priests and Curates in knowledge, and for the provoking them to the study of the Scripture, upon his first coming to the see of Canterbury, he earnestly set himself to encourage and regulate the exercises, called *propheesyings*, which had been used before, but with some abuses, in most dioceses,

Vide his letter.

**BOOK** and had the countenance of the respective Bishops. But  
**II.** the well-meaning Archbishop could not succeed in this his purpose; being checked in it very angrily by the Queen, who had no good opinion of them, as being practised also more privately by the Puritans, to confirm them in their dislike of the established religion, and out of policy, (too accurate, perhaps,) supposing the heads of most who resorted to these exercises, by the declarations and expositions of Scripture that were then made, would be filled with notions and opinions, that might render them at length turbulent in the state. The Archbishop, on the other hand, had quite different sentiments of them, and that they would tend much to the improving of the Clergy and edifying of the people, as had been by good experience already found. So that he would never be brought to give forth his orders for the putting them down. Hence the

**297** Queen conceived a prejudice against him; hardly ever after

Sir J. Harrington in his Brief View.  
 blowing over. And which the Earl of Leicester, we are told by an author, by his artifice blew up more and more in

the Queen against him, till she had suspended him from his function, and would not be persuaded to take off his sequestration for a long while, whatever inconveniences the Church lay under by it. And that, that which provoked that great Earl was the Archbishop's immoveable justice towards one Julio, an Italian physician, his favourite, whom Grindal resolved to prosecute, notwithstanding the Earl's intercession for him, and the Queen's too, for a grievous crime, *viz.* in having two wives, and one of them another man's. But I suspend my belief, whether Leicester were his enemy for this, or whether he were now his enemy at all. But the Queen certainly was. And therefore among his chief misfortunes may be reckoned his advancement to the chair of Canterbury, which almost as soon as he enjoyed, occasionally brought him into dislike with the Queen, who before was mightily esteemed and valued by her, for his innate goodness, excellent abilities, and great services.

King James appoints prophecies further concerning these prophecies: it was not much above in Scotland.

seven or eight years after the Queen's offence with our C H A P.  
Archbishop, that King James, the learned Monarch of XVI.  
Scotland, publicly allowed and encouraged them in his kingdom, as excellently conducive to Christian knowledge, (in the Clergy especially,) without any jealousy of the inconveniency of them, since his Bishops were concerned in the appointing and regulating them. This so apposite to our purpose may deserve to be related.

“ For when in his Parliament, anno 1584, (in the fourth Declaration  
“ act thereof,) the King had shewn his resolution for the of the  
“ maintenance of Bishops in his kingdom, (whose govern-  
ment in his Church, some of his subjects, for a time, had  
“ intercepted,) and had removed and discharged a form late tow. the  
“ invented, (as it ran in a certain Declaration of that King,) last Actis  
“ called the *Presbytery*: whereby a number of Ministers of of Parlam.  
“ certain precincts and bounds, accounting themselves all to Impr. at  
“ be equal without any difference; and gathering to them- Edinb. an.  
“ selves certain gentlemen and others of the King's sub- 1585.  
“ jects, usurped all the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and Penes Re-  
“ altered the laws at their own appetite: verend.  
“ And when, in the twentieth act of that Parliament, the Patr. D.  
“ King ratified and approved, and reestablished the state Joan. Ep.  
“ of Bishops within his realm, to have the oversight and Elien.  
“ jurisdiction every one in his own diocese: which form of  
“ government and rule in ecclesiastical affairs (as the De-  
claration went on) had not only continued in his Kirk  
“ from the days of the Apostles by continual succession of  
“ time, and many martyrs in that calling shed their blood  
“ for the truth; but also since that realm embraced and  
“ received the Christian religion, the same state had been  
“ maintained, to the welfare of the Kirk, and quietness of  
“ the realm, without any interruption, while within this  
“ few years some curious and busy men practised to intro-  
“ duce into the Ministry an equality and parity in all  
“ things.”

Then at length, in the conclusion of the said Declaration, 298  
the King proceeds to his *intentions*, which are digested The King's  
into fourteen articles. Whereof the first was, that his inten- intentions.

**BOOK II.** tion was, by the grace of God, to maintain the true and sincere profession of the Gospel and preaching thereof within his realm: the second, that his intention was to correct and punish such as seditiously abused the chyre [chair] of truth, and factiously applied, or rather bewrayed the text of Scripture, to the disquieting of the state, and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his Highness's and Council's honour: the third, that if any question of faith and doctrine arose, to convocate the most learned, godly, wise, and experienced pastors; that by conference of Scripture the verity might be tried, and all heresy and schism by that means repressed: the fourth, that for keeping of good order in every parish, certain, to be censors of the manners of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the Bishop or visitor; who shall have his Majesty's authority, and officers of arms concurring, for the punishing of vice. These I have specified to introduce the fifth, which was in these words, (according to the Scotch dialect.)

**Intendeth  
to maintain  
prophecies.**

" That his Majesty's intentioun was, to maintene the exercise of Prophecy, for the incres and continuing of knowledge amongis the Ministry. In the quhilk ane wise and grave man *selectit* be the Bishop, or Commissioner, at the Synodal Assembly, soll preside; and rander ane compt of the administration of that bounds, quhair the exercise is haldin. For the quhilk cause some respect of leving soll be had unto him, quha sustenis the burding."

From whence it may appear in what esteem and request Prophesying was in the neighbouring nation among those of the episcopal persuasion: and how at the same time that King had discharged the presbyterial Church-government and established Episcopacy, he took special care for the maintenance of this exercise, and to what good use and benefit he reckoned it would tend, *viz.* the increasing of knowledge in Ministers, according to the judgment and experience of our Archbishop in this kingdom. And further, it is observable, that for the more regular and quiet management of these prophesyings, the King trod in the

Archbishop's steps, in appointing, that there should be some one wise and grave person selected by the Bishop, or Commissioner, to preside within the respective bounds of the several exercises.

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And it is further remarkable, that this King did not put down these assemblies, because of some ill use that had been or might be made of them, but took care rather of putting them under certain regulations. And herein likewise he seemed to have taken pattern by the Archbishop. "For fo. c. thus the King, in his foresaid declaration, gave commission to his Commissioners at their visitations, to consider, in what part of the country the exercise or interpretation of the Scripture by conference of any certain number of the Ministry within such bounds, might be most commonly, once in fifteen days: for that, as his Majesty inhibited all unlawful conventions which might engender trouble and contention in the country, so he was well affected to see the Ministry increase in knowledge and understanding, and by all means to fortify and advance the same. And therein his Highness's commandment was, that a grave, wise, and sage man should be appointed President, to have the oversight of that bounds, and be answerable therefore to the Bishop, his Council, and Synod, &c. that all things might be orderly done in the Kirk, peace and quietness maintained in the realm, &c.

" In the mean time his Highness inhibited and expressly countermanded, under the pains contained in his Majesty's acts of Parliament, and all other pains arbitral at his Majesty's sight and Council, that no Ministers took upon hand to convene themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said Bishops or Commissioners: whereby his Highness might be certainly informed, that the foresaid Ministers convened not, to meddle with any civil matters or affairs of state, (as was accustomed before,) but only to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spiritual office."

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BOOK

II.

By this digression I have endeavoured to alleviate our Archbishop's fault, and to vindicate him from any seeming compliance with the innovators, or doing any thing, by his countenancing these exercises, to the prejudice of the religion established, but rather to the general edification of clergy and people.

The exercises enjoined by Sandys Bishop of York.

Int. Epist.  
Edwin, Ar-  
chiep. Ebor.  
pen. me.

Yea, and for a further remark in the behalf of these exercises; whether or no they were put down in the other province, or the Queen had better thoughts of them afterwards upon some regulation, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that but a year or two after they were forbidden, (*viz. anno 1578.*) Archbishop Sandys, in his metropolitical visitation of his province of York, enjoined them to his Clergy there: for being returned to Bishopthorp from that visitation, he gave in a letter this following account thereof to the Lord Treasurer: "That he found a very ignorant people, and yet willing and of capacity to learn. Whereupon he set the preachers on work, to preach at every market and great town every second Sunday; and that he took his part, and did as much as the rest. And that besides, for the increase of learning in the Ministry, he gave order, that every Archdeacon should keep four Synods in the year: and that the Ministers there assembled, (some principal points of religion having been before propounded to them,) all should be prepared to speak, but such only should speak as should be called thereunto by some grave persons, appointed moderators; and that they should speak to the matter, and not *varari*, [i. e. stray from it.]" And this to be done among the Ministers themselves: the laity, it seems, were not allowed to be present promiscuously. So that it appears hence that these prophecies were still countenanced and practised; and the Bishops thought them still the best means for begetting a faculty of preaching, and increasing of learning in the Clergy; especially being secured from confusion.

300 To all this let me add the judgment of the learned Lord

Lord Ba-  
con's judg-

Bacon in a discourse to the aforesaid King, (then King of

Great Britain;) where he considered, whether it were not CHAP.  
 requisite to renew that good exercise which was practised XVI.  
 in this Church some years; and afterwards put down by  
 order indeed from the Church, in regard of some abuses  
 thereof, inconvenient for those times; and yet against the  
 advice and opinion of the *greatest and gravest Prelate of*  
*this land*, (as he worthily styled our Archbishop,) and was  
 commonly called *prophesying*: and then, having described  
 the manner of it, said, “that in his opinion, it was the best  
 “way to frame and train up Preachers, to handle the word  
 “of God as it ought to be handled, that had been prac-  
 “tised: for we see,” said he, “orators have their declara-  
 “tions; lawyers have their moots; logicians their sophems;  
 “and every practice of science hath an exercise of erudition  
 “and initiation before it come to the life: only preaching,  
 “which is the worthiest, and wherein it is most in danger  
 “to be amiss, wanteth an introduction.”

But though the Queen’s offence was one of the most grievous things that ever happened to him in the world, (as he professed,) yet for the averting of it he would take no irregular course: being endued with that immutable constancy of mind in persisting in a thing that he reckoned his duty, for the more faithful discharge of his office, that I look upon it truly as one of the best passages of his life, his plain, yet humble refusal of the Queen’s order to him, *viz.* to put down the Ministers’ exercises; and his resolution to decline what she absolutely required; since he could not, nor would balk his own conscience, knowing what great good and benefit accrued to God’s Church and people thereby. And the freedom and plainness of the declaration of his mind to the Queen in his letter, adds to his commendation: offering freely the resignation of his high place in the Church, and to be turned again to a private life, rather than to do any thing against conscience, notwithstanding even the command of his Prince; though in all indifferent things it bore (as it ought to do) a mighty sway with him. Writing thus to her; “that for his own part, because he “was well assured, that the said exercises were both pro-

ment of  
prophecies.  
Considerat.  
of the Edi-  
fic. of the  
Ch. of Eng-  
land.

His plain-  
ness and  
freedom.

**BOOK** " fitable to increase knowledge among the Ministers, and  
**II.** " tended to the edifying of the Church, he was forced with  
 " all humility, and yet plainly to profess, that he could  
 " not, with safe conscience, and without the offence of the  
 " majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of  
 " them; much less could he send out any injunction for  
 " the utter and universal subversion of the same. —————  
 " And that if it were her Majesty's pleasure, for this or any  
 " other cause, to remove him out of this place, he would  
 " with all humility yield thereunto, and render again to  
 " her Majesty that which he received of her. He con-  
 sidered with himself what a horrible thing it was to fall  
 " into the hands of the living God, and that he that acted  
 " against his conscience edified to *hell*; and what should he  
 " win, if he gained, he would not say, a bishopric, but the  
 " whole world, and lost his own soul?"

**301** Neither did this incompliance with the Queen proceed  
 Not puffed up by his preferments.  
 from any elation of mind by reason of his high place and dignity; for such external, accidental things made no change in his temper and disposition, which was ever at the same stay of meekness and gentleness: however he had been severely charged by some with pride, covetousness, persecution, and such like crimes, that are commonly wont to be thrown as imputations upon those that hold such stations in the Church as he did. Thomas Sampson, the Puritan, and his old acquaintance, and late Dean of Christ's Church, Oxon, took occasion to tell him of these things at large by a letter. The good Bishop, now Archbishop of York, returned him a very friendly and obliging answer, written *sine furo aut fastu*, laying aside all state, and at large relating to him what his temper indeed was; and solemnly protested himself to be free, and innocent of these rude reports that went of him; yea, and that he loved some godly brethren, that wished such things reformed as were amiss. Insomuch, that Sampson in another letter declared himself satisfied, and that he knew now what to say, when hereafter he should hear any such slanders started concerning him.

His protestation concerning it.

Nor did he affect at all grandeur or state, notwithstanding he bore the title of *Lord*, as he also declared, when he opened his mind to his said old acquaintance, saying, “that he was not *lordly*, nor set by that *lordly* estate, “though Sampson somewhat too petulantly seemed to make a doubt, whether he said true or no.” For thus Sampson herein expressed his mind: “He trusted,” he said, “he the [Archbishop] had learned a better lesson than the common sort of men had: for as the manner now is, the proud man will say he is not proud; and the covetous man will say that he sets not by money; but he hoped the Archbishop said of himself as he was:” adding, “And if you, whom policy hath made a great Lord, be not *lordly*, but do keep the humble and strait course of a loving brother and Minister of Christ’s Gospel, shall I say you are a *phœnix*? I will say, that you are most happily by God’s special grace preserved and directed.”

He is commonly now-a-days thought to have held the reins too loose in respect to this sort of men; and for his slackness in his government of the Church’s affairs he is vulgarly blamed: but I think it may appear to be an unjust accusation, by what it is evident he did towards them, as we shall see. He best knew what courses were fittest to be used, who lived in those times, and observed how things then stood in the State and Church; and did *consilium pro tempore et re nata capere*; i. e. take counsel according to the time and present urgency of affairs, as Cæsar wisely advised Labienus, when he left him in Gaul to look after affairs in his absence. And if Grindal be condemned for this gentle usage, Whitgift, his next successor, is commended for the same by Sir George Paul, writing thus: “Happy sure Whitg. Life, it was for that crazy state of the Church, not to meet with P. 82. too rough and boisterous a physician: for he preserved it with conserves and electuaries, and some gentle purges; which with strong purges in all likelihood might have been much more in danger.” And again, the author professes, “he could not sufficiently express that Archbishop’s

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XVI.

Affected not  
grandeur.  
Notwith-  
standing  
his title,  
he was not  
*lordly*.

**BOOK II.** “singular wisdom and clemency; albeit some younger spirits were of opinion, that he was much to blame in that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage.” Which words may well enough befit our Archbishop, when his mildness is by any objected to him; especially since that upon occasion was joined with severity too.

**He labours the reclaiming them.** For his zeal and affection to the state of the reformed Church of England shewed itself, as upon every occasion, so particularly in endeavouring to reclaim those they styled *Precisions* and *Puritans*; who for some few ceremonies made a breach in Christian communion: for though his spirit, as was mentioned before, was easy and complaisant, and liked not of rigor; yet when he saw that no other means would bring them to obedience, he approved of restraint, especially of the heads of the faction, whom he styled *fanatical and incurable*. When a proclamation against these men came forth from the Queen anno 1574, and letters were sent withal to the Bishops; wherein they were blamed for their too much gentleness towards the schismatical faction, and strict orders appointed to be taken with them for the bringing them to come to their parish churches, our Prelate observed what a very heavy burden was laid upon their shoulders, and that generally and equally, without respect or difference; whereas there was not like occasion of offence given by all, as he discoursed privately by letter from York with the other Archbishop of Canterbury; and assured him, that it was to him a great grief, and would have been ten times greater, had not they [the Council in their letter] so well beaten down the others’ arrogant innovating spirits: which he trusted would work some benefit to the Church, if the captains were not countenanced, as they had been by those that were no Bishops, [however the blame were laid upon the Bishops.]

**Puritan Ministers.** He liked not that the Puritan Ministers, who would not conform themselves to the orders of the Church, should retain their prebends and preferments in it: as did one Dr. Penny, who was turned physician: that of a preacher, as

he said, became a layman, and still kept a prebend at St. Paul's; and so did Wiburn, Johnson, and others, hold prebends in some churches or other. "They are," said he, "content to take the livings of the Church, and yet affirm it to be no Church; [to that pass of disaffection they were now grown.] *Beneficium datur propter officium*; i. e. the benefice is given for the office. If they will do no office, let them enjoy no benefit." And in conclusion, with an eye to these men he prayed, "that God would send us all humble and quiet spirits, [which those men, he meant, wanted,] and thankfully to acknowledge God's great mercies towards us;" in planting, he meant, the reformed religion in the kingdom under a gracious Queen, when, in the late reign, those that professed it would have been most glad to have enjoyed it upon the terms it now stood, (that is, as it was settled under King Edward VI.) and have thanked God from the bottom of their hearts for it.

The last thing I shall remark in this great Prelate is, 303 that though his spirit were humble and meek, and most yielding to Christians of the meanest rank in the offices of good cause. His boldness in a charity, and where religion received no detriment; yet upon occasion he would be bold and free with persons of the highest quality, (even the Prince herself,) to speak his mind, and give his counsel or reproof without fear or faint-heartedness, when the good of religion or the Church was concerned: as he did once when the Queen seemed to assume too much, as he thought, in the business of the *exercises*. Whereupon he took the boldness with her, like an <sup>His free and notable advice to the Queen.</sup> Archbishop, to advise and warn her in two things, wherein she seemed to have gone somewhat beyond the limits of her duty. The first was, that she would refer all ecclesiastical matters, which touched religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, unto the Bishops and Divines of her realm, according to the example of godly Christian Emperors and Princes in all ages: for that they were things to be judged, as an ancient Father writ, *in Ecclesia aut Synodo, non in palatio*, i. e. in the Church or Synod, not

**BOOK** in the palace. That when her Majesty had question of the laws of the realm, she did not decide the same in her Court, but sent them to her Judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way, he told her, was to refer the decision of the same to the Bishops and other head Ministers of the Church. And he quoted the words of St. Ambrose to an Emperor for this purpose, that “in case of the faith, “the Bishops were wont to judge of Christian Emperors, “not Emperors of the Bishops.” He wished to God her Majesty would follow this ordinary course; whereby she would procure to herself much quietness of mind, better please God, avoid many offences; and the Church would be more quiet, and peaceably governed. The other advice (which he prudently called by the name of a *petition*) was, that when she dealt in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touched the Church of Christ, she would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as she might do in civil and extern things; but always to remember, that in God’s causes the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature is to take place: that it was the Antichristian voice of the Pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo*. In God’s matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God. Moreover he exhorted her to remember she was a mortal creature, and “to look not only,” as it was said to Theodosius, “upon “the purple and princely array wherewith she was ap-“pareled, but to consider withal what that was that was “covered therewith.” Was it not flesh and blood? Was it not dust and ashes? Was it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, God knew how soon? “Must you not,” said he, “appear also one day before “the dreadful tribunal of the crucified Christ, to receive as “you have done in the body? Although ye are a mighty “Princess, yet remember, that he which dwelleth in hea-“ven is mightier.” He beseeched her, that when she dealt in religious causes, she would set the Majesty of God before her eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; and to deter-

mine with herself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea sed tua voluntas fiat*, i. e. Not my will, but thine be done. “God hath blessed you” (as he proceeded) “with great felicity in your reign, beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy; but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first to the goodness of the cause ye have set forth, that is, Christ’s true religion; and secondly, to the sighs and groans of the godly in their fervent prayers to God for you; which hath hitherto, as it were, tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved. Take heed, that ye never once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Joash; who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together, and afterwards, *when he was strengthened*, saith the text, “2 Paral. xxvi. his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he neglected the Lord. Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if ye turn away from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what remains then to be looked for, but a terrible expectation of God’s judgments, and a heaping up of wrath against the day of wrath?” A reproof, proceeding, as it is probable, from the observation the reverend Father had taken of some lukewarmness into the which the Queen of late seemed to have sunk.

Thus, with a kind of apostolical spirit, he could, upon just occasion, exhort and rebuke without respect of persons, and with all authority.

## CHAP. XVII.

*What Camden, Holinshed, Stow, and other historians have related concerning this Archbishop. Unfairly represented by Fuller. A passage of Dr. Heylin concerning him considered. Some further account given of him, from a MS. history in Pembroke hall, Cambridge. A dialogue written by him. The conclusion.*

The cha-  
racters  
given of  
him by his-  
torians.

**T**O draw to a conclusion. In the discharge of this high function he lived and died unblameable, and was universally esteemed and beloved. Fair and honourable are the characters our best and most ancient historians give of him with one consent.

Camd. Eliz.  
p. 30. Edit.  
1675.  
P. 287.

Camden, where he speaks of the new Bishops under Queen Elizabeth, calleth Edmund Grindal, now appointed for London, "an excellent Divine." And where he comes to relate his death, saith, "he was a religious and grave man, that flourished in great grace with the Queen, until by the cunning artifices of his adversaries he quite lost her favour; as if he had leaned to conventicles of turbulent and hot-spirited Ministers, and their prophecies, as they called them; but in truth, because he had condemned the unlawful marriage of one Julio, the Italian physician,

305

"with another man's wife, while Leicester in vain opposed his proceedings therein."

Holinshed  
Chron.  
p. 1354 a.

Holinshed, another of our historians, nearest to those times, gives this account of him: "This good man in his life time was so studious, that his book was his bride, and his study his bridechamber: whereupon he spent both his eye-sight, his strength, and his health, &c. Of whom much might be spoken for others imitation; but this shall suffice, that as his learning and virtues were inseparable companions, so the reward of both is the good name that he hath left behind him, as a monument perpetual." This is all he saith of him without the least word to lessen him.

Stow.

Stow, another faithful historian, that was contemporary with him, where he mentions his death, speaks of his great

and numerous benefactions; and so doth Godwin in his Catalogue of Bishops, without any the least diminution of him.

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The next writer I shall name, that undertook to give Godwin. some historical account of this Archbishop, was Thomas Rogers. Rogers, who lived in his time, and was, as it appears, well acquainted with the emergencies of the Church in those days; Chaplain also to Archbishop Bancroft, (who was known not to be slack in discipline, nor partial to Puritans.) This reverend man was the author of a learned book, (and formerly much read and esteemed,) entitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, professed and protected in the Realm, &c.* printed above an hundred years ago. In the preface whereof, dedicated to his patron, the abovesaid Archbishop, he related some history of the first Archbishops of Canterbury, that were the restorers of true religion among us, and through whose hands the reformation of it passed. Where coming to Archbishop Grindal, he express- Preface to the Faith, &c. profes- sed and pro- tected in this realm. Pr. 1607. eth him to be, “a zealous confessor and tried soldier,” [i. e. in respect of his sufferings for religion,] and, “a right fa- “mous and worthy Prelate.” And then he relates, “how “the Queen advanced him after his return from his banish- “ment, first to London, and then to the two other archie- “piscopal sees.” And, “that the care of this Bishop was “great to further the glory of God; but that through the “envy and malice of his ill-willers his power was but small; “his place high, but himself made low through some dis- “grace brought upon him by his potent adversaries, which “he meekly and patiently endured.” And the same author adds his observation of two considerable inconveniences, that his troubles, and the prohibiting him from acting in his place and calling, occasioned: the one was, “the flocking of “Jesuits into the kingdom: the other, the insolence and “boldness of the home-faction.” By which he meant, the *brethren* that opposed the government and discipline of this Church.

And lastly, this historian ranks our Archbishop (without the least note of neglect in his function, or diminution of his character) with the rest of the excellent Archbishops of Can-

**BOOK II.** terbury, from Cranmer to Bancroft: all of famous and venerable memory, "in respect of the uniform doctrine by them drawn up at first, and afterwards defended and maintained; and, that the whole Church of England was much bound unto them. And that, not they only that were then alive, but their successors and posterity, should have cause in all ages, while the world should continue, to magnify Almighty God for his inestimable benefit, which they had and should receive from them; and who had inspired them with wisdom from above."

**Harrington.** Sir John Harrington (who lived in these times of Queen Elizabeth, and some time after) undertakes to give some strictures of her Bishops; but they are commonly but light rumours of court, and often idle and trifling. Yet what he says of Archbishop Grindal points not to any misgovernment of the Church: but that whereas it was commonly

**Brief View.** said, that he was blind some years before his death, this writer would make a mystery of it, telling us, that he was not blind, but that when Queen Elizabeth enjoined him to keep his house, his friends gave out that he was blind; and that he kept at home the better to conceal this punishment the Queen had laid upon him. Very likely, had the report of his blindness happened at the same time that the Queen had commanded his confinement: but he was not blind till five years after, at least: and that he was then blind, I have seen the subscription of his name, that evidently shews it to be writ by a blind man. Some other passages he ventures to write of the Archbishop so slight and improbable, that I shall not repeat them. But this author writes not one word of his remissness in government, or countenance towards such as opposed the constitutions of the Church.

Till Mr. Fuller came, a man within memory, and first broached this notion (as far as I can perceive) concerning Grindal. And his relations seem to be more hearsays, than built upon any authentic authority, either of records or good MSS. He says, "he was generally condemned for remissness in parting with more from the see, than ever his successors thanked him for:" this is a hard charge, but

spoken in general terms. If he means exchanges with the Queen, he and all the rest of the Bishops were forced to make these exchanges by an act that passed for that purpose in the beginning of her reign. And what endeavours he and two or three more of the first Elects made, by a secret letter to her Majesty, and by a voluntary proffer of a large yearly equivalent, to forbear the making use of that power the Parliament had given her, hath been before shewn. But that Grindal was not so easy to part with the revenues of his bishopric this historian shews himself, by relating how stoutly he opposed parting with the palace at Lambeth to the great favourite; which made the Leicestrian faction (he saith) to malice him.

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This writer speaks also of some, “ who strained a parallel between Eli and Grindal, in respect of his being guilty of dangerous indulgence to offenders: and as a father of the Church, he was accused of too much conniving at the factious disturbers thereof.” But he gives not one instance thereof. Indeed Fuller seems to note these things concerning the Archbishop, rather as reports and rumours taken up in his times, than as matters of undoubted truth. At length he placeth the Archbishop’s remissness and neglect in requiring subscription to the last year of his life but one: 307 and attributes it to his age and impotency. Though he adds, (to make what he had said before consistent,) that in greater strength he did but weakly urge conformity. He should not have forgot to mention the Archbishop’s suspension; whereby his hands were very much tied up from acting in his place and function: during which time great liberty was taken by such as were disaffected to the Church and its constitution. What truth is in the foregoing passages, and how our Archbishop discharged himself in his office, I refer the reader to what hath been before impartially written: yet in conclusion, this historian calls him, “ a Pre-late most primitive in all his conversation.”

There is yet another of our modern historians, namely, Dr. Heylin. Dr. Heylin; who, speaking of those English Protestants that in the beginning of our Reformation stood affected to

**BOOK II.** the discipline of Geneva, writes, that they made use of Bishop Grindal to bring about their purpose, by making him instrumental to the setting up of a church in London for the French Protestant Refugees, to worship God together in, according to the manner used in their own reformed churches

*Hist. of the Reformation at home: viz. "that Grindal, the new Bishop of London, was known to have a great respect to the name of Calvin," 305.*

[and so he had, no doubt, to that of Luther, Melanethon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the rest of the pious foreign reformers of religion.] "That the business therefore was so ordered, that by Calvin's letter unto Grindal, and the friends they had about the Queen, way should be granted to such of the French nation that had repaired hither to enjoy the freedom of their own religion, to have a church unto themselves: and in that church not only to erect the Genevian discipline, but to set up a form of prayer, that should hold no conformity with the English Liturgy." [And this liberty to these foreigners was no more, than but a little before was granted to Grindal and his fellow exiles in the cities and places where they sojourned.] "And Calvin gave Grindal thanks for his favour therein."

*Ep. Calv.  
295.*

There is a letter indeed extant among Calvin's Epistles, whence Dr. Heylin had what is said above; bearing date, May the 15th, 1560. The import whereof is only this: that that pious Pastor of Geneva returned his thankful acknowledgments unto our Bishop for that care he had taken of those poor French Protestants that had settled themselves in the City of London, by his obtaining for them a liberty from the Queen of worshipping God purely, [*i. e.* without the superstitions of the Romish Church,] and that they might have a faithful Minister of their own to preach God's word, and perform other ministerial offices among them. And it appears, that to this civil letter of Calvin, the Bishop gave as respectful an answer: and withal desired him accordingly to recommend some able and fit Minister unto that congregation. And not long afterwards Calvin sent, by consent, Nicolas Galasius, an elderly and very reverend

man, of great piety and worth, and very dear unto him, to supply that place.

CHAP.  
XVII.

And surely Bishop Grindal could do no less than this, 308 since he was too grateful to forget the like respects shewn to him and many others of the English nation that fled abroad in the last reign upon the same account of religion, as these godly French now did hither; and since he and they received the like freedom and favour in the several places in Germany and Switzerland, where they but lately had settled themselves: and likewise that he might testify that Christian communion and brotherly concord which he bore to all the Reformed Churches.

And this was the beginning of the Walloon church situate in Threadneedle-street, London: which hath continued ever since for the French nation; who there quietly and inoffensively serve God after their own custom to this day.

To all these historians, I shall in the last place add one history more; and that is a MS. preserved in Pembroke hall, Cambridge: wherein account is given of all the Masters of that college, drawn up by the pen of one who himself was sometime Fellow there, and afterward a learned Bishop of this realm. Whence we shall trace some footsteps of this venerable man from his youth to his latter days; which by relating here will supply some vacancies and omissions in the preceding history of him.

While he was a boy, going a journey with his father on foot after some violent rains, God made use of him to save the old man's life. For attempting to go over a rotten bridge, (over which their way lay,) the youth perceiving the danger, called suddenly to his father, and withal pulled him back with his hand; which as soon as he had done, the bridge, by the force of the waters, presently brake down. And thus, God making him the instrument of preserving his father from such a sudden death, no question the blessing of his father, accompanied with God's blessing, descended on him.

Being removed to the University, such notice was taken of his parts, diligence, and learning, that as soon as he was

His pro-  
gress in the  
University.

**BOOK II.** capable of a fellowship in the college, being Bachelor of Arts, anno 1538, he was chosen Fellow by Robert Swinburn, Master, *vel hoc nomine non malum*, i. e. on this very account no evil Master of Pembroke, (saith this historian,) meaning, in preferring such a worthy scholar.

In the year 1540, being yet but Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen junior Treasurer of the college. That year, or rather the next, (according to the University register,) he commenced Master of Arts.

July the 4th, 1544, he obtained the college's title under Ridley, then Master, to John Bird, the first Bishop of Winchester; who was then looked upon as a great favourer of reformation: receiving (as it seems) his Orders from him. Anno 1548, he was declared public Proctor of the University.

Anno 1549, he became President of the college: and is often called in the acts of the University, *assistens Vice-Cancellarii in judiciis*; i. e. the Vice-Chancellor's assistant in

**309** matters judiciary. [And being then Bachelor in Divinity,

**Ex Regist. Academ.** he was elected Lady Margaret Preacher by the unanimous consent of the Masters and Presidents of the University.]

**B. D.**

Anno 1550, he removed to London to be Chaplain to Ridley, Bishop of that see. Here Martin Bucer, the King's Divinity Professor, wrote to him from Cambridge, kal. Septembr. 1550, upon certain business with the said Bishop, wherein he styles our Divine, *eximium eruditione et pietate, membrum Christi præcipuum, et collegam suum in sanctissimo administrandi verbi Dei munere*; i. e. eminent for his learning and piety, a chief member of Christ, and his associate in the most sacred ministry of the word of God.

By his patron, the Bishop's help, not long after he was made one of King Edward's Chaplains. [And the next year, *viz.* 1551, he became one of the four itinerant Preachers, especially appointed by the King, to instruct the people in

**MSS. C. C.** the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the realm. For **C. C. Tho.** which service, it is probable, a prebend (which he enjoyed **Baker, B. D.** in Westminster) was conferred on him as a reward: which he resigned afterwards to Bonner, Bishop of London.]

A little before that King's death, a report went, [which CHAP.  
our writer took from Godwin, Bishop of Landaff,] that Rid- XVII.  
ley being to be translated to Durham, (whereof there was Catal. of  
more than fame,) Grindal should succeed him at London. Bishops, p.  
[Which, though it did not presently happen, yet in God's 178.  
due time, after some years trial of him, did.]

Upon his return home after his exile, his college presently His college  
cast their eyes upon him for their Master. For when in the elect him  
year 1559, Dr. John Young, their former Master, was dis-<sup>their Mas-</sup>ter.  
charged by the Queen's visitors, (or rather went out by an  
unwilling resignation,) the college quickly despatched a most  
affectionate letter to Mr. Grindal, their former colleague, and  
now Elect of London, declaring, "how extremely satisfied Their epi-  
" they were that he should succeed; and that they saw the stle to him.  
" time was now come, that they had the liberty to choose  
" him, not their Master only, but their patron and defender;  
" whom they ever desired, ever preferred before all others:  
" reckoning him equal to the learned Young, their last Mas-  
" ter, and endued with all good abilities as well as he, bring-  
" ing this moreover along with him, that he [Grindal] was  
" wholly theirs, [meaning of their foundation,] which was  
" the only thing they wanted in Young [who was bred up  
" in another house of learning.] And that therefore, the  
" very day after his deprivation, they hastened, and, with  
" one mind and vote, unanimously chose him their *Custos*.  
" And that whatsoever they could do, they had done. Add-  
" ing, that they hoped he would not refuse that house  
" which educated him, nor reject the highest place there,  
" since there was a time he had not refused the lowest: nor  
" yet forsake those men who preserved his memory, when  
" he was absent: and lastly, they prayed him to embrace  
" them, who strove together in loving him; and to receive  
" them into his protection." This was the sum of their epi-  
stle to him in Latin, dated from their college the 12 kal. of  
August, [i. e. the 21. July, an. 1559.]

But when the reverend man, for certain causes, had de-310  
clined to accept the mastership thus offered him, this occa- After some  
refusal,

**BOOK** sioned two other letters from the college ; one to the visitors,  
II. that they would exhort him by their influence and authority  
 to accept it ; or if it could not be, that they might have the  
 liberty granted them to choose another. The other to Grin-  
 dal himself ; wherein they labour to persuade him, notwith-  
 standing his advancement to the bishopric, yet to be their  
 head : shewing him, “ how in former times they had en-  
 “ joyed several Bishops for their Masters ; as Booth, Ro-  
 “ theram, Layburn, and lately Ridley ; a person, who as  
 “ he was endued with excellent knowledge, so with the  
 “ highest affection towards them : and between them and  
 “ himself had been so great a friendship and familiarity.”

**Accepts it.** He was prevailed on, at this renewed entreaty, to accept  
 the government of them. And Aug. 3. 1559, (being the  
 fourteenth day after his election,) he appointed John Pilking-  
 ton, M. A. his Proctor ; who in his name and stead performed  
 all things necessary for his admittance. And leave of ab-  
 sence was the same day allowed him from the college.

**Resigns the  
 said mas-  
 tership.** He held the mastership of this college but a little time,  
 his other weighty affairs in the Church hindering his resi-  
 dence there : and he seemed to have resigned in May 1562,  
 if not before. The three next Masters that succeeded were  
 all recommended by him, as the college’s letters to the Bi-  
 shop, upon their elections of them, do import : *viz.* Matthew  
 Hutton, B. D. John Whitgift, D. D. and John Young, D. D.  
 all men of great figure for piety and learning ; and af-  
 terwards Bishops. The last whereof was his Chaplain ; and  
 who preached the Clerum-sermon for him at the Commence-  
 ment 1564, for his degree of Doctor of Divinity, granted  
 him by a grace of the University that year.

**Dear to the  
 college.** The dearness between the college and their patron, and  
 how entirely they depended on him, upon former experi-  
 ences of his care, appears from that passage in one of their  
 letters to him : *ex quo nos à Papisticā fæce primus repurgá-  
 ras, et in clientelam tuam receperas, &c.* “ From the time  
 “ that you first purged us from the dregs of Popery [that  
 “ is, while he was Visitor and their Master] and took us

“ under your care, we have had ample experience of your CHAP.  
 “ patronage and favour, and in you alone we have re- XVII.  
 “ posed all our counsel and hope.”

For divers were their letters to him (still extant in theforesaid college MS.) according as occasion presented. Some, of thankfulness for his large and repeated benefactions; some congratulatory, upon his advancements and translations: all heartily expressing the love, the honour, and the high veneration they had for him. It will suffice to see in what manner they addressed him upon his last and highest elation to the chair of Canterbury: where after they had used all possible expressions of their thankfulness for some late endowment of that college, from his foundation of the school at St. Bee's, they descend to shew their great complacency at that high and most honourable trust of the Church of England now reposed in him by the Queen.

In their epistle they take notice, “ how in the height of 311  
 “ his honour he still spake most affectionately and fre- Their epi-  
 “ quently concerning their college, (as their Master had often stle to him  
 “ told them,) and of the care he still took of them and their upon his  
 “ concerns. And what could be more advantageous, more advancement to  
 “ glorious for Pembroke hall, than to be under the kind eye, Canterbury.  
 “ not only of an excellently learned and singularly pious  
 “ man, but of a Bishop, an Archbishop, and in one word, of  
 “ Grindal. That never was there any, nurtured in that  
 “ University, educated in their college, of greatest fame in  
 “ history for learning, to whose fidelity, virtue, and integrity,  
 “ they would sooner recommend themselves, than his; that  
 “ in him, now Primate of all England, the Pembrochians  
 “ gloried. That divers Bishops, as of Carlisle, Exon, Win-  
 “ ton, Durham, London, York, formerly scholars of their  
 “ college, were praise-worthy for their notable learning and  
 “ virtue: but now at last, to their eternal honour, they had  
 “ not only an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Metropolitan,  
 “ a Primate, and a first Prelate of the whole realm, but him  
 “ adorned with all the ornaments of mind and fortune.  
 “ They triumphed in such a learned Mecænas, and right

**BOOK.** “ noble patron. And conclude with their earnest prayers  
**II.** “ for him, that God would long preserve and protect his  
 “ Grace, as well for their own private benefit, as for the  
 “ common good of Church and State.” If any be minded to  
 peruse the whole epistle, elegantly penned in Latin, expressive  
 of their sincere gratitude and high estimation of him, he

**Num. XXI.** may read it in the Appendix.

**His bene-**  
**facto**  
**Pembroke**  
**hall.** And this college had good reason to shew affection to Grindal in regard of his ample benefits bestowed on it : which in thankful remembrance the foresaid writer hath left upon record in the said MS. And these following were the testimonies of the Archbishop’s beneficence and goodwill towards them, at several times : *viz.* a stipend of 40*s.* a year for a Greek Reader, payable out of a portion of tithes of the manor of Westbery in Ashwell, granted anno 1568 : the inheritance whereof he confirmed to the college by his last will, bearing date April 2, 1583.

And about the same time he obtained from a certain widow another perpetual benefit for the college, called a scholarship. And there is still extant an epistle sent from the college to him, gratefully acknowledging both ; though the latter, it seems, is now utterly lost.

In the year 1570, he obtained a licence from the Queen for the college, to purchase lands in mortmain to the value of 40*l.* In thankful acknowledgment whereof they wrote him another letter.

He gave them also an annual rent of 20*l.* from St. Bee’s school of his foundation, for a fellowship and two scholarships in the same college. And he framed a book of statutes for their condition and government, by royal licence.

He appointed moreover, that out of monies arising from the foundation of St. Bee’s, every eighth year for ever, some new fund should be purchased for the maintaining of a scholar. And that this college, and that of Queen’s in Oxford, should alternately enjoy the benefit accruing thence 312 each eighth year. But this never but once hath been performed by such as have had the oversight of the said school : whereof the college hath complained.

Of this school some account hath been given already ; to CHAP.  
 which, for a farewell, let me here add briefly what is most XVII.  
 remarkable in the statutes, drawn up at good length by the Statutes of  
 most reverend the Founder, for the government of the same,  
 as they have lately come to my hands, from a right reverend Prelate.  
 D. Guil. D. Ep. Carleol.

I. The schoolmaster is obliged to bring up his children in the fear of God, good learning, and good manners.

II. He or his usher shall teach the children to say by heart the catechism in English, set forth by public authority.

III. The schoolmaster shall teach them the greater as well as the lesser catechism, set out by authority, [this seems to be Alexander Nowell's catechism, approved in the Synod 1562,] and no other catechism ; except publicly authorized.

IV. The usher shall teach them the A B C in English, the Psalter, and the Book of Common Prayer. And the master the small catechism in Latin, set out by authority.

V. The master is advised to teach his scholars *Palingenius*, *Sedulius* and *Prudentius*. But,

VI. The Archbishop leaves him at liberty to teach what books he pleased ; except the Queen's Grammar, and the catechisms before mentioned. But now proceed we from the school to the rest of the Archbishop's benefits to the college.

He also gave divers books to the common library : Dr. Joh. Gasharth, whereof some were Greek, of the curious print of Henry Stevens, as a reverend person (formerly Fellow of that house, and educated at the Archbishop's said school at St. Bee's) hath informed me. And to the Master's study he gave an Hebrew Bible in several tomes in sixteens, (preserved in an oval box,) which once belonged to Tho. Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and diligently noted by him when he was abroad in exile. Such a promoter was our Archbishop of Greek and Hebrew learning, (which the Papal Church studiously discouraged,) that the holy Scriptures might be read in their original languages ; and that the

**BOOK II.** Greek fathers, and ancientest ecclesiastical writers might be more commonly read and understood by the students of divinity.

And lastly, he gave the college a gilded pot of 40 ounces and upwards, which in honour to him they called *poculum Cantuariense*; i. e. the Canterbury cup. All this liberality and the singular favours of this Prelate do, no doubt, excite that college for ever to honour his name and memory.

**313** I do not find our Archbishop left much in print behind

A book of  
the Archbi-  
shop's  
writing.

Acts and  
Monu-  
ments,  
p. 1263.

him: yet one tract (whereof as we are informed by the foresaid MS. history, he was author of) may be worth mentioning to such who have any mind to see a specimen of his learning, viz. *a Dialogue between Custom and Truth*, which is still to be seen in John Fox's *Acts and Monuments*: written in a clear method, and with much rational evidence, against the *real*, that is, the gross and corporal, presence in the Sacrament. Fox indeed concealeth his name, (forbid, I suppose, by the author to disclose it,) only signifying, “that “it was writ by a certain learned and reverend person of “this realm, and who, under the persons of *Custom* and “*Verity*, manifestly laid open before our eyes, and taught all “men, not to measure religion by custom, but to try *Custom* “by truth and the word of God. For else *Custom* may “soon deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever.” And he thought fit to place this discourse next after a public disputation upon the same argument of the learned man Peter Martyr at Oxon, and another by the other learned men before the King's visitors at Cambridge, and the *Determination* of Bishop Ridley; as a full and satisfactory despatch of the gross Papal *transubstantiation*.

This discourse was writ by him soon after his coming back into England, for the better service of the Church, that was then to be purged of Popish doctrines and superstitions: as appears from those words, wherein *Custom* is brought in thus speaking. “Are you so great a stranger in “these quarters? Hear you not how men do daily speak “against the Sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the

“real body of Christ?” *Verity* answereth, “In sooth, I  
“have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late  
“into this country: wherefore you must pardon me,  
“if my answers be to seek in such questions.” But you  
have been longer here, &c. In this tract, after he had  
excellently explained the sense of those words of Christ,  
*This is my body*, he proceeded to produce divers sentences  
out of the ancient Bishops and Doctors of the Church to  
confirm his interpretation; because *Custom* had boasted of  
Doctors and old writers, and men inspired with the Holy  
Ghost, that were against the doctrine of the Protestants:  
and that in these days the wisest and best learned called  
them *heretics*. And at length in the conclusion of his dis-  
course he tells *Custom*, “That as shortly, and in as few  
“words as he could, he had declared unto him what Christ  
“meant by those words, *This is my body*, what the Apostles  
“thought therein, and in what sort they delivered them to  
“their successors; and in what sense and meaning the  
“holy fathers, and old writers, and the universal and catho-  
“lic Church had evermore taken them.”

And thus I have, by the assistance of God, despatched <sup>The conclu-</sup>  
the life and actions of this holy Archbishop; that is, as <sub>sion.</sub>  
much of them as I, a single and private person, could collect  
by my searches into MSS. and records, and other writings,  
and could find at this great distance of time. Many other memorable  
passages of his Christian and exemplary life and behaviour (in his younger days, at the University, and while he was Chaplain to Bishop Ridley and King Edward; in his pilgrimage, while he exercised his <sup>314</sup> faith and patience in a strange land for conscience sake; and in his elder age, in his more public capacity of a great Prelate of this Church,) no doubt are lost and buried in oblivion. But the various notices of him (neither few nor trivial) which I have retrieved and digested in this volume, will, I hope, be taken in good part by all such as love and honour the memory of those excellent Bishops, through whose hands and cares, accompanied with many difficulties

## 466 OBSERVATIONS UPON ABP. GRINDAL.

**BOOK** and unknown struggles, the reformation of religion passed,  
II. and the Church of England recovered the good constitution  
of doctrine, worship, and government, in which it stood  
under blessed King Edward VI. and whereof we, the pos-  
terity, enjoy the comfort and benefit to this day.

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A N A P P E N D I X      1

OF CERTAIN  
ORIGINAL PAPERS,  
LETTERS OF STATE, AND OTHER MSS.  
WHERETO REFERENCE IS MADE  
IN  
THE FOREGOING HISTORY

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Number I.

*Martin Bucer, the King's Professor in Cambridge, to Mr. Grindal, Chaplain to Ridley, Bishop of London; to represent to him his late disputation with Young.*

*Eximio eruditione et pietate Edmundo Grindallo Præsidi  
aulæ Pembrochianæ*

*S. D.*

**R**EVERENDISSIMO Domino Londinensi nōsti (doctissime et charissime Grindalle) quantopere precer omne bonum: nec dubito te illi hoc renunciare. Jam oro te, ut quæ hic mitto de causa, quæ versatur inter me et Jungum, velis primum ipse diligenter perlegere atque recognoscere: tum reverendissimo Domino Londinensi exhibere, adjuncta non alia commendatione, quam Christi Servatoris nostri gloria à te postulat. Horribilibus me adversarii petunt calumniis, et onerant falsissimis criminibus. Præterea, Jungus coram concilio Universitatis dixit, et cum stomacho, me esse in gravi errore. Cum essem corām, dixit mitiùs, tamen re-

Ex Script.  
Buceri An-  
glican.

**BOOK** ipsa idem; nempe se mihi non consentire: et quare hoc?

I. — Quia Scripturæ et Patres aliud doceant. Scripturæ igitur et Patribus adversor. Credo autem, confiteor et doceo ea ipsa per omnia quæ docet homilia regia *de bonis Operibus*. Si cui videatur me docere aliud, prodeat ille, et hoc ostendat.

Principium igitur agendi apud quosdam, nequem offendenis, vel Christi quoque et Ecclesiæ causa. Possunt enim res mutari, et ea ubi offensio obest, facit, ut satis lentè et remissè agatur in hâc causâ à quibusdam. Atqui tam principem religionis articulum prodere in nullius creaturæ gratiam debeo: nec momento in hoc me munere convenit tolerari, si in hoc Christianæ doctrinæ capite erro.

Jungi scriptum, quod multa falsa continet, mihi petenti, et meum scriptum omnibus offerenti, negatur.

Scio quâm fidelissimè agere Christi et meam causam D. Parkerum et D. Sandes; similiter Procancellarium D. Busbe. Jungus et ejus causa utinam placeret Jungi magistro, uti debet coram Domino. Res autem habet, ut habet.

Te itaque per Christum Dominum oro et obsecro, hæc omnia quæ scribo et mitto, exponas bona fide reverendiss. Domino Londinensi, ejusque reverendiss. Patris consilium mihi in hac causa impetres. Quod confido mihi impertire non gravabitur cum pro munere episcopali, cum pro solitudine, quam huic Academiæ peculiariter debet, ut ejus Visitator, Doctor, Theologus, et aulæ vestræ Præfectus. Quodque dederit consilium, nisi brevi ipse sit adventurus, mittas ad me per certum hominem quamprimum. Causa Christi agitur, et Ecclesiæ ejus, atque Academiæ.

Misissem libenter et scriptum Jungi, sed, ut memini, impetrare illud non potui. Misi hæc omnia et ad clariss. virum D. Checum, eumque rogavi, ut reverendiss. Londinensi omnia communicaret. Sed potest mora intercedere. Ideo omnia volui et per te reverendissimo Domino exhiberi. Miris enim artibus adversarii fidem ministerio meo derogare student, ubiubi possunt: et possunt apud non paucos, nobiles et alios. Viva enim Christi religio ac doctrina per paucorum electorum est.

Jactant nunc plerique ex adversariis, se premi nimium homiliâ regia, ne ausint contra me disputare. Indeque creditur eras neminem eorum ad disputandum proditurum. Fatentur igitur homiliam pro me regiam contra ipsos facere; et tamen ei subscriperunt. O hominum religionem! O incogitantes divini judicii animos! Eo tu vero, mi frater, diligentius instes, ut quamprimum reverendissimi consilium, quid faciendum mihi esse censeat, clarè expositum ad me perscribatur. Membrum es Christi præcipuum, collega meus in sanctissimo administrandi verbi Dei munere, tua non minus quam mea, et omnium Christianorum causa agitur. Vale quām optimè, causam hanc, ut Christi, acturus reverendiss. Domino ac patronq meo obsequium et vota mea studiosè offeras. Cantabrigiæ, pridie cal. Septembr. anno 1550.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,  
M. Bucerus.

## Number II.

3

*Brevis quædam formula revocationis Hadriano Hamstedio per reverendum Episcopum Londinensem oblata, ultima Julii, anno M. D. LXII.*

EGO Hadrianus Hamstadius, propter assertiones quas-PaperOffice. dam meas et dogmata verbo Dei repugnantia, dum hic in ecclesia Londino-Germanica Ministrum agerem, decreto Episcopi Londinensis, ministerio depositus atque excommunicatus, nunc post sesquiannum, vel circiter, rebus melius perpensis, et ad verbi Dei regulam examinatis, aliter sentio: et culpam meam ex animo agnosco; doleoque me tantas officiones et scandala peperisse.

*Hi sunt autem articuli, seu assertiones, in quibus me errasse fateor.*

I. Primò, Quod scripto quodam meo contra verbum Dei asseruerim, atque his verbis usus fuerim, scil.

**BOOK**    “Quod Christus ex mulieris semine natus sit, ac nostræ  
 I.        “carnis particeps factus, id non fundamentum esse, sed ip-  
         “sius fundamenti circumstantiam quandam, etiam pueri  
         “primis literis imbuti agnoscent. Itaque qui Christum ex  
         “mulieris semine natum esse negat, is non fundamentum  
         “negat, sed unam ex fundamenti circumstantiis negat.”

II. Secundò, Quod Anabaptistas Christum verum mulie-  
 ris semen esse negantes, si modo nos non proscindant, et  
 condemnent, pro fratribus meis, membrisque corporis Christi  
 debilioribus, in scriptis quibusdam meis, atque aliis discepta-  
 tionibus, agnoverim: et per consequens, salutem vitæ  
 æternæ illis ascripserim.

III. Tertiò, Quod negantes hujusmodi Christi ex Virgine  
 incarnationem asseruerim, in Christo Domino, unico funda-  
 mento fundatos esse: eorum hujusmodi errorem, lignum,  
 stipulam, et fœnum, fundamento superaedificata appellans:  
 quo non obstante ipsi servandi veniant, tanquam per ignem.  
 De quibus testatus sum me benè sperare. Quemadmodum  
 de omnibus aliis meis charis fratribus in Christo fundatis.

<sup>1</sup> Joan. iv. Cum tamen Spiritus Sanctus per Joannem Apostolum mani-  
<sup>Joan. Epist.</sup> festè affirmet, “Negantes Christum in carne venisse (de  
 ii.        “ipsa carne loquens, quæ assumpta erat ex semine Abrahæ,  
         “et ex semine Davidis) esse seductores, et antichristos, et  
         “Deum non habere.”

IV. Quartò, Etiam in hoc graviter me peccâsse fateor,  
 quod constanter asseruerim, negantes Christum esse verum  
 mulieris semen, non proinde necessariò, et consequenter  
 negare, eum esse nostrum Emanuelem, Mediatorem, Ponti-  
 4 ficem, Fratrem: neque propterea negare ipsum verum homi-  
 nem esse, carnisve resurrectionem. Nam istam consequen-  
 tiā, negantes Christum esse verum mulieris semen, eadem  
 opera negare Christum esse nostrum Emanuelem, Mediatore-  
 rem, &c. planè necessarium esse agnosco: et non minus  
 quam illam, quâ usus est divus Paulus, ad Corinthios deci-  
 mo quinto,

<sup>1</sup> Corinth. xv. “Si resurrectio mortuorum non est, nec Christus  
         “quidem resurrexit. Quod si Christus non resurrexit,  
         “inanis est videlicet prædicatio nostra; inanis autem est et  
         “fides vestra.”

V. Quintò, Quod aliquoties in meis concionibus, præter officium pii ministri, usus fuerim argumentis, persuasoriibus, similitudinibus, et dicteriis, ad istas assertiones populo persuadendas: videlicet, similitudine, non referre cujus sit coloris vestris regia. Et litigantes de carne Christi, militibus de tunica Christi aleâ ludentibus comparando: cæterisque hujusmodi. Quæ omnia eo tendunt, ut hunc fundamentalem fidei nostræ articulum extenuarent, et negantibus salutis spem non præcluderent. Agnosco enim plurimùm interesse, utrùm Christus nostram carnem, an aliquam aliam cœlestem, seu ætheream assumpserit. Cum non nisi in nostra carne judicio Dei satisfieri, et pro peccatis hostia Deo accepta offerri potuisset.

VI. Sextò, Agnosco etiam in eo culpam meam, quod in concionibus meis affirmaverim, unicuique in Ecclesia reformata liberum esse, infantem suum sine baptismo ad aliquot annos reservare, neque ullius fratris conscientiam, in hac re, ad aliquod certum tempus astringi posse.

VII. Postremò, Quod horum præscriptorum errorum monitores, utriusque ecclesiæ ministros contempserim; atque ipsum adeo reverendum Episcopum Londinensem, utriusque peregrinorum ecclesiæ superintendentem. Imò potius, contemptis omnibus admonitionibus, ad jus provocarim. Quo tamen convictus, legitimis et fide dignis testimoniis, culpam agnoscere renuerim. Quodque prædictos omnes ecclesiarum ministros, et alios monitores accusarim, tam dictis quam scriptis, Londini, et in partibus ultramarinis; quasi non ordine, justè et debitè ejectus, et excommunicatus fuerim. Agnosco enim me optimo jure hoc promeruisse, atque ordine à dicto Episcopo mecum fuisse actum.

*Cui dictus Hadrianus subscribere recusat.*

BOOK  
I.

BOOK  
I.

## Number III.

*5 Letters from the Council to the Bishop of London ; to disturb the Mass said in certain houses in London.*

PaperOffice. AFTER our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Queen's Majesty, understanding by divers credible means, that there be sundry conventicles of evil disposed subjects : which, notwithstanding continual teaching, and great clemency used by her Majesty to the reducing of them to live in one uniformity of religion, do obstinately, not only refuse to obey the laws of the realm, provided for maintenance of order in religion, by using to have the private Mass and other superstitious ceremonies celebrated in their houses ; but also to make secret collections of money, which they send out of the realm to the maintenance of such as are notoriously known enemies to the authority of the Queen and her crown. In which matter her Majesty hath expressly commanded us to procure some speedy reformation. And namely, hearing of these former contempts to be maintained in the house of Falmouth and Nicolson, hath charged us to cause the same to be tried and punished. For which purpose we do require your Lordship to confer with Mr. Alderman Bond, one of the Sheriffs of London, (to whom we have written to come to your Lordship to-morrow in the morning,) and to proceed in these matters as you shall devise and think meet.

And for that purpose we think it good, that your Lordship do prescribe to the Sheriff, that he with speed enter into the house at such hour as you shall appoint, and take sure order that none escape the same house, until due search be made of all persons there to be found. And further, to search for all writings, letters, books, and other things belonging to the usage of the Mass, and tending to make proof of any disorder above mentioned. And the parties that shall be found culpable, or probably to be suspected, to commit in several custody, as shall seem best, to obtain of them, being duly examined, the truth of their offences, or their understanding of other.

And to the intent this search may be both circumspectly BOOK  
I.  
and duly done to the satisfaction of her Majesty ; we  
think good your Lordship in our names shall require our  
loving friends, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Osborn of the  
Exchequer, and Mr. Henry Knolles, to join with the  
Sheriff, adding thereto any other whom you shall think  
meet. And generally we heartily pray you, if you think  
any other place likely to be also suspected of the like dis-  
orders, that you cause the like proceeding to be used as  
circumspectly as you may, and of your doings to advise us.

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## Number IV.

6

*A Psalm compiled out of the Book of Psalms, and appointed  
by the Bishop to be used in public, upon the abatement of  
the plague.*

Psal. cxxiii. 1. UNTO thee, O Lord, lift we up our eyes,  
O thou that dwellest in the heavens.

2. Even as the eyes of servants look unto the hands of  
their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hands of  
her mistress : even so our eyes wait upon the Lord our  
God, until he have mercy upon us.

Psal. xviii. 3. In our trouble we have called upon the  
Lord, with our voice we complained unto our God, and  
our prayers entered into his ears, and he heard us out of his  
holy temple.

Psal. iii. 4. Many there were that did say of our souls,  
There is no help for them in their God.

5. But salvation belongeth unto thee, O Lord, and thy  
blessing is upon thy people.

Psal. xxvii. 6. We will tarry the Lord's leisure with  
patience, and put our trust in him, and he will comfort our  
hearts.

Psal. ix. 7. They that know thy name, O Lord, will put  
their trust in thee, for thou hast never failed them that  
seek thee.

**BOOK I.** Psal. cxlvii. 8. Thou healest those that are broken in heart, and givest medicine to heal their sickness.

Psal. lxxix. 9. Finish therefore, O Lord, the work of thy mercy, that thou hast begun in us: save the residue that are appointed to death.

Psal. xvii. 10. Shew thy marvellous loving-kindness to us, thou that art the Saviour of them that put their trust in thee.

Psal. cxlii. 11. Quicken us, O Lord, for thy name's sake: for thy mercies' sake bring our souls out of trouble.

Psal. xc. 12. The glorious majesty of our God be upon us: prosper thou the work of thy hands upon us: O prosper thou the work of thy hands.

Psal. vii. 13. God is a righteous Judge, strong and patient, and God is provoked every day.

14. If a man will not turn, he will whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready, and ordaineth his arrows against the wicked and ungodly.

Psal. iv. 15. Let us therefore always set God before our eyes: let us stand in awe and sin not: let us offer up the sacrifice of righteousness, and put our trust in the Lord.

Psal. xviii. 16. Let us have an eye unto the laws of the Lord, and keep his ways, and not forsake our God, as the wicked doth.

17. Let us live uncorrupt before him, and eschew our own wickedness.

7 Psal. v. 18. Let us come near unto his house even in the multitude of his mercies, and in his fear let us worship toward his holy temple.

Psal. iv. 19. Then he will lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and bless us.

20. Then may we lay ourselves down in peace and take our rest; for it is the Lord only that maketh us dwell in safety.

Psal. v. 21. For thou, O Lord, wilt give thy blessing unto the righteous, and with thy favourable kindness wilt thou defend him, as with a shield.

Psal. iii. 22. O how plentiful is thy goodness, which thou

hast laid up for them that fear thee ; and that thou hast prepared for them that put their trust in thee, even before the sons of men.

23. Thanks be to the Lord ; for he hath shewed us marvellous great kindness in a mighty city.

Psal. xvi. 24. We will thank the Lord, because he hath given us warning : we will sing of the Lord, because he hath dealt lovingly with us : yea, we will praise the name of the Lord most high.

Psal. v. 25. Let all them that put their trust in the Lord, rejoice ; they shall ever be giving of thanks, because thou defendest them, they that love thy name shall be joyful in thy salvation.

Psal. xviii. 26. The Lord liveth, and blessed be our gracious helper ; and praised be the God of our salvation, which hath delivered us from the snares of death.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost :

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever, &c.

### Number V.

*The Psalm and Prayer appointed by the Bishop to be used, upon the public thanksgiving for the cessation of the plague.*

#### *The Psalm.*

Psal. cxlvii. 1. O praise the Lord ; for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God : yea, a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.

Psal. cv. 2. O give thanks unto the Lord, and call upon his name, and tell the people what he hath done.

Psal. xcii. 3. For it is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O most Highest.

4. To tell of thy loving-kindness early in the morning, 8 and of thy truth in the night-season.

Psal. xiii. 5. We will sing of the Lord, because he hath

BOOK  
I.

**BOOK I.** dealt so lovingly with us ; yea, we will praise the name of the Lord most Highest.

Psal. xxx. 6. We will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set us up ; and not made our foes to triumph over us.

Psal. xcii. 7. For thou, Lord, hast made us glad through thy works ; and we will rejoice in giving praise for the operation of thy hands.

Psal. xxx. 8. For, O Lord our God, we cried unto thee, and thou hast healed us.

9. Thou hast brought our souls out of hell, thou hast kept our life from them that go down to the pit.

Psal. lxxxvi. 10. For great is thy mercy towards us, and thou hast delivered our souls from the nethermost hell.

Psal. lxviii. 12. Praised be the Lord daily, even the God which helpeth us, and poureth his benefits upon us.

Psal. ciii. 13. The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, and of great goodness.

Psal. cxvi. 14. Gracious is the Lord, and righteous ; yea, our God is merciful.

Psal. xxx. 15. For his wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life : heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

Psal. ciii. 16. He will not alway be chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever.

17. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our wickedness.

18. For look how wide the east is from the west, so far hath he set our sins from us.

19. For like as a father pitith his children, even so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him.

20. For he knoweth whereof we be made ; he remembereth that we are but dust.

Psal. lxxxvi. 21. For thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee.

Psal. lxxxv. 22. Thou hast forgotten the offence of thy people, and covered all their sins.

23. Thou hast taken away all thy displeasure, and turned thyself from thy wrathful indignation.

Psal. xxx. 24. Thou hast turned our heaviness to joy : <sup>BOOK</sup>  
thou hast put off our sackcloth, and girded us with glad-  
ness.

Psal. xc. 25. Turn thee again, O Lord, at the last,  
and be gracious unto thy servants.

26. O satisfy us with thy mercy, and that soon ; so shall  
we rejoice, and be glad all the days of our life.

27. Comfort us again, after the time that thou hast  
plagued us ; and for the *year* wherein we have suffered ad-  
versity.

28. Shew thy servants thy work, and their children thy <sup>9</sup>  
glory ; and the glorious majesty of the Lord our God be  
upon us. Prosper thou the work of our hands upon us ;  
O prosper thou our hand work.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy  
Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

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*The Prayer, or Collect.*

WE yield thee hearty thanks, O most merciful Father,  
that it hath pleased thee in thy wrath to remember thy  
mercy, and partly to mitigate thy severe rod of this terrible  
plague, wherewith thou hast hitherto most justly scourged  
us for our wickedness ; and most mercifully revoked us  
from the same : calling us, (who in health and prosperity  
had clean forgotten both thee and ourselves,) by sickness  
and adversity, to the remembrance both of thy justice and  
judgment, and of our own miserable frailness and mortality :  
and now lest we, by the heaviness of thine indignation,  
should have utterly despaired, comforting us again by the  
manifest declaration of thy fatherly inclination to all com-  
passion and clemency. We beseech thee to perfect the  
work of thy mercy graciously begun in us. And forasmuch  
as true health is to be sound and whole in that part  
which in us is most excellent, and like to thy godhead, we

**BOOK I.** pray thee thoroughly to cure and heal the wounds and diseases of our souls, grievously wounded and poisoned by the daily assaults and infections of the old serpent, Satan, with the deadly plagues of sin and wickedness. By the which inward infections of our minds, these outward diseases of our bodies have, by the order of thy justice, O Lord, issued and followed. That we, by thy fatherly goodness and benefit, obtaining perfect health, both of our minds and bodies, may render unto thee therefore continual and most hearty thanks: and that by flying from sin, may avoid thine anger and plagues; and ever hereafter, in innocence and godliness of life, studying to serve and please thee, may both by our words and works, always glorify thy holy name. Which we beseech thee to grant us, O Father of mercies, and God of all consolation, for thy dear Son, our only Saviour and Mediator, Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

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## 10

## Number VI.

*A form of an Act drawn up for the better observation of the Lord's day. And for hindering markets to be kept thereon.*

E MSS.  
Guil. Petyt.  
Armag.

FIRST, be it enacted, &c. that upon every Sabbath-day and principal feast-day, be kept neither open fair, nor market throughout the year; and that all persons or incorporations having by patent such days expressed, may change the same days with the day immediately following, or going before the said Sunday or principal feast-day; upon pain as well to the buyer as to the seller, to forfeit half of the ware so bought or sold to the promoter, &c. and if any either seller or buyer offend thrice in such fault, then to be judged to prison for fourteen days following, without bail or mainprize; and so convicted before the Ordinary, his officer, or before any Justice of the Peace, they shall without any partiality, and with expedition award as well the said penalty accordingly, as the imprisonment, in case above expressed.

*Item*, That no victualler or craftsman have his shop open BOOK  
I. before the service be done in his parish where he dwelleth ; \_\_\_\_\_ and that his servants be not set on work, or other whiles sent abroad about their worldly affairs, which might be deferred, and performed on the week-day. And that any master be answerable for his servants, of their coming and resorting to the church, except in cases of necessity ; as in serving urgent affairs of the commonwealth, or the changeable necessity of their neighbours, which otherwise cannot be delayed without great hurt and danger. And that this case of necessity be so judged and provided by the discretion of the Ordinary, or by the Justice of the Peace next to the same his own dwelling.

*Item*, That all manner of persons, with their household servants, shall frequent their own parish church to the Common Prayer ; and there to remain the whole time of the same ; and also shall receive the holy Communion in such days and times, or so oft as is appointed by the Book of Service. And whosoever doth customably absent himself from the Common Prayer, and neglect to receive, as is provided, to be chargeable to the fine set thereupon, to be levied by the churchwardens. And if they be found negligent to levy the forfeiture, then they to make answer to the Ordinary for all such fines forfeited, to be put into the poor man's box, and be distributed once every quarter by the Curate or Parson of the same town. And the churchwardens to do such charitable and indifferent distribution, as they may be judged to be clear from all partial respect and corrupt affection.

*Item*, If any person or persons of what condition soever 11 he be, be found notably to transgress his duty in coming to the divine service, as aforesaid, or to neglect to receive the holy Communion, as it is prescribed, that then beside the penalty before limited, he shall be taken and reputed as a person excommunicated without further process and promulgation of sentence ; and that he, so long time as he remains in such wilfulness, be discharged of the benefit of the Queen's

**BOOK I.** Majesty's laws, and be made unable to sue, or to hold plea in any of the courts of the realm, whereby any recovery of debt or benefit may rise unto him during the time he so do stand and persist in such wilful disobedience. And that it may be lawful to the adversary of any such person to allege the notorious negligence and contempt of such offender; and so thereby to be dismissed of all action of debt, trespass, &c. whatsoever. So that the Ordinary, or any next Justice of the Peace, do, by his or their writing, testify the notorious default in any person so offending, as aforesaid.

*Item,* In any city or town, where there be two, three, or more parishes, when any Preacher lawfully authorized shall fortune to resort thither to preach the word of God, that the Curates of other parishes be warned by the Curate of such parish or parishes where such sermons shall be made, that they may the sooner appoint the time of the Common Prayer so to be ended, that there be left sufficient time for the Preacher, for all such as shall be disposed to resort thereunto. And that the parishioners make not their excuses of not coming to their parish church by any such sermons-hearing: and if any such person or persons offend by despising to come to such sermons, or give themselves to gaming, drinking, or idle being at home, to be presented by the churchmen of such parishes, to be considered according as the Ordinary shall, by his discretion, think convenient.

*Item,* That if the churchwardens and questmen, sworn to present such defaults of any manner of person, do neglect to do the same accordingly, to their knowledge; that then every such quest so offending shall forfeit in the name of a pain twelvepence for every fault, to be converted to the poor man's box. And that no man whatsoever, so presented and detected by the virtue of the oaths of such questmen, shall molest or trouble at the law any of the questmen for such presenting, upon pain that every such detected offender commencing any action against the detector in such case, shall forfeit to the Queen's Majesty's use ten pound. The moiety whereof shall be to the use of the Queen's Majesty,

and the other half to the party which shall give information BOOK  
L.  
thereof to the Ordinary, or any Justice of Peace nigh to L.  
their dwelling-place.

## Number VII.

12

*A form of an Act for the better execution of the writ De excommunicato capiendo.*

FORASMUCH as in these our days divers subjects of E MSS. G.  
this realm, and other the Queen's Majesty's dominions, are Petyt. Ar-  
mig.  
grown into such licence and contempt of the laws ecclesiastical, and censures of the Church, that unless it were for fear of the temporal sword and power, they would altogether despise and neglect the same: which temporal sword and power, being oftentimes slowly and negligently executed, by reason of the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*, being only directed unto the Sheriff within whose circuit the party excommunicate doth abide, by the negligence, corruption, favour, or delay of the same Sheriff, is either not executed at all, or else so slowly, that the execution of justice thereby is letted or delayed; and the party excommunicated thereby encouraged to continue and persist in wilful and obstinate contumacy and disobedience: whereby the corruptions and censures of the Church do run in great contempt, and like daily to grow into more, unless some speedy remedy be provided in that behalf: may it therefore please your, &c. that it may be ordained, enacted, and established, by the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same; that from henceforth all writs *De excommunicato capiendo* may be directed to the Sheriffs, Under-sheriff, and all Justices of the Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, and other ministers or officers whatsoever, or unto any one of them, within whose circuit or precinct the party or parties excommunicate doth abide. And that it shall be lawful unto him, one of the said Sheriffs, Under-sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, or other officers or ministers

**BOOK L.** whatsoever, unto whose hands the said writ shall come, by virtue of the same, to attack and apprehend the body of the person or persons excommunicate, and to carry and convey the same unto the next prison or gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, until such time as the said party or parties, with effect, shall humble and submit himself, or themselves, unto the commandment and laws of the Church: and also to satisfy unto the party or parties thereby grieved or damnified, all such costs or damages as he or they have thereby any ways borne or sustained, at the taxation of the spiritual Judge, according to the laws ecclesiastical.

Provided, that all other laws, orders, statutes, and customs, which heretofore have been ordained, provided, and used, for the punishment and correction of such as be, or shall be, for any cause excommunicate, shall stand and remain in the same force and strength as they did stand in before the making hereof, any thing in this former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

## 13

## Number VIII.

*Justus Velsius's rule: entitled, Christiani Hominis Norma,  
ad quam se explorare perpetuò quivis debet.*

- PaperOffice. 1. **QUISNAM** est Christianus? Qui quod Christus per se, et naturâ extitit, et est, id participatione atque gratiâ est redditus, et reddendus.
- B. 2. Quidnam per se et naturâ extitit Christus, et est? Primùm, Deus in homine, deinde et homo Deus.
- C. 3. Quare Christum Deum in homine extitisse dicis? Quia dum Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, Deum ad nos cœlitùs deduxit, nostræque passibili naturæ conjunxit et univit, ut nobis in terra tanquam advenis quibusdam constitutis, ad cœlestem patriam, unde primi hominis inobedientiâ excidimus, reditus et itineris initiator esset et dux, perfectâ suâ ad montem usque crucis obedientiâ; per quam peccato mortuus est semel.

4. Quomodo peccato mortuum Christum dicis, cum in BOOK  
I.  
peccato nunquam vixerit? *Peccatum enim non fecit, nec in-*  
*ventus est dolus in ore suo.* Quia etsi ipse in peccato nun-  
quam vixerit, corpore, animâ, et Spiritu ab omni injustitiæ  
contagione immunis; tamen nostra peccata in carne suâ  
pertulit, dum et à peccato inflictum passibilitatis et mortalit-  
tatis vulnus in se recepit, et pœnam peccati pro nobis *ἀντί-*  
*λυτρόν* redditus sustinuit, seseque pro eo hostiam immacula-  
tam per Spiritum æternum Deo Patri exhibuit et obtulit.

5. Quare eundem Hominem Deum esse asseris? Quia  
dum ab elementis hujus mundi mortuus est, et moriendo  
omnem corruptibilitatem et mortalitatem exuit, gloria sua  
resurrectione carne verbum factâ et habitante in Deo, homi-  
nem ad Deum evexit, ipsiusque impassibili naturæ conjunxit  
et univit.

6. Quomodo utrumque id homo participatione et gratiâ  
reddi potest? Per duplîcem regenerationem, interni alte-  
ram, alteram externi hominis: quarum illa nos Deos in ho-  
minibus in hoc seculo constituit, hæc homines-deos in futuro  
efficit.

D.  
E. F.

7. Quænam est interni hominis regeneratio? Qua ex aquâ  
et Spiritu renascimur.

8. Quidnam est ex aquâ nasci? Secundum internum ho-  
minem peccato mori, et corruptionis mortisque metus servi-  
tute liberari, exuendo corpore peccatorum carnis per non  
manufactam circumcisioñem Christi; et veteri homine cum  
actibus suis deponendo: atque in aquâ baptismatis, tanquam 14  
in mari rubro, submergendo, et cum Christo conseptiendo  
in mortem, ut deinceps actuosus non sit.

9. Quidnam est ex Spiritu nasci? Secundum eundem in-  
ternum hominem justitiæ reviviscere, et in spem omnimodæ  
incorruptibilitatis et immortalitatis erigi, per vim resurrec-  
tionis Christi, et renovationem Spiritus Sancti in mentem  
nostram copiosè effundendi; ut induito novo homine, qui  
secundum Deum conditus est in justitiâ et sanctitate verita-  
tis, tum in novitate vitæ ambulemus, membra nostra accom-  
modantes arma justitiæ Deo, tum externum hominem con-  
tinenter supplantantes, et in servitutem redigentes, mortifi-

**BOOK I.** cationem Jesu in corpore nostro perpetuò circumferamus,  
— quo et vita Jesu in corpore nostro per externi hominis fiendam regenerationem, manifestetur.

G. 10. Quænam est externi hominis regeneratio? Ejus ad incorruptibilitatis et immortalitatis consortium à mortuis in novissimo die resuscitatio; quando erit et Deus, perfectâ obedientiâ omnibus ipsi jam subditis, omnia in omnibus. Ad quam nemo perventurum se tum speret, qui non hîc in interno homine verè renatus, mortem primam, id est, animi et interni hominis devicerit. Nam hic solus, eam qui devicerit, nec à morte secunda et corporis, quæ ipsi ad vitam est transitus, nec ab æternâ illa cum corporis tum animi, qua æternis suppliciis utrumque addicetur, quicquam, ut-pote nihil juris in ipsum obtinente, lædetur: reliquis omnibus nunquam finiendos intolerabiles cruciatus perpressuris.

Hanc ego, nec aliam ullam Christiani hominis normam novi, quæ tuta certè sit et fidelis: ad quam me meaque jugiter examino: quod et cuivis, qui seipsum decipere nolit, faciendum censeo. Atque ad hanc dum ex hominis Christiani vero affectu et charitate alias quoque revocare conor, id mihi Psalmistæ usu venire experior, *Et posuerunt adversum me mala pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione mea.* Quid igitur ipsis (proh! dolor) expectandum sit, ex eodem illo discant Psalmo, cuius initium, *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris; quia os peccatoris et os dolosi super me apertum est.* Vos autem mihi in Christo dilectos sedulò moneo et hortor, ut hanc normam à mentis vestræ oculis nunquam amo-veatis, sed omnem vestram vitam ad eam perpetuò exporetis ac dirigatis. Nam sic tantummodo servari hoc pessimo tempore poteritis,

Vestræ omniumque Salutis amantissimus

Justus Velsius Haganus.

## Number IX.

*Bishop Grindal's animadversions upon Justus Velsius's 15 scheme of Christian Religion, or his Rule, whereby Christians should examine themselves.*

In scripto Velsii, (scil. in Christiani hominis Norma) hæc animadvertantur.

NON edi ab ipso fidei confessionem, ut oportuit ; si Paper Of-  
modò cupid satisfacere iis, qui resipiscentiæ fructus in eo de- fice. Fides  
siderant : sed veluti normam præscribi ad quam omnium Confessio-  
conscientias exigi vellet.

Atqui in hâc normâ nulla fidei fit mentio, sine qua frustra Nulla men-  
de religione Christiana, frustra de regeneratione aut novo tio fidei.  
homine disceptatur.

Astutè ergo præterit vim et modum justificationis per fi- Justificatio  
dem ; item quid de viribus hominis ejusque arbitrio, quid per fidem  
de operibus sentiat. præteritur.  
De libero arbitrio.  
Erravit in his.

In iis verò ipsum perniciosè errâsse, multorum turbâsse  
conscientias, et orthodoxæ doctrinæ contraria docuisse, cer-  
tissimum est. Nec desunt in Angliâ oculati testes qui ip-  
sum convincant.

Quæ verò nunc scripta dedit, tametsi multis sacræ Scripturæ verbis intertexta sunt, tamen à purâ Scripturæ senten-  
tiâ, veraque doctrina longè discedunt.

Nam Christiani hominis definitio quam tradit, præterquam A.  
quod jejuna nec sufficiens est, absurditatem maximam et à fide nostrâ alienam ; continet. *Christianus, inquit, is est,* qui quod Christus per se et natura est, gratia redditur. Ac subjungit, *Christus per se et natura est Deus in homine, et homo Deus.* Quid hinc sequitur ? Christianum esse Deum in homine, et hominem Deum. Ac ne videar id ex meipso inferre, id postea apertè concludit.

At non ita loquitur Scriptura. Nam quæ propriè et unicè competunt Christo capite nostro, id membris tribui sine sa- B.  
crilegio et blasphemia non potest. Nullus ergo Christianus non ita lo-  
Scriptura  
Deus in homine, aut homo Deus dici debet. CHRISTUS quitur.  
enim solus est *Immanuel*, solus Redemptor, solus μεσίτης,

**BOOK I.** *ixέτης*, &c. hanc dignitatem, haec officia membris non dispergit; *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*, dicit Dominus. Efficacia quidem et fructus eorum distribuuntur membris, quos percipiunt per fidem. Fiunt enim Filii Dei, templa Dei, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis habitat. Sed non ideo Dii in hominibus, aut *homines Dii* dici possunt.

**16** Detegendus ergo est anguis, qui sub involucris Scripturæ tanquam sub herbâ latet, et in lucem proferendus est. Nam quæ garrit de unione nostrâ cum Christo captiosa et fallacia sunt.

**C.**  
**Initiator**  
**Christus.** Præterea, cum initiatorem Christum vocat, multum de ejus majestate et virtute imminuit. Hoc enim solummodo ei tribuit, ut introducat, ac veluti elementa doceat; ut nos post talem initiationem nostris viribus ad perfectionem contendamus.

**D.**  
**Duplex re-**  
**generatio.** Quod regenerationem facit duplificem, unam interni, alteram externi hominis, ex Scriptura non didicit, quæ totum hominem renovari jubet. *Nisi quis renatus, &c.* Joan. iii. De externo homine sic loquitur Paulus, 2 Corinth. iv. *Licet is qui foris est homo noster corrumpatur, tamen is qui intus est renovatur de die in diem.* Eundem verò esse *externum* hominem, qui *vetus* dicitur, apparet ex aliis locis, ut Eph. iv. *Vos edocti estis deponere veterem hominem secundum pristinam conversationem, qui corrumpitur secundum desideria erroris.* *Renovumini autem Spiritu mentis vestræ: et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia et sanctitate veritatis.*

**E.**  
**Deos in ho-**  
**mínibus.** Quod interni hominis regenerationem Deos in hominibus constituere dicit in hoc seculo, alienum est à formâ loquendi quâ Scriptura utitur. Nusquam enim dicit nos regeneratione fieri Deos, sive in hoc seculo, sive in futuro. Sed hinc apparet, quorsum prius dixerat nos fieri id quod Christus est, et Christianos reddi Deos in hominibus. Vult enim statuere perfectionem quam sibi ipse finxit esse in homine Christiano, et persuadere omnes Christianos esse Deos; id est, ab omni labe et culpâ immunes. Quæ arrogantia quam detestabilis et execranda sit, nemo pius non videt.

**F.** Non minus alienum atque impium est, quod dicit Christi-

anum in futuro seculo Deum fore; idque nullo colore, aut **BOOK**  
 ullâ expositione tegi aut leniri potest. Nec enim dicit **I.**  
 Christus, Eritis Dii; sed eritis beati, benedicti, vivetis, vi-  
 tam aeternam possidebitis. Nec quisquam est qui plus ex-  
 pectare, aut sibi polliceri possit aut debeat, quam quod **Christi-**  
 anum in  
 futuro se.  
**cupo** Deum  
**fore.**  
 Christus dixit Apostolis, Matth. xix. 28. *Vos qui me se-  
 quuti estis in regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in  
 sede majestatis suæ, sedebitis et vos super duodecim sedes,  
 iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel. Unicuique ergo suf-  
 ficere debet, si gloriae Christi pro mensurâ suâ particeps  
 reddatur.*

Videtur autem externi hominis regenerationem accipere **G.**  
 pro ultimâ resurrectione, in quâ quid somniet nondum asse-  
 quor. **Regenera-**  
**tio externa**  
**pro resur-**  
**rectione.**

In eo vero se maximè prodit, cum testatur se nullam **Rejicit doc-**  
 aliam normam Christianæ religionis agnoscere. Nec enim **trinam fi-**  
 posset apertius rejicere doctrinam fidei, et remissionis pec-  
 catorum. Atque hinc constat ipsum novum quoddam evan-  
 gelium fabricare; nec dubito, quin alia monstra alat, quæ  
 nondum ex iis, quæ protulit detegi possunt.

Edm. London.

Number X.

17

*Boner, late Bishop of London, to the Queen, excusing his  
 refusal of the oath of supremacy.*

*Auxilium meum à Domino.*

Serenissima, clementissima et optima Regina, salutem:  
 addere etiam oportet, felicitatem, eamque perpetuam,  
 cum omni meo obsequio et servitute.

ET quoniam religiosè dii sunt adeundi, teque veluti in **E MSS.**  
**Guil. Petyt.**  
**Armag.**  
 terris deam, non oscitanter et negligenter accedere conve-  
 niat, liceat mihi (O clementiss. Regina) cum tuâ bonâ veniâ  
 te cum omni obedientia, humilitate et reverentia per literas  
 alloqui, quando præsens per carceris angustias id facere non

**BOOK I.** possum; hoc scil. adjungens quod olim Cæsari dixit Ovidius  
absens,

*Ingenium vultu statque caditque tuo.*

Quâ sententiâ nihil aliud significatum volo, quâm si tua insignis clementia meas actiones, quas multi (prout varia sunt mortalium ingenia) variè interpretentur, vel probet, vel improbet, ego vel felicem, vel infelicem prorsùs meipsum judicaturus. Et nè majestatem tuam multis regni tui negotiis occupatam, longo et inani verborum strepitu diutius quâm par est, detineam, id mihi præfandum est, nolle me quicquam de tuâ summâ potestate detrahere; quam, ut par est, sartè tectam esse, et colendam apud omnes, ubique, profiteor et contendô.

At excipies, dicesque, de potestate principis non esse disputandum. Scio id quidem, optima Regina: nam id me olim docuit juris civilis prudentia, (eui pro mea virili tum temporis operam dabam) id scil. attestata sacrilegii instar criminis esse de principis facto judicioque aliter censere, quam ipse princeps censet. Cur ergo, inquies, juramentum quod statuti tenor exigit, non præstitisti? Audi, O! pienissima Regina, præstandum esse aliquando juramentum scio, aliquando vero non præstandum. Sed explica, inquies, apertiùs. Præstandum esse tum demum censeo juramentum, quando absque periculo salutis æternæ præstari et observari possit: præstandum esse, si suos habeat comites, nempè veritatem conscientiæ, judicium discretionis, sive deliberationis, et justitiam; ut licitum et justum sit quod juratur. Non præstandum verò, quando res ita non se habeat. Id quod verbis quidem apertis divus Hieronymus cum Hieremia Prophetâ attestatur. Et Innocentius Tertius, vir summæ doctrinæ, et virtutis clarissimè confirmat in cap. *Et si Christus de jurejurando.*

18 Porrò, quando scriptum sit, juramentum non ut vinculum sit iniquitatis inventum esse; deinde, quando *omne quod non est de fide*, attestante Apostolo, *peccatum est*; et qui contra suam conscientiam facit, ædificare censetur ad gehennam; denique cum certum sit, tuam pietatem (quantumvis urgeant alii) nolle subditos tuos illaqueare aut pec-

cato mortali aut perjurio: mihi persuadeo in tua virtute et BOOK  
I.  
lenitate, oh! clementissima Regina, me in hoc meo facto \_\_\_\_\_  
honestâ ductum conscientiâ, nec displicuisse Deo, nec tuæ  
excellentissimæ Majestati. Atque ut ita de me et censeat  
et loquatur, meumque factum sic interpretari velit, humili-  
ter et reverenter obtestatam illam esse volo.

Inhærere hic volebam et insarcire (charissima Princeps)  
quosdam Hieronymi et Augustini sententias, ad negotium  
hoc valdè pertinentes: sed habui rationem tuæ Majestatis,  
verebarque me nimiâ loquacitate mē castas illas et pru-  
dentes aures tuas offendere; ideoque sententias illas seor-  
sim extra epistolam apposui, ut aliquando ubi libitum est  
pro tuo otio (si visu sunt dignæ) perlegere possit tua cle-  
mentia. Cui me humillimè iterum iterumque commendo.  
Raptim ex carcere ubi includor, sede scil. tribunalis tui re-  
gii in Southwark xxvi. die Octobris 1564.

*Parcere prostratis nobilis est ira leonis.*

Humillimus subditus Serenæ Majestatis tuæ ad pedes  
tuos provolutus humillimè, Edmundus Bonerius manu  
propria, sed rudi tamen et inculta.

Hieronymus in epistolam ad Ephes. et recitativè in cap.  
*Si Dominus xi.* sic ait, “ Si Dominus ea jubet, quæ non  
“ sunt adversus sanctis Scripturis [sanctas Scripturas] sub-  
“ jiciatur domino servus. Si verò contraria præcipit, magis  
“ obediatur spiritus quam corporis Domino, &c. Deinde, si  
“ bonum est quod præcipit imperator, jubentis exequere  
“ voluntatem: si malum, responde, *Oportet Deo magis quam*  
“ *hominibus obedire.* Hoc ipsum et de servis apud do-  
“ minos, et de uxoribus apud viros, et de filiis apud patres.  
“ Quia in illis tantum debeantur [debeant] dominis et nos-  
“ tris parentibus esse subjecti, quæ contra Dei mandata non  
“ sunt.”

Augustinus in sermone de verbis Domini, et recitativè in  
cap. *Qui resistit xi.* sic dicit, “ Qui enim resistit potestati,  
“ Dei ordinationi resistit. Sed quid si illud jubeat, quod  
“ non debes facere? Hic sanè contemne potestatem. Ti-  
“ mendo potestatem, ipsos humanarum rerum gradus ad-

**BOOK I.** “ vertitis. Si aliquid jusserit curator, nonne faciendum est ?  
 ——— “ Si contra proconsul, non utique contemnis, sed eligis  
 “ majori servire. Nec hic debet minor irasei, si major præ-  
 “ latus est. Rursum, si aliquid jubeat imperator, et aliud  
 “ Deus, quid judicatis? Solve tributum : esto mihi in ob-  
 “ sequium. Rectè, sed non in idolio. In idolio prohibet  
 “ major potestas. Da veniam, O imperator. Tu carcerem,  
 “ ille gehennam minatur. Hinc jam tibi assumenda est  
 “ fides tua, tanquam scutum, in quo possis ignito jaculo ini-  
 “ mici extingue.”

Then follows another allegation out of the same author.

*Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ Dominæ Elizabethæ  
 omni virtutum genere præcellenti,  
 hæ literæ dentur.*

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## 19

## Number XI.

*Bishop Grindal to Bullinger, concerning the controversy of  
 the habits.*

Reverendo in Christo D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigu-  
 rinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro fidelissimo, ac fratri in Do-  
 mino charissimo, Edmundus Grindallus, &c. Salu-  
 tem in Christo.

E Biblioth. Tigur. CLARISSIME D. Bullingere, ac frater in Christo cha-  
 rissime, D. Joannes Abelus tradidit mihi literas tuas Domini-  
 nis Wintoniensi, Norwicensi, et mihi communiter inscriptas,  
 unà cum scripto vestro de re vestiaria. Quorum ego exem-  
 plaria ad Dominos Wintoniensem et Norwicensem statim  
 transmisi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias,  
 tum quod nostrarum ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum  
 quod me hominem tibi ignotum participem facis eorum,  
 quæ ad nostros de rebus controversia scribuntur. Vix cre-  
 dibile est, quantum hæc controversia de rebus nihili eccl-  
 esias nostras perturbarit, et adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat.  
 Multi ex ministris doctioribus videbantur ministerium de-  
 serturi. Multi etiam ex plebe contulerunt consilia de seces-

sione à nobis facienda, et occultis cœtibus cogendis. Sed BOOK  
I.  
 tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad saniorem men-  
 tem rediit. Ad eam rem literæ vestræ pietatis et prudentiæ  
 plenæ, plurimum momenti attulerunt. Nam eas Latinè ac  
 Anglice typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex ministris,  
 vestro judicio atque autoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora  
 consilia de ministerio deserendo. Sed et ex plebe quam  
 plurimi mitiùs sentire cœperunt, postquam intellexerunt  
 nostros ritus à vobis, qui iisdem non utimini, nequaquam  
 damnari impietatis: quod ante publicatas vestræ literas  
 nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen qui adhuc manent in  
 priori sententia. Et in his D. Humfredus, et Samsonus, &c.  
 Nihil verò esset faciliùs quam regiæ Majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed cum hoc non  
 faciunt, nos apud serenissimam Reginam ista contentione  
 irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc episcopi sumus  
 (eos dico, qui in Germania et aliis locis exulaverant) in primo  
 nostro reditu, priusquam ad ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc  
 controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cum illud à Re-  
 gina et statibus in comitiis regni impetrare non potuimus,  
 communicatis consiliis, optimum judicavimus non deserere ecclesias propter ritus non adeo multos, neque per se non  
 impios, præsertim cum pura evangelii doctrina nobis integra et libera maneret. In qua ad hunc usque diem (ut  
 cunque multi multa in contrarium moliantur) cum vestrīs ecclesiis, vestraque confessione, nuper editâ, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri consilii. Nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ sunt ecclesiæ, quæ alioque Eccebolii, Lutheranis, et Semi-papistis  
 prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ 20  
 contentiones de Adiaphoris (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter fratres. Sed de nostris rebus hactenus.

In Scotia non sunt res tam benè constitutæ, quam esset optandum; retinent quidem adhuc ecclesiæ puram evangelii confessionem: sed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effe-

**BOOK I.** cit, ut sex aut septem missæ Papisticæ singulis diebus in aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus, qui accedere volunt, admissis; cum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea cum primum inita esset reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis monasteriorum, quæ fisco dijudicata sunt, stipendia evangelii ministris persolverentur: at ipsa jam integro biennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Minister, non ita pridem ejecit; neque exorari potest, ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen extra aulam hactenus nihil est innovatum: et proceres regni, nobiles item ac cives, multo maxima ex parte, evangelio nomen dederunt, ac multa magnaque constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his præcipiuus est D. Jacobus Stewardus, Murrayæ comes, Reginæ frater nothus, vir pius, et magnæ apud suos authoritatis. Perscribitur etiam ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege marito pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est. Fuit Italus quidem, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is cum Reginæ à secretis et intimis consiliis esset, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc malè habebat Regem: itaque facta conspiratione cum nobilibus quibusdam et aulicis suis, Italum illum, Reginæ opem frustra implorantem, ex ipsius conspectu abripi, et statim, indicta causa, multis pugionum ictibus perfodi atque interfici curavit. Hujus tam immanis facti memoriam Regina, tametsi Regi filium pepererit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulo verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur ora, ut Dom. Gualterum, ac reliquos collegas tuos meo nomine salutes. Dominus te nobis et ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissimè conservet. Londini 27. Augusti, 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,  
Edmundus Grindallus, Episcopus Londinensis.

## Number XII.

*Grindal, Bishop of London, to Zanchy, giving him account 21  
of the state of the present differences in religion.*

S. Ex postremis meis ad te literis, ad decimum octavum Foxii MSS. Decembris datis, intelligere potuisti, doctissime Zanche, causas extitisse justas et graves, cur de tuis ad regiam Majestatem reddendis literis, deliberationem mihi cum viris piis et doctis suscipiendam statuisse. Quamobrem liberatus illâ, quæ tum me impeditum dixi, prælonga et plena sollicitudinis circa Hispaniensem legatum curâ, probatissimos quoque capiendi consilii causa adibam, exque iis, re corâ explicata, quid ipsis videretur diligenter exquirebam. In iis et ecclesiastici ordinis viri lectissimi, longeque principes, et regiæ Majestatis consiliarii aliquot, et alii quidam magni judicij viri, Deumque timentes, sententiam rogati, de literis minimè exhibendis, pluribus in medium adductis rationibus, ad unum omnes statuerunt. Eorum autem ad quos nuperrimè datis ad me literis scripsisti, neminem prætermisi, cuius vel consilium diligenter percontando non petiverim, vel à quo, sive per literas, sive in congressu familiari, responsum in eandem sententiam non tulerim. Quas autem singuli sui judicij attulerunt rationes, eas sigillatim referre omnes, et longum esset, nec fortasse expedit. Sunt qui dissentientium inter se partes non te rectè perspexisse; alii nè rei quidem controversæ statum plenè te percepisse, ex illis quas ad amicos quosdam scripsisti literis, non temerè conjecturam facere videntur. Sed nec facilis fortè erit explicatio.

Verùm quo certius et melius è re nata negotii certitudinem, varietatem, magnitudinem, ipse tibi expiscari possis, conabor quidem sedulò, ut ab ipsis fundamentis, re paulo altius repetita, omnia tibi reddam quâm explicatissima. Sic ergo habeto.

Quo primum tempore serenissima Elizabetha fælicissimis auspiciis regni gubernacula susceperat, doctrina cultuque profligato Papistico, ad eam administrandi verbi Dei, Sa-

**BOOK I.** cramentorumque et totius religionis normam, quæ, regnante beatæ quidem, sed et luctuosissimæ memoriæ Edwardo Sexto, in nostris ecclesiis descripta constitutaque fuerat, omnia revocavit. In hanc celeberrimo convocato concilio, quod pervulgata sermonis consuetudine *Parlementum* vocamus, ab omnibus regni ordinibus plenis suffragiis assensum est. Hujus tanta est authoritas concilii, ut quæ in eo scribuntur leges, illæ, nisi jubente eodem, dissolvi nulla ratione poterant. Quare cum in hac ipsa, de qua jam dixi, olim à Rege Edwardo conscriptæ religionis. Forma, 22 multa de vestiendi ratione ad ecclesiæ ministros propriè accommodata præcipiantur; deque rebus aliis, quæ vel aboleri vel emendari nonnulli viri boni cuperent, quo minus huic operi manum quispiam admovere potuit, legis authoritate prohibebatur. Regiæ verò Majestati, ut ex episcoporum quorundam consilio, quædam immutare possit, lex ipsa concedit. At vero de lege nihil nec mutatum nec imminutum est. Nec sanè episcoporum quod sciam quisquam reperitur, qui non et ipse præscriptis pareat institutis, et cæteris, ut idem faciant, ducem se suasoremque præbeat. Quamobrem, in quo ipsi tibi jam antè ultrò concesserint, non est quod persuadendo magnopere labores, ut scil. vel ipsi in sua maneant statione, vel Regina erga eosdem tergiuersantes mitius se gerat. In eandem cum episcopis sententiam cæteri quoque ecclesiarum ministri, docti indoctique ferè omnes, non invitè concedere sanè videntur.

*Quædam desiderantur.*

Doctrinam inconcussam jam hactenus illibatamque in nostris ecclesiis tenemus. A disciplinâ igitur cum omnis nostra defluxerit controversia, ista sunt de quibus queri plerumque solet. In vestitu ministrorum communi ex præscripto requiritur vestis talaris, pileum quadratum colloque circumducta stola quædam ab utroque humero pendula, et ad talos ferè dimissa. In publicis precibus, omnique administratione sacra, præter ista communia, lineum quoddam indumentum, quod novo vocabulo *superpelliceum* dici solet, ministrantibus ut accommodetur, ecclesiastica jubet dis-

ciplina. Ex quibus cum depravatae religionis sacerdotes, ab BOOK  
I.  
iis qui evangelii lucem administrent, quasi tesseris quibus-  
dam, discriminari causentur nonnulli, talibus obsequiis vel  
idololatrarum probare hypocrisin, vel suum födare ministerium.  
Non sibi licere dicunt. Moderatores verò, licet ut  
edictis pareant ritibus nullo se modo cogi patiantur, tamen  
nec aliis quòd obedientiam præstant, vitio verti volunt, nec  
rerum illarum usum ut impium habendum ducunt. Sunt  
autem nonnulli, qui peculiarem illum vestiendi morem sic  
tuentur, ut eo remoto, et sacra omnia tantùm non profanari,  
et magno cum ministerium ornamento, tum populum  
documento fraudari, acriter contendant. At enim ordinis  
ecclesiastici, ut dixi, pars major in ea persistere videntur  
sententia, ut quantumvis aboleri ista posse potent, et plu-  
rimi certè desiderant, tamen cum in deserta statione, quam  
in suscepta veste, plus inesse statuant peccati, tanquam ex  
malis minimum, parere jussis, quam loco cedere satiùs  
ducunt.

Atque in tanta sententiarum varietate, sui cujusque  
animi sensa solidis se rationibus probè munita tenere quis-  
que confidit. Sed mitto rationes: res enim nudas comme-  
morare statui.

In Baptismi Sacramento administrando, interrogations  
responsionesque, quæ de more adhiberi solent, alii ut è  
mero papatu deductas, alii ut infantibus inutiles, 23  
ipsis autem susceptoribus duriores quam ut præstanto pares esse  
poterint, severè criminantur. Item, ejusdem administrandi  
sacri quædam ratio præscribitur, quam et *privatam* di-  
cunt; et de vita periclitantibus nominatim conceditur;  
hæc cum ad mulieres, quibus adesse solis parentibus licet,  
verbis non apertis, sed tacitis devolvi videatur, multorum  
reprehensione non caret. In Cœnæ celebratione genuflexio  
præcipitur; deque pane azymo nonnihil controversum est.  
Ordines ecclesiastici petentibus ex solius episcopi arbitrio  
dispensantur. Qui autem per manuum impositionem ad  
sacrum ministerium consignantur, iis preces publicas cæte-  
raque administrare sacra licet. Evangelium autem, nisi  
nova aliunde accersitæ potestatis imprestita accessione, an-

**BOOK** nunciare non licet. Episcopi nisi ex mandato Regio nec  
I. eliguntur, nec ordinantur. Huique ut suo quisque archiepiscopo obedientiam præstent, sacramento obligantur. Sunt autem, qui Archiepiscoporum, Archidiaconorum, et similium nomina auctoritatemque, quasi quæ dominatum quendam in ecclesia sacris libris vetitum constituant aboleri. Presbyterium autem per singulas ecclesias ex Apostolorum præscripto instaurari oportere contendant. Ad summam, nè singula persequar, ita per omnes partes nostram disciplinam et mancam, et corruptam esse querantur: ut de totius etiam ecclesiæ (quam, disciplina remota, nullam esse volunt) incolumitate, certitudineque dubitationes aspergere subobscurè videantur.

Quæ cum ita sint, auctoritate quadam ecclesiastica caverter, ne quis sacrum administrandi evangelii munus suscipiat, susceptamve retineat, qui non et ista de quibus jamdiu loquimur, generisque ejusdem alia, libro quodam comprehensa, pro ratis habeat, et nihil eo libro contineri, quod cum verbo Dei pugnet, suo quisque ascripto chirographo profiteatur. Nec vero si quis, quo minus id sibi facere licet, conscientiæ queratur aculeos vel siquid aliud contra afferat, ad causæ præsidium valere ea quicquam possunt, rectè ne an secus in medio relinquo. Neque enim alicujus vel factum vel institutum improbandi causa, hunc mihi laborem susceptum putes: ipsos enim homines sententiis inter se variantes, propter summam eorum pietatem, doctrinam, auctoritatem utrobique colo, venerorque. De rebus nullum meum interpono judicium. Siquid inter narrandum in alteram partem præponderare videbitur, id ad rei majorem explicationem accommodatum, non affectibus indulsum, existimabis. Ego enim ad ista scribenda, non animi aliqua perturbatione, sed officio ducor. Nam cum et hanc tibi de qua scriberes materiem suscepisses, et meum aliquod in eo desiderâsses officium, cum quas ob causas tuo minus satisficerim rogatui, reddendum mihi rationem putavi: tum nequa via per errorem à recto propositi argumenti scopo calatum deflecteres, qua potui cura et diligentia adesse tibi volui; ita tamen ut ego tibi ad eam quam

instituisti scribendi provinciam autor esse nolim; multo BOOK minus, ut nullo ad parandam gratiam adjumento, principis <sup>1.</sup> animum rei novitate percellas. Res enim lubrica, incertique est eventus, ut quæ non semel ante prætentata, ex parvis scintillulis magnas sæpe flamas excitaverit.

Sin omnino hoc vobis curæ erit, ut ope aliqua vestra, 24 consiliisque nostras juvetis ecclesias, alia vobis ingrediendum esse via videtur. Primum enim, ipsos episcopos per literas excitandos esse, ut cum Regiæ Majestati ad ea emendanda quæ offensiones pariant, cursumque impeditEvangelii, quibus poterint modis accommodatissimis suasores impulsoresque se præbeant, tum etiam siquæ volent, minus impetraverint omnia, ut in pœnis exequendis erga fratres et comministros suos, præsertim eos quibus grave conscientiæ onus incumbet, aliquanto leviores esse velint, et ad tolerantiam propensiores. Non quòd viros tantos vero pietatis erga fratres affectu carere, cuiquam unquam in mentem venerit, nam et aliis laudatissimis in amplificanda fovendaque Christi Ecclesia amoris sui testimoniis abundant, et severitatem illam, qua, in tuenda legum autoritate, uti plerunque solent, ad vitandam in ecclesiis *ἀταξίαν*, qua pestis nulla major esse potest, à piis patribus.

*Cætera (heu!) desiderantur.*

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### Number XIII.

25

*Franciscus Farias and Molinus, two Spanish Protestants; their address to the Bishop of London, being in danger of the inquisition.*

QUOD à te, humanissime atque amplissime Præsul, hu- Paper Of- miles petimus, est, ut in re gravi consilium præstes, tam- fice.  
quam pater verusque Pastor. Intelleximus atque nobis pro certissimo compertum est, quemdam hominem Evangelii hostem (qui ab Hispaniâ fugerat certis de causis) ut in re-gis Hispaniarum gratiam veniret, quamdam calumniam fa-bricâsse: atque cum Legato Hispaniæ, Gubernatriceque

**BOOK I.** Flandriæ tractâsse. Scopus calumniæ hic est, ut duo Hispani, qui hic sumus propter Dei verbum exules, (sunt jam octo anni,) tradamur, in Hispaniamque ducamur. Calumniæ fabula talis est: quod Rex Hispaniæ animadvertisatur, ut præcipiat Hispanicis inquisitoribus, informationes facere contra nos magnorum criminum. Quibus informationibus addatur alia contra quemdam Hispanum, pessimum hominem, qui à Flandria aufugit propter latrocinium et alia crimina, nuncque hic habitat; et simul cum istis informationibus Rex Philippus scribat Reginæ; rogans ut tales homines criminosi tradantur suo Legato, ut illos in Hispaniam mittat. Sicque homo iste, qui Flandriæ fuit manifestus malefactor, nobiscum primus in ordine ponatur, nè de nobis dubitetur, illo similes esse, vel pejores.

Quantum ad informationes, quæ hic afferri possunt, testamur Deum, pro cuius nomine exilium patimur, quod nullæ possunt adduci, quæ, si veræ sint, potius non sint in laudem, quam in vituperium nostrum. Sed tamen, cum hoc nobis planè manifestum est, quod quum, religionis causâ, maximo odio Hispanis inquisitoribus simus, et in inquirendis nobis et aliis, qui nobiscum ab Hispaniâ egressi sunt, à die, quo exivimus usque nunc, sint expensi plusquam sex mille coronati aurei, non dubitamus, quin Hispaniæ inquisitores tot falsos testes inveniant, quot ipsi ve-  
lent. Et sic facillimè imponere nobis poterunt omnia criminâ quæ ipsi voluerint. Præsupposito nunc, quod tales informationes simul cum Regis Philippi literis Majestati Reginæ præsententur, ut præcipiat nos tradi, ut in Hispaniam ducamur, scire cupimus periculumne incurramus? Nam si ita res se habet, aliam regionem quæreremus, ubi talis calumnia locum non habeat. Quapropter, ter piissime Præsul, brevi tuum consilium desideramus, ut nostris negotiis in tempore providere possimus. Nam Judas non dormit, ut nos tradat; fortassisque informationes jam in itinere sunt. Deinde, alter nostrum uxorem habet gravidam, quæ si pro-  
**26** fectus differatur, itineris labore sustinere non poterit. Et sic moræ causa possemus tradi, ducique, ubi, verbi Dei causâ, immanissimis tormentis vitam ageremus. Quod si

Dei providentiâ sic decretum est, adorabimus eum, precati-  
bimurque nos suâ fide muniat, et corroboret, ut possimus BOOK  
I.  
pro ejus nominis gloriâ fideli constantique animo ad finem  
usque persistere.

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## Number XIV.

*A Letter from the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners in  
behalf of some members of the Dutch Church, London,  
imprisoned in Flanders for religion.*

COMMUNI rumore certaque fama ad nos est perlatum Paper Of-  
(magnifici generosique Viri) tres fratres nostros, negotiorum  
suorum causa, isthac in patriam suam contendentes, à  
mense jam plus minus uno in itinere apud vos captos fuisse,  
ac etiam nunc captos detineri, eisque etiam non parum ne-  
gotii exhiberi nomine religionis, quasi à fide Catholiceæ Dei  
Ecclesiæ uspiam deflecterent. Nos porrò satis mirari non  
possumus adeò præproperam ipsorum captivitatem: præ-  
sertim dum significatum est nobis piorum virorum literis,  
eos iter suum quietè prosecutos esse, neque ullam disputa-  
tionem cum quoquam mortalium instituisse; ut vel contra  
publica patriæ vestræ decreta delinquisse meritò dici ne-  
queant.

Quod verò fidem ipsorum attinet, quæ nunc in contro-  
versiam rapitur, certò scimus eos sanam de Christo Domino  
(cui uni Lex et Prophetæ omnes testimonium perhibent)  
fidem habere: poste aquam eum verum Deum ex vero Deo,  
Patrique ipsi co-æternum, co-æqualemque esse agnoscant;  
verumque hominem ex hominis, nimirum, Virginis matris  
substantia, ac denique unicum Mediatorem, Sacerdotem,  
Prophetam, Regem ac Servatorem humani generis, maximè  
vero fidelium: ipsumque esse unicum ostium ovium sua-  
rum, quæ vocem ipsius audiunt, per quem qui introierit,  
servabitur. Qui aliunde ingressum querunt in vitam æter-  
nam, esse fures et latrones; neque ullo prorsus modo ser-  
vari posse, Christo ipsomet Domino, qui est ipsa veritas,  
neque mentiri potest, id attestante. Quam quidem fidem

**BOOK** de Christo Domino, reliquisque capitibus Christianæ religionis apud nos jampridem publicè sunt professi fratres prædicti; seque omni admonitioni correctionique fraternæ ex Dei verbo subjecerunt, juxta Majestatis Regiæ voluntatem. Ut extra omnem omnino sit controversiam, eos non esse vagos errores aut homines leves, sed subditos Ecclesiæ **27** hic nostræ multò fidelissimos; qui jam longo tempore pro majore saltem parte peregrè vixerunt, hicque etiamnum jamdiu sine ulla omnino offensione cujusque habitarunt: ac retenta hic habitatione sua, negotiorum quorundam suorum causa, isthuc sub spe mox redeundi sunt profecti.

Itaque ut hanc ipsam de eis existimationem habeatis, ac proinde eos nimirum Jacobum Diasaert, Christianum de Queker, ac Adrianam Skoningks, virginem, carcere mox liberandos curetis, ac ad sua salvos redire permittatis, rogamus quam possumus instantissimè. Nos, quibus Majestas Reginalis summam authoritatem in causis religionis delegavit, nemini ex vestris, aut cuique peregrino, qui quietè hic vivere voluit, ullum negotium religionis nomine hactenus facessimus. Quod si hic qui in nostram se fidem dederunt, atque Ecclesiæ nostræ membra sunt in aliis regionibus in hunc modum tractantur, cogemur etiam ipsi (quod non optamus) eādem mensurā aliis nationibus metiri. Sed de vestra æquitate omnia nobis pollicemur. Hortamur verò, ut ab omnibus sanguinis innoxii effundendi consiliis vos quam longissimè segregetis, nè in severissimum judicium Dei viventis, in cuius manus horibile est incidere, ipsi incidatis, præsertim *si cognita veritate sanguinem innoxium effuderitis. Valete, &c.*

## Number XV.

*The names of the members of the Dutch Church, London, 28 which were fled from the King of Spain's dominions for religion: sent to the Bishop of London by his order, from the Ministers and Elders. Which list was as follows.*

*Catalogus eorum qui ex ditione Philippi Hispaniarum Regis Ecclesiæ Belgico-Germanicæ Londinensi subsunt.*

## A.

Anthonius Ashe, Ecclesiæ Senior,  
 Arnoudt Van den Boinne,  
 Arnoudt de Bruynne,  
 Andries Janssen,  
 Anthonis Jordaeus,  
 Adriaen Kraanmeester,  
 Abraham de More,  
 Adriaen Breckpott,  
 Adam Gerards,  
 Ardt Van de Roist,  
 Alexander Van,  
 Adriaen Gillis,  
 Adriaen Gonards,  
 Arnoudt Janssen,  
 Anthonis Marcelis,  
 Andries Heilbroeck,  
 Alardt Janssen Van Horne,  
 Ardt Pieterssen,  
 Adriaen Speelman,  
 Alexander Bogaert,  
 Abraham Michiels,  
 Alardt Janssen Sciynwerker,  
 Anthonis Van der Molen,  
 Alexander de Ridder,  
 Anthonis Bernards.

## B.

Bertholdus Wilhelmi, Verbi Minister,  
 Bartholomeus Moennen,  
 Balthen Kermaus,  
 Bartholomeus Cornelissen.

## C.

Claudius Dottegnie, Senior,  
 Cornelis Smolders,  
 Cornelis Janssen Tesse- maker,  
 Cornelis Boess,  
 Clement Wouterus,  
 Cornelis Janssen Slotmaker,  
 Christiaen Sernaess,  
 Christiaen Kram,  
 Christiaen Buyl,  
 Cornelis Jacopsen,  
 Christiaen Boeyer,  
 Christiaen Liebhardt,  
 Cornelis Joisten,  
 Cornelis de Klerck,  
 Claude Engelandt,  
 Cornelis de Hoighe,  
 Cornelis Borne.

## D.

Dierick Van Roistveldt,

<b>BOOK</b>	<b>Dierick Janssen,</b>	<b>Henrick Willems,</b>
<b>I.</b>	<b>David Lingels,</b>	<b>Hans Van Auwegen,</b>
	<b>David Henrickson,</b>	<b>Henrick Van Orsell,</b>
	<b>David Janssen,</b>	<b>Hans Tielmans,</b>
	<b>Dierick Joppen,</b>	<b>Henrick Claessen,</b>
	<b>Dierick Cornelissen.</b>	<b>Hans Smidts,</b>
<b>29</b>	<b>E.</b>	<b>Hans Van Diependael,</b>
	<b>Erasmus Hoen.</b>	<b>Hans Piefferoen,</b>
	<b>F.</b>	<b>Henrick de Knoip,</b>
	<b>Francois Hoinch, Diaconus,</b>	<b>Henrick Simoens,</b>
	<b>Ferdinandus Dottegnie,</b>	<b>Huyge Wiltzen,</b>
	<b>Frantz Pape,</b>	<b>Herman Wolfardt,</b>
	<b>Frantz Jacobs,</b>	<b>Hans Lucas,</b>
	<b>Frantz Van den Winckel.</b>	<b>Hans Angeloe,</b>
	<b>G.</b>	<b>Henrick Pietersson,</b>
	<b>Gerardt Artis, Senior,</b>	<b>Hansken Van der Hole,</b>
	<b>Gilleyn de Beste, Diaconus,</b>	<b>Henrick Tessmaker,</b>
	<b>Gillis Van Thiennen,</b>	<b>Hans de Bruynne,</b>
	<b>Gillis Jacobss,</b>	<b>Hans Hagelers,</b>
	<b>Gerardt Janssen,</b>	<b>Hans Baerwyns,</b>
	<b>Gillis Van den Berge,</b>	<b>Hans Van der Scheuren.</b>
	<b>Gillis Valcke,</b>	<b>J.</b>
	<b>Gerardt Janssen Van Vimmen-</b>	<b>Jan Engelram, Senior,</b>
	<b>pen,</b>	<b>Jacob Saal, Senior,</b>
	<b>Gerardt Van den Abele,</b>	<b>Jan Lamoot, Senior,</b>
	<b>Gerardt Ver [Van] Strype,</b>	<b>Jan Danelu, Diaconus,</b>
	<b>Gilleyn de Beck,</b>	<b>Jan Loeyen,</b>
	<b>Gherardt Willenson.</b>	<b>Jan Van den Grave,</b>
	<b>H.</b>	<b>Jasper Van den Hone,</b>
	<b>Henrick Kinickes,</b>	<b>Jan Pietersson Van den</b>
	<b>Henrick de Moir,</b>	<b>Bossche,</b>
	<b>Henrick Sweyrdts,</b>	<b>Jan Pietersson Van Rum-</b>
	<b>Hans Smidt,</b>	<b>munde,</b>
	<b>Hermon Henrickson,</b>	<b>Jan Hauwe,</b>
	<b>Hans Ver Haghen,</b>	<b>Jacob Heyn, Diaconus,</b>
	<b>Henrick Lienens,</b>	<b>Jacob Van Aken,</b>
	<b>Hans Cornelis Van Breda,</b>	<b>Jois Bauwens,</b>
	<b>Henrick de Wyrdt,</b>	<b>Jan Beeckmans,</b>

Jan Cornelis,	Jan Willenson,	BOOK
Jan Willickson,	Jaques de Dunel,	I.
Jois Provoost,	Jan Janssen Van Audenarde,	
Jan Van der Beke,	Jan Janssen Van Ziericksee,	
Jan de Konynck, Senior,	Jan Nachtegael,	
Jaspar Jacopsen,	Jesayas Beyts,	
Jan Bernardts,	Jan de Mennynck,	
Jan Van Orsell,	Jan Loorisson,	
Jaques Roelandt,	Jooris de Lettewerck,	
Jan Lodwyckss,	Jacop Hortzwoet,	
Jaspar Van Toulouse,	Jois Bardts,	
Jan Cuypers Cornelissen,	Jan Broeck,	
Jacop Grammeyne,	Jaspar Baudens.	
Jaques Koeck,		K.
Jan Stell,		
Joeris de Blare,	Konradt Janssen,	
Jan Daniels,	Klays Theyssen,	
Jan Winrickssen,	Klays Van Tungeren.	
Jan Van der Vliet,		L.
Jan Kabeliauw,	Loiis Tiery, Senior,	
Jan de Beck,	Lambrecht Nenem,	
Jaques de la Chantiere,	Lenardt Cornelisson,	
Jan Dierickssen,	Lienen Van Vyne,	
Jan de Grave Van Kassel,	Lucas de Heere,	30
Jan Henrickssen,	Lienen de Bake,	
Jaques Weelss,	Lienen de Buss,	
Joren Orinck,	Lodowyck Van Mauwden.	
Jois Van den Veste,		M.
Jan Senertyen,	Mauritius Van den Hone,	
Jorge Wullenraer,	Michiel Wouters,	
Jan Van Kampenhaut,	Marten Boin,	
Jooris de Dobbelaer,	Matthieu Verkens,	
Jan Van Kerdt,	Matheus Verhonen,	
Jan Van Verdebau,	Marten Van de Laten,	
Jan Van den Bosche,	Marten de Coster,	
Jaques Hoste,	Matheus Stilte,	
Jooris Wieders,	Matrio Verlare.	
Jan Grieten,		O.
	Otto Jacobs.	

BOOK	P.	
I.	Petrus Carpentarius, Senior, Pieter Pieterssen, Diaconus, Pieter de Berdt, Diaconus, Paschieu Van der Mote, Pieter Lamoot, Pieter de Bruynne, Pauwels de Boyr, Philippus Garcie, Diaconus, Pieter Bogardt, Pieter Vereycke, Pieter Voss, Pieter Doffaye, Pieter Van der Elst, Philips Henrickson, Philips Van Lonen, Pieter de Wale, Pieter Roeles, Pieter Koselaer, Pieter Unistardt, Petrus Geluius, Pieter Sterten, Pieter Segerss, Pieter Tieretens, Pieter Verroist.	Roelandt Van Sandtfordt, Raphael Van den Putte, Roeguer Stevens, Remer Van Reckem, Romboudt Van Kerssbeke, Robert Janssen.
		S.
		Steven Unystardt, Sebastiaen Urancks, Sebastiaen Pieterssen, Sebastiaen Doraff, Segar Van Pelkem.
		T.
		Tomaes Soenen, Senior, Thomas Cornelissen.
		V.
		Vincent Van der Leyen.
		W.
		Willem Salween, Willem Jacobson, Willem de Wagenaer, Willem Mayardt, Willem Kock, Wouter Urancks, Willem Prooffsts, Willem Frantzen, Walterus Pannekoeck.
R.	Renier Verwayen,	

Ad postulationem R<sup>di</sup> D. Epi. Londinensis, testamur nos Ministri verbi, nomine totius nostri consistorii, numero (prout eos in Philippi Hispaniarum Regis ditione natos ex ecclesiæ nostræ registro discernere potuimus) ducentos et triginta sex, esse viros pietatis et honestatis studiosos; qui non solum in dictâ nostrâ ecclesiâ suæ fidei publicam confessionem ediderunt, sed et disciplinæ ejusdem ecclesiæ sese subjecerunt, ac ejusdem ministerium ac Sacra-menta hactenus frequentarunt.

Sequentes verò hic infernè adscriptos in ejusdem Hispa-

niarum Regis ditione natos testamur, ad ejusdem Reve- BOOK  
rendi D. Epi. Londinen. postulationem, esse viros probos \_\_\_\_\_  
et modestos, ac purioris religionis causâ è Belgio profugos  
(prout nobis quorundam fratrum ac quorundam aliorum  
proborum virorum testimonio commendati sunt) qui se  
nostræ dictæ Ecclesiæ per publicum in nostro consistorio  
fidei examen et professionem jam à festo Natalis Dominici  
proximè elapso, subjecerunt, ac deinde etiam in cådem  
dictâ Ecclesiâ Dominicæ Cœnæ communicarunt.

## A.

Adriaen Moel Enyser,  
Anthonio Kethel,  
Abraham de Kock,  
Adriaen Godtscalck,  
Arnoudt Hose,  
Adriaen Van der Mote,  
Adriaen Happardt.

## B.

Bernardt Van den Broncke,  
Bernardt Remss.

## C.

Clement Van den Driessche,  
Christiaen Kryntzen.

## D.

David de Moelenner Gil-  
lems.

## F.

Frederick Tseyss,  
Frantz Vederhonen.

## G.

Gysbrecht Turmael,  
Gillis Van der Ghemst.  
Guillame Bogardt,  
Gysbaert Steynmuelen,  
Gillis Lemmens,  
Gillis Stichelbaut,  
Gillis Orblock,  
Guiliame Boerte,

## Gillis Van der Beke,

Gillis de Vroye.

## H.

Hanss Hossardt,  
Hercules Fremault,  
Hilgardt Gerardtssen,  
Hans Gonardss.

## J.

Jaques Gommardts,  
Jan Blummardt,  
Jacob Schuddemate,  
Jan de Vetter,  
Jan Vailliandt,  
Jakes Van Maalsack,  
Jasper Vander Plaetzen,  
Jan de Franke,  
Jaques de Kock,

Jan Van Eynde,

Jacob Hoste,  
Jan Dierickson,  
Jacob Jacobsen,  
Jooris Smynt,

Jan Peyss,  
Jeroon Galmards,  
Jaspar Sulss,  
Jan Hossaert.

## K.

Klaess Sandfordt,  
Klaess de Coninck.

BOOK  
I.

32

BOOK I.	L.	N.
	Lucas Van Pene,	Nicolaes Bendt,
	Lienen de Heirder,	Nicolaes Van den Luffel.
	Lienen Van der Hulst,	O.
	Lupardt Goedhalss,	Olivier Van den Drieffche.
	Lodowyck Theeuwes,	P.
	Lienen de Wachter,	Pieter Van den Broncke,
	Lienen de Wulf.	Pieter Moir Van Hassel,
	M.	Pauwels Van Anwerpen.
	Matheus Verhagen,	R.
	Machiel Corsselis Griffoen,	Rippardt Herrickssen,
	Maerten Tayen,	Ridsardt Christiaens,
	Maerten de Vischer,	Romeyn Janssen.
	Machiel de la Rouere,	V.
	Maerten Van Pene,	Vullinck Van Riette.
	Machiel Tsnyss,	W.
	Maerten Vrolick,	Willem Maass.
	Maehardt Lamoot.	

*Ita est: Gottfridus Wingius in Ecclesiâ Belgio-Germanicâ  
Verbi Minister.*

Bartholdus Wilhelmi, Nerdensis,  
Thomas Soenen,  
Loys Tyry,  
Jan de Coninck,  
Franciscus de Marcsinii,  
A. — de Stuer, Verbi Minister,

Pieter de Carpentier,  
Claude Dottegnie,  
Jan Lamoot,  
Gherardt Artius,  
Jacobus Salius,  
Jan Klercks,

Examined by { William Cocks,  
and  
William Sharsington.

## Number XVI.

*Theodore Beza, to certain brethren of the English Churches, 37  
upon some controversies in the ecclesiastical polity.*

*SÆPE multumque à charissimis Anglicarum Ecclesia-* Epistola  
*rum fratribus rogati, &c. i. e.* Being often and earnestly Bez. duo decima.  
 required by certain of our dear brethren of the English  
 Churches, that in their miserable state we should suggest  
 some counsel to them, in which their consciences might  
 acquiesce, especially the opinions of many varying from one  
 another; we deferred a great while to do it, for very  
 weighty causes; and we declare, that even now also we  
 would most willingly be silent, but that we held ourselves  
 bound not to reject the so often repeated petitions of the  
 brethren, and their lamentable groans. But the causes of  
 our long silence were these:

First, as on one side we are unwilling to call in question  
 the credit of the brethren, but that they sincerely wrote to  
 us this whole business; yet on the other hand it is very  
 hard for us to suspect such great men as the Bishops, of  
 things so different from their offices, much less to persuade  
 ourselves thereof.

In the next place, who are we, that we should give any  
 judgment of these things?

But and if it were allowable for us to judge of them by  
 some right, or by the request and consent of the parties;  
 yet would it be most unjust to determine any thing, the  
 other party being absent or unheard.

Lastly, we feared another thing also, lest by this our  
 counsel, whatever it were, this whole evil might rather  
 rankle than receive a cure; as being a thing, as it seems to  
 us, that can be healed only by prayers and patience. Since  
 therefore the brethren's entreaties do so far force us by all  
 means to afford them some counsel, we do expressly avow  
 these things are so writ by us, that we mean not any preju-  
 dice to happen to the other side, much less to assume to  
 ourselves a judgment upon any man. And we beseech all

**BOOK I.** those in the Lord, into whose hands these writings shall come, that they be not offended therewith, but to persuade themselves that these things are written by us in simplicity and truth, by a presupposition of the fact, as they speak, for the pacifying in some measure the consciences of the brethren earnestly desiring this of us; which wholly to neglect, we could not for charity sake. Therefore, supposing the things so as we hear, we simply and ingenuously profess, that this is our opinion of these controversies.

**Vocation of Ministers.** I. It is enquired, “Whether we can prove this disorder in the vocation of the ministry, *viz.* that without any lawful consent of the Presbytery, and any parish assigned, upon a very light examination of men’s lives and manners, 38 they should be received into the number of the ordained. “To whom afterwards, according to the Bishop’s pleasure, power is given to preach the word of God for a certain time, or to say only the Liturgy.”

We answer: Such vocations and ordinations seem not at all lawful, whether we have regard to the express word of God, or the purer Canons. Yet we know it is better to have something than nothing. But we beseech God with all our heart, that he grant this also to England, *viz.* a lawful calling of the Ministers of the word and sacraments: which being hindered, the benefit of the doctrine of the truth must either vanish presently, or be maintained by some extraordinary and heavenly means. In the next place, we, in all lowliness, beg the Queen’s Majesty, by the sacred name of God, that she bend all her mind to the amendment of this thing, which is the stay of the whole English Church, and so of the kingdom itself also. In the third place, we also beseech those great men, as well who are of her Privy Council, as those who have succeeded the Popish Bishops, by the singular mercy of Almighty God, that they destroy that tyranny which hath ruined the Christian Church, out of that very place whence the ruin sprang; we beseech both, I say, even with tears, and by the name of him before whose tribunal we shall all stand, that being mindful of the former times, and of their duty, (especially since the Lord

hath given them her Majesty, from whom all heroical things are to be hoped for, unless they be wanting to themselves,) they desist not doing their endeavour, in entering into counsels for the establishing this matter, and persuading her Majesty, and give themselves no rest until the business be effected.

But what is to be done in the mean time? Certainly, as to ourselves, we would not take the function of the ministry on this condition; no, though it were offered, much less seek it. Yet those to whom the Lord this way hath opened an entrance to propagate the glory of his kingdom, we exhort, that they hold out strongly in the fear of the Lord; yet on this condition added, that they may holily and religiously discharge their entire ministry; and moreover, according to their office, propound and urge such matters as tend to put things into a better state. For otherwise, if this liberty be taken from them, and be commanded after this manner to wink at a manifest abuse, so as even to approve of what, it is evident, wants to be amended, what else may we advise, than that they choose rather to live privately, than to cherish an evil against their conscience, which, in a short time, will necessarily draw with it the whole ruin of the Churches. And we hope that her royal Majesty, and so many men of dignity and goodness, will endeavour that care may rather be taken of so many pious and learned brethren, than so great an evil should happen; to wit that the Pastors should be forced even against their consciences to do that which is evil, and so to involve themselves in other men's sins, or to give over. For we more dread that third thing, *viz.* to execute their ministry contrary to the will of her Majesty, and the Bishops, for causes, which, though we hold our peace, may well enough be understood.

II. It is demanded also of us, "Whether we approve of caps and garments, as well in common use, as in the function of the ministry. And that we answer openly and freely."

We answer therefore freely, if the matter be so as we hear, they seem to deserve very ill of the Church of God,

**BOOK I.** and must render an account of this deed before Christ's judgment-seat, who are the authors of this thing. For although we think, that civil and politic order is by no means to be disproved: whereby, not only the orders of citizens, but of offices are distinguished; yet we think any distinction is not to be approved. For what if Ministers be commanded to wear such habits as buffoons, or stage-players use? Is it not a manifest mockery of the ecclesiastical function? But here somewhat worse seems to be by us admitted of; because, not only the Lord hath rendered that priestly habit ridiculous to many Papists themselves, but it appears polluted and defiled with infinite superstitions.

Some will say, that they are *ancient*: they are so, but much ancienter is the apostolical simplicity, under which the Church flourished.

But if we were minded to inquire more largely into these things, it would not be hard to shew, that those matters which served afterwards for distinction, were first common and ordinary. But things being altered after so long a distance of time, wherefore this strangeness, unless out of an unprofitable evil zeal?

Some will say again, they are things *indifferent in themselves*. We grant indeed they are so, if they be considered by themselves. But who will so consider them? For those that are Papists, whatsoever the civil law may pretend, are confirmed by this means in their old superstition. Such as begin so far to detect superstitions, that they have begun to curse the very footsteps of them, how much are they offended? They that are better informed, what fruit do they reap hence? Whether is the distinction of so great value, that the consciences of so many should be therefore disturbed, the reason of that distinction being fetched from the manifest and sworn enemies of sound doctrine? Moreover, that of them that are called *Clergymen*, not the least part is said still to carry papistry in their bosom. Now will they become better by the restoring of this habit? Or, will they not rather wax bold with the hope that their papistry shall ere long be set up again?

But if any object the circumcising of Timothy, and other things of that sort, we pray him again and again to consider, what Paul would have said, if any had made such a law, that whosoever exercised the ministry of the Gospel, should be bound to wear a Pharisee's garment, or to preach the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments in the habit of profane Priests; much less to circumcise their children, whatsoever reason might be added to such a civil law: yea, why should these things be brought in? For however they might be tolerated in the beginning, until they might by little and little be changed; yet being once taken away, for what benefit they should be received again, in truth we do not see. That therefore, which we said before, we repeat again, we cannot like of that counsel, nor hope for any good to come from thence. Yet we shall willingly depart from our opinion, if we shall hear any thing righter urged.

"What then," say the brethren, "do you think fit that we should do, on whom these things are obtruded?" We answer, that here is need of a distinction: for the condition of the Ministers is one, and that of the flock another: next, many things may, and ought to be borne, which nevertheless are not rightly commanded.

Therefore we answer, first, although those things in our judgment are not rightly brought back into the Church again; yet, since they are not of the nature of those things which are wicked in themselves, we do not think them of so great moment, that therefore, either the Pastors should leave their ministry, rather than take up those garments, or that the flocks should omit the public food, rather than hear Pastors so clothed. Only, that the Pastors and the flocks sin not against conscience, (so that the purity of the doctrine itself, or of opinions, remain safe,) we persuade the Pastors, that after they have delivered their consciences, both before the Queen and the Bishops, by a modest protestation, (as becomes Christians, void of all tumult and sedition, and yet grave and serious, as the greatness of the matter requires,) let them to their flocks openly inculcate

BOOK  
I.

**BOOK** those things which belong to the taking away this scandal,  
I. and prudently and quietly insist upon the amendment of  
 those abuses, as the Lord shall offer occasion. “ But those  
 “ things which they cannot change, let them bear, rather  
 “ then for this cause forsaking the Churches, by greater  
 “ and more dangerous evils, they yield an occasion to  
 “ Satan, that seeks nothing else.”

The flocks also (the pure doctrine remaining) we per-  
 suade, that nevertheless they attentively give ear to the  
 doctrine itself, religiously use the sacraments, put up their  
 sighs to the Lord, until, by a serious amendment of life,  
 they obtain from him that which is requisite to an entire  
 reformation of the Church. But if it be commanded Min-  
 isters, not only to tolerate them, but to approve of them  
 as right by their subscription, or cherish them by their si-  
 lence; what else can we advise, than that having borne  
 witness of their own innocence, and tried all remedies in  
 the fear of the Lord, to give way to manifest violence.  
 But we prophesy to the realm of England better things  
 than these extremities.

**III.** This also is inquired, “ What we think of that  
 “ broken [*i. e.* alternate] singing; of signing with the cross;  
 “ of putting questions to the children to be baptized; of  
 “ the round unleavened wafer, and kneeling in the Lord’s  
 “ Supper.”

We answer, that kind of *singing* seems to us a manifest  
 corruption of the pure and ancient praising of God. As  
 for the *sign of the cross*, as there was in time past some use  
 of it, yet the superstition certainly is so very execrable, and  
 withal so novel, that we judge they did very rightly, who  
 once banished the rite out of the churches: whereof also we  
**41** see not what the profit is. *The questioning of children* to  
 be baptized, we make no doubt, came into the Church from  
 hence, that by the negligence of Bishops, the same form was  
 retained in the baptism of infants, which in the beginning  
 was used in the adult Catechumens; a matter which we  
 may also perceive from many other things which yet pre-  
 vail in Popish baptism. Therefore, as chrism and exorcis-

Alternate  
 singing, the  
 cross in  
 baptism,  
 &c.

ing, however ancient, are with good right abolished ; we should desire also, that that, not only needless, but trifling <sup>BOOK</sup> <sub>1.</sub> *interrogation* be laid aside, however Augustin himself, in a certain epistle, defend it by some interpretation. The *bread*, whether it be leavened or unleavened, we think it worth no great pains, although we think the common bread to be much more agreeable to the appointment of Christ. For why did the Lord use unleavened bread, but because at that time wherein he thought fit to institute that holy Supper, none in Judea used other bread ? Either therefore the feast of unleavened bread must be restored, or we must acknowledge the common and ordinary bread is more rightly used after the example of our Lord, although the Lord used unleavened bread. To say nothing of the custom of the ancient purer Church, which the Greek Church retains to this day. Lastly, *kneeling*, while the elements are received, hath a certain shew of pious and Christian worship ; and so heretofore might be used fruitfully : yet, because from this fountain that detestable bread-worship sprang, and still remains in the minds of many, it seems fit, upon good reason, to be taken away. Therefore, we beseech Almighty God to suggest to the Queen's Majesty, and the Bishops, such counsel in these things, as seem necessary once to purge away these defilements.

IV. It is asked, " Whether we approve of Baptism administered by midwives."

We answer, it is not only disliked by us, as the former matters were, but seems also altogether intolerable ; as arising from the ignorance of the true use of Baptism and the public ministry. Therefore, we think the Ministers should earnestly reprove the retaining such an abuse, but by no means allow such false Baptism.

V. They say also, that " excommunications and absolutions in some episcopal courts in England are executed, not according to the sentence of the presbytery, (because there is none there,) nor according to the word of God, but by the authority of some lawyers, and such others ; yea, sometimes, of some one man, and indeed for mere

**BOOK** “money-causes, or matters civil, and other things of that  
 I. ————— “nature, as was wont to be done in Popery.”

We answer, that it seems to us almost incredible, that such an abuse of a most perverse custom and example should still be used in that realm, where the purity of the doctrine flourisheth. For the right of excommunication, before that Papal tyranny, will be never found to be in the power of one, but in the power of the presbytery, and the people not wholly excluded. In the next place, that judicial handling *βιωτικῶν, of things pertaining to this life,* came to the Bishops plainly by abuse. For as to that the Apostle discourses, of appointing judges at Corinth, it is nothing to the purpose, where there is a Christian magistrate: neither ever came it into the Apostle’s mind, to load the presbytery with such matters of cognizance merely civil. It appears also, that the ancient Bishops, not by any power of theirs, but by the importunity of such as contended together, had the hearing of such controversies, and that only as private judges. Among whom nevertheless they did most wisely, who rather chose to follow the example of Christ, refusing the umpirage of dividing the inheritance, and of being judge in a matter of adultery brought before him.

If any thing therefore be done to the contrary in England, truly we think, that by such judgments a man is not any more bound before God, than by those Papal excommunications. And we wish this cruelty of consciences, and foul profanation of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and merely spiritual, were at the first opportunity by the Queen’s authority abolished, as much as the corruptions of *doctrine* itself; and that presbyteries and deaconries were set up according to the word of God, and the canons of the pure Church. Which unless it be done, we fear in truth, lest it be the beginning of many calamities; which, however, I pray God avert. For it is certain, the Son of God will one day severely revenge from heaven such manifest abuses, whereby consciences are disturbed, unless some remedy be used. In the mean time, that which is not rightly done, we think is rightly borne by those who cannot change what they bear:

yet so far forth, that they approve not of the thing itself, BOOK  
1. but redeem unjust vexation with patience. But if they be pressed so far, as to be compelled not only to bear this course, but to approve of this excommunication as lawful, and by suing for unlawful absolution manifestly to assent to that abuse ; we persuade, that they rather bear any thing, than act against their consciences.

But why do I speak these things ? for certainly we promise ourselves much better things, yea, all the best things now of that realm: wherein the setting up of Christian religion hath been sealed with the blood of so many most eminent martyrs. We only fear, lest the same which hath befallen so many other countries happen also to England : to wit, that because *fruits meet for repentance be not brought forth*, the Lord being angry, taking away the light of his Gospel, double their darkness. These are the daily sermons in our churches ; and truly our judgment is, that, in the first place, the same should be done by all the Ministers of God's word ; that by all ways they urge this part of the Gospel especially, which respects a serious amendment of life. For this being obtained, the Lord would certainly suggest both counsels, and zeal, and such other things, needful to begin the reformation of the Church.

We exhort therefore in the first place, and most humbly beseech with tears, our right good brethren of the English Churches, and most respected in the Lord, that all bitterness of minds being laid aside, (which we fear this evil 43 hath greatly increased on both sides,) the truth of doctrine itself remaining safe, and conscience safe, men patiently bear with one another, heartily obey the Queen's Majesty, and all their Bishops ; and lastly, constantly resist Satan, who seeketh all occasions of tumults and infinite calamities, men's minds agreeing together in the Lord, though they are not presently of the same opinion in some things. For the great God is our witness, that this our writing is by no means intended, or looks that way, that one part strive thereby against the other ; or as though we cast it forth as

**BOOK I.** ἔριδος μῆλον, *the apple of contention*; although the truth of the fact, as they speak, presupposed, (being overcome by the continual petitions of the brethren,) we have in simplicity declared our opinion concerning these things. And we join our daily prayers, with the groans of all the godly who are there, that the most merciful Lord, taking pity upon human infirmity, would most effectually direct the Queen's Majesty with his Holy Spirit, and all the nobles of the kingdom of England, as also the prelates of the churches; and in a word, all the workmen of the spiritual building: that the work of the Lord, so often begun, and so often hindered, might most happily be promoted in the highest peace and concord of all orders; that not only all old stains both of the doctrine itself and the ecclesiastical polity may be once purged; but also, all the monsters of errors driven away, that Satan again endeavoureth anew to bring into the Church of Christ. Which the most gracious Father by his Holy Spirit grant, in Jesus Christ his true, eternal Son, of the same essence with himself, in which we profess one and the same God to be adored for ever. Amen.

From Geneva 24. October, 1567.

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### Number XVII.

*A Catalogue of such unlawful books as were found in the study of John Stow of London, Feb. 24. 1568.*

**A PARLIAMENT** of Christ, made by Thomas Heskins. *Flores Historiarum*, in parchment, written hand.

A brief Collection of Writings of Matters of Chronicles.

The Hatchet of Heresies; set out by Shacklock.

A Summary of the Chronicles, corrected by him.

*Fundationes Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, &c. in papyro script.*

An Exposition of the Creed, Ten Commandments, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, &c. set forth by Dr. Bonner.

A Discourse of the Troubles in France, in print. Translated by Thomas Jeney, Gent. Dedicated to the French Queen. BOOK  
I.

Bede ; translated by Stapleton.

Questions of Love, and the Answers ; translated out of French into English.

Certain Sermons set forth in print. Preached by Mr. 44 Roger Edgeworth, Doctor in Divinity, Chancellor of the Church of Wells.

Dr. Watson's Sermons.

A great old printed book, containing the manner of the List of Saints.

The Five Homilies made by Leonard Pollard, Prebendary of Worcester.

A Proof of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Mr. Juel, &c. by Thomas Dorman.

Two notable Sermons made by Dr. Watson, the third and first [fourth] Fridays in Lent last past, before the Queen, concerning the Real Presence, &c. and the Mass ; which is a sacrifice of the New Testament.

The Cardinal of Lorain his Oration.

An Explanation and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar ; with Confutation of a Book written against the same. Made by Stephen Bishop of Winton, and exhibited by his own hand, for his Defence, to the King's Majesty's Commissioners at Lambeth, in print.

A Confession of William [perhaps Richard] Smith, made to the Lord Protector's Grace, and the rest of the King's most Honourable Council, the first of December, in the 6th year of King Edward VI. [it must be before, for the Protector was dead some years before,] in written hand.

Much rude matter gathered together for a Summary of a Chronicle : [so Stow's History of England was called ; which was printed not long after in a small volume ; and again the second time, anno 1573.]

A Buckler of the Catholic Faith of Christ's Church, containing divers Matters now of late called into Controversy by the New Gospellers. Made by Richard Smith, Doctor of

**BOOK** Divinity. In print. A piece of a Mass Book in print ;  
I. with a certain Directory in writing, of the old Popish Service.

A brief Collection of Matters of Chronicles, since ann. Dom. 1563. entered in an old written book of Chronicles : bound in board : written, as it seems, with his own hand.

The Pearl of Perfection ; made by James Canceller.

A Discourse, wherein is debated, whether it be expedient that the Scriptures should be in English, for all Men to read that will.

The Way Home to Christ and Truth ; leading from Anti-christ, &c. Set forth by one Vincent, [Vincentius Lirinensis,] a Frenchman ; in Latin, above eleven hundred years past ; and translated into English, and imprinted anno MDLVI.

A little Book of Homilies, set forth by Dr. Bonner.

Two Homilies, upon the first, second, and third Articles of the Creed ; made by Dr. Feckenham.

John Angel, his book, late Sub-dean of the Queen's Chapel.

A Sermon of Dr. Brooks, late Bishop of Gloucester.

The displaying of Protestants. Made by Miles Huggerd, [Hogherd, a hosier in London.]

**45** The Tryal of Supremacy. Wherein is set forth the Unity of Christ's Church militant ; given to St. Peter and his Successors by Christ ; and that there ought to be one head Bishop, &c.

A brief Shew of false Wares, &c. by Rastal.

A plain and godly Treatise concerning the Mass and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, &c.

Testimonies of the real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar : set forth by Poiner, Student in Divinity.

A brief Treatise, setting forth divers Truths, &c. By Dr. Smith of Oxford.

A Copy of a Challenge taken out of the Confutation of Mr. Juell's Sermon. By John Rastal.

A Defence of the Sacrifice of the Mass ; by Dr. Smith.

The Assertion and Defence of the Sacrament of the Altar, BOOK  
I.  
&c. By Dr. Smith.

A Confutation of a certain book called, *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine*, &c. against the late Archbishop of Canterbury ; by Dr. Smith.

A Sermon made at Powles-Cross, by one Hugh Glasier.  
Allowed and approved by Dr. Bonner.

### Number XVIII.

*Propositions or articles framed for the use of the Dutch Church in London, and approved by the Church of Geneva, for the putting an end to long controversies among the members of that Church : being also very profitable to be set forth in these days, wherein new congregations do spring up.*

CHRISTIAN liberty is not a wandering and unruly <sup>li- E Biblioth.</sup> cence, by which we may do or leave undone whatsoever we <sup>D. Johan.</sup> Ep. Elien. list at our pleasure ; but it is a free gift bestowed upon <sup>I.</sup> us by Christ our Lord ; by the which, the children of God, <sup>What is the Christian liberty.</sup> being delivered from the curse of the law, or eternal death, and from the heavy yoke of the ceremonial law, and being endowed with the Holy Ghost, begin willingly of their own accord to serve God in holiness and righteousness.

Therefore, sith that he which is the Son of God is ruled <sup>II.</sup> by the Spirit of God, and that the same Spirit commandeth <sup>How this liberty is transgressed.</sup> us, we should obey all ordinances of man, (that is, all ed.) politic order, whereof the magistrate is the guardian,) and all superiors, which watch for the health of our souls ; yea, and that according to our vocation we should diligently procure the safeguard of our neighbour ; it followeth, that that man abuseth the benefit of *Christian liberty*, or rather, <sup>46</sup> is yet sold under sin, who doth not willingly obey either his magistrate or superior in the Lord, or doth not endeavour to edify the conscience of his brother.

**BOOK** Moreover, what is profitable to edify, and what is not, is

I. not to be determined by the judgment of the common

III. people, or of some simple man, nor yet by the issue of  
Of private men's judg- men's actions; but rather sometime by the nature of those  
ments in things, touching the doing or not doing whereof, question is  
matters in- moved. As if they be either commanded or forbidden by

different. God, and be agreeable unto our calling, or not: and sometimes, (as if the matters were otherwise of their own natures mean or *indifferent*,) they are to be considered by the circumstances of the times, places, and persons, weighed according

ing to the balance of God's word.

IV. *Conscience* is the feeling of God's judgment, whether Of consci- that a man be assured out of the word of God of that judg-  
ence.

ment, or that he make it to himself rashly or superstitiously. But whereas it is the duty of Christians to observe the commandments of their Lord, that indeed is properly called a right and good conscience, which is governed by the word of God. Whereby it cometh to pass, that every faithful man by that revealed word doth examine and weigh with himself, both what he doth, and also what he letteth undone, that he may judge of them both, which is just, and which is unjust.

V. *Indifferent* things are called those, which by themselves, Things in-  
different.

being simply considered in their own nature, are neither good nor bad, as meat and drink, and such like; *in the which* therefore, it is said, that *the kingdom of God consisteth not*; and that therefore a man may use them well or evil: wherefore it followeth, that they are marvellously deceived, which suppose they are called *indifferent*, as though without any exception we may omit them, or use them as often as we list, without any sin.

VI. Things otherwise indifferent of themselves, after a sort Indiffer- change their nature, when by some commandment they are  
ent things com- either commanded or forbidden. Because, neither they can  
manded or be omitted contrary to the commandment, if they are once  
forbidden.

be commanded, neither omitted contrary to prohibition, if they  
be prohibited; as appeareth in the ceremonial law.

VII. Albeit the yoke of the ceremonial law be taken away by  
Ceremonial laws.

Christian liberty, and that it is not lawful for any mortal man BOOK  
I.  
to lay another yoke in the place thereof; yet notwithstanding,  
the confused use of indifferent things may be lawfully  
repressed, both generally and specially.

*Generally*, the use of these indifferent things is restrained VIII.  
The use of  
things in-  
different in  
general.  
by the law of charity, which is universal. This is belonging to all men, and to all things, and plainly forbidding, that nothing, otherwise indifferent and lawful, be done, <sup>47</sup> whereby thy neighbour is destroyed; or that any thing be omitted, whereby he may be edified. But yet here are two things to be presupposed: the one, that judgment be taken out of the word of God, what may or ought to be done, or not done: the other, that every man have consideration of his calling. And so we say, the words of the Apostle are to be understood, *I was made all things to all men.*

*Specially*, the use of these things is forbidden by ecclesiastical or civil decree. For although that only God doth IX.  
The use of  
things in-  
different in  
special.  
properly bind the conscience of man, yet in respect, that either the magistrate, who is God's Minister, doth think it profitable for the commonwealth, that something, otherwise of itself lawful, be not done, or that the Church, having regard to order, comeliness, and also edifying, do make some laws concerning indifferent things, those laws are altogether to be observed of the godly, and do so far forth bind the conscience, that no man wittingly and willingly, with a stubborn mind, may, without sin, either do those things which are forbidden, or omit those things which are commanded.

And sith these things are not ordained simply for themselves, but in respect of certain circumstances, not as though the things themselves were of their own nature unlawful (for it belongeth only to God to determine this) in case X.  
Circum-  
stances in  
things in-  
different be  
diverse.  
those circumstances do cease, and so be that offence be avoided as near as we can, and that there be no stubborn will of resisting; no man is to be reproved of sin, which shall do otherwise than those ordinances: as it is plain, by the example of David, in a case otherwise flatly forbidden, when he ate the shewbread.

## BOOK

I.

XI.  
To forbid,  
or to com-  
mand  
things in-  
different,  
except for  
three  
causes,  
do offend.  
Also, they  
that rashly  
judge other  
men's con-  
sciences  
herein.

XII.  
Christian  
liberty is  
not to be  
prejudiced  
generally,  
but by cir-  
cumstan-  
ces.

XIII.  
They are to  
be reproved,  
which  
wound  
weak con-  
sciences in  
things in-  
different.

XIV.  
Constitu-  
tions are  
some uni-  
versal, and  
some parti-  
cular.

They, which for any other cause either command or forbid at their pleasure the free use of indifferent things, than for one of these three; that is, neither for edifying, nor for policy, nor ecclesiastical order; and especially those which do rashly judge other men's consciences in these matters; offend heinously against God and against their neighbour.

Those which thus do, either by open wickedness, or by wilful ignorance, are not to be regarded. But those, which being deceived by simple ignorance, or by authority of ancient custom, have erred in these things, are to be borne withal, as much as may be; and yet but so far as Christian liberty be not generally prejudiced. Which thing is to be discerned by the circumstances, and by the spirit of discretion: as it appeareth, not only by the doctrine, but also the doings of St. Paul, who reprimanded Peter, circumcised Timothy, and again would not circumcise Titus. And therefore there is no cause why the Church should alter this or that being well ordained, for fear of offending some private men.

48 Even as they, of whom I spake a little before, do grievously offend against God and their neighbour, so are they greatly to be blamed, who either by preposterous zeal, or by impatience, do quite overthrow the consciences which are weak, and not thoroughly instructed in indifferent things, either to do them, or to leave them undone. As likewise, they offend on the other side, which, by their winking, cherish and confirm the weakness of their brethren.

These *ecclesiastical constitutions* being lawfully made in respect of certain circumstances, (that is of order, and for common utility, and not as though there were any worshiping of God placed in them,) are not only catholic, that is, universal, but also sometimes particular, for the manifold variety of the circumstances. And therefore, both these men offend, which do rashly change them that are catholic, and also those which do stiffly retain the same; albeit, there be special necessity to alter them: but chiefly, those, which by wrong judgment thrust particular ceremonies upon all men.

The Church of Christ is a congregation of men professing Christ's Gospel, in the which the Gospel is purely taught, and the sacraments truly administered out of the word of God, by Ministers called to the same purpose. The which congregation sometime is small, and sometime great; sometime is seen of men, (as when the ministry is public,) and sometime hidden, and, as it were, for a time overwhelmed, either by public corruption of all estates, or force of the enemy, or by both these mischiefs, God exercising his just judgment against man's wickedness, but never quite destroying his congregation.

So often as God doth ordain such visible companies, to make himself known in them, to call his elect, and to dispense the riches of his Spirit by the ministry of his word and sacrament; it is very manifest, that it is most necessary, that every man, (which will not teach God and his wisdom to his own most certain destruction,) according as opportunity is offered, do join and submit himself to some particular Church, as it were, to some certain parish in this great and wide city of God.

Now, that the catholic Church of God may continue in unity, it is not lawful for any particular Church to usurp any supremacy or superiority over another, by authority to judge it, condemn it, or to separate herself from it, especially since it is manifest, that all the Churches of God are endowed with equal power.

Furthermore, if any particular Church find any fault in another, whether it be in doctrine or in manners, and then by brotherly conference, and godly exhortation, prevail nothing, the same must (avoiding all curiosity, which is able to set congregations at variance, and observing the band of common friendship) endeavour to refer the whole matter unto the Synod or Council, in the which the controversy may be tried only by the word of God. By the name of a *Synod* we understand neither an *Œcumical Council*, as they term it, (for who shall gather it together?) neither any such meeting, whereunto it is necessary that certain hundreds of Churches meet together, except the order of some

BOOK  
I.XV.  
What the  
Church is;  
sometimes  
manifest,  
sometimes  
obscure.XVI.  
Every man  
must join  
himself to  
some parti-  
cular  
Church, be-  
ing visible.XVII.  
No superi-  
ority in  
particular  
Churches.XVIII.  
Synods for  
to decide  
controver-  
sies.

**BOOK I.** region be such ; but such an one, unto which, according to the place and time, other Churches near at hand, or far off, may be joined ; which by the word of God may decide the controversy.

**XIX.**  
Schismis and  
apostasy  
from the  
Church is  
to be  
avoided.

Wherefore, to avoid the pestilent renting and tearing asunder of the whole body of Christ, we think it is not lawful for any man, for any cause, to depart from Christ's Church ; that is, from the Church in which at the least wise that doctrine is preserved whole and sound, wherein consisteth the soundness of religion, and wherein the use of the sacraments, which Christ hath instituted, is preserved. And therefore we affirm, that not only heretics, but also schismatics do grievously offend. To depart out of Christ's Church, is not simply to go from one company to another, but as though thou remain in one place, to separate thyself from the fellowship of the congregation, as though thou wert no member thereof.

**XX.**  
The lawful  
Ministers  
and Elders  
represent  
the Church.

In the Church of Christ, that is to say, in the house or city of the living God, the Consistory, or fellowship of governors, consisting of the Ministers of the word, and of *Seniors* lawfully called, sustaineth the person of the universal Church in ecclesiastical government, even as every magistrate in his commonwealth.

**XXI.**  
Let no man  
trouble the  
congrega-  
tion, but  
ask counsel  
of the pas-  
tors.

If any man, either private, or bearing public office in the Church, do not agree unto the ecclesiastical constitutions now made and received, especially such as are catholic, he is bound to ask counsel modestly of the pastors and seniors, and to stand to their arbitrement, at the least thus far, that he trouble not the congregation ; according to that saying of the Apostle, *If any man lust to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.*

No law is  
to be made  
but accord-  
ing to the  
word, pro-  
fitable and  
necessary.

But if there be any stir concerning the making of laws, then must nothing at all be rashly altered, no, not by the Consistory itself. And before any law be established, we must not only see whether it be agreeable to the word of God, but also whether it be profitable, and almost necessary to be brought in. But in case there be but a lawful [some

\*Levissima  
in Lat. cop. light\*

suspicion, that some of the flock will be offended,

and yet it is not meet the whole congregation give voice BOOK  
I.  
therein, and that the help of a good magistrate be wanting, \_\_\_\_\_  
the opinions of such men are to be asked and diligently  
weighed, that these which are weak may be instructed ;  
and if any shall be stubborn, they may in time be admon-  
ished of their duty. Neither shall it grieve them, if the  
matter so require, to seek counsel of such Churches as are  
least suspected, or of some godly and learned men. So that 50  
nothing be decreed in the Church of God, but with fruit  
and edification.

Those which shall factiously set themselves against laws XXII.  
Such as re-  
made after this sort, and will not be brought to their duty ; sist godly  
laws, and  
and much rather those which conspire against their Minis-  
ters and Seniors, are worthy to be handled as open enemies against  
God's Min-  
isters, are  
to be hand-  
led as ene-  
mies to the  
Church.  
and also, if  
the last remedy must needs be used, either in suspending  
from the Supper of our Lord, or in once excommunicating  
them which have offended, according as the circumstances  
of the thing, the time and persons shall seem to require.

For it is not written of the universal Church, nor of the  
whole congregation in any particular Church, but only of  
the foresaid governors of the Church, (whom Christ institut-  
ed in his Church, according to the example of the former  
Church of the Jews:) *Tell the Church : and if he refuse to  
hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and  
a publican.*

Ecclesiastical excommunication is the public judgment XXIV.  
What ex-  
communi-  
cation is,  
and for  
whom of  
Christ or-  
dained.  
of the Seniors of the Church, against a subject of the Church  
having fallen, and being unrepentant, and, after lawful  
examination and due admonition of his faults, pronounced  
in the name of Christ our Lord, and by the authority of  
his word. Whereby it is declared, that the same man (until  
he repent) is cast out of the Church of God and commu-  
nion of saints, and given over unto Satan.

**BOOK I.** If any man complain of injury done unto him, they shall first complain unto the Consistory, and that after a modest

**XXV.** All matters of injury ought to be prosecuted charitably and with modesty. sort, and as it becometh Christians, rather confessing their faults than excusing them; that if it might be the matter be determined and ended at home. But in case it cannot so be, either they must seek unto other Churches, or, if need be, they must go to the Christian magistrate, or refer the matter unto a Synod. That order, to be short, shall be observed, which is used in that country where any such thing shall happen. In the mean season, whosoever shall factiously prosecute the matter, and not rather peaceably follow the cause, he declareth himself worthy, even for that very thing, to be removed out of the Church.

**XXVI.** Excommunicate persons not to be received into the congregation before manifest proof of unfeigned repentance. Those which be lawfully excommunicated, or have unlawfully departed from the Church with offence, insomuch as they are banished from the kingdom of Christ, and from salvation, they can in no wise be admitted unto any public function in the Church, or to the use of the sacraments, until such time as they have justly satisfied the congregation; neither can there be any company joined or kept with them, except it be such as may make to their amendment, or at the

**51** leastwise be politic and moderate, and after a civil manner.

**XXVII.** Civil magistrates be of God, and to what end of him ordained. The civil magistrate is an ordinance from God, by the which, through the help of the nobility, good men being protected, and wicked men corrected, godliness, honesty, and peace, are preserved amongst men.

**XXVIII.** Civil ordinances made by civil magistrates, ought to be obeyed. Whosoever will not resist the ordinance of God, must, without any exception of persons, be also subject unto the magistrate, and obey his commandment, so that it be not repugnant to the word of God.

**XXIX.** The godly magistrate, and also the wicked, to be God's instruments; the one a blessing, the other a scourge. As the godly and faithful magistrate is an inestimable blessing of the Lord, even so a wicked, unfaithful, foolish, and tyrannical magistrate is stirred up of God in his anger, to be a scourge and chastisement to punish the sin and wickedness of his subjects.

**XXX.** It belongs As it is the duty of the magistrate to maintain and defend

the Church of God with the sword, even so it is the duty of <sup>BOOK</sup>  
the Ministers of the Church, in the behalf of the same, to <sup>I.</sup>  
crave his help against rebels, heretics, and tyrants, as often  
as they think need shall require.

If any man, against the laws and privileges of his coun-  
try, advance himself as a lord or magistrate; or if he who  
is confirmed in the office of a magistrate, do wrongfully spoil <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
his subjects of the privileges and liberty which he hath  
sworn unto them, or by open tyranny oppress them; then <sup>Every man  
in his voca-</sup>  
ought the ordinary magistrate to oppose him; who, accord-  
ing to God and their duty, ought to defend the subjects, as  
well against domestical as foreign tyrants. *In this article*  
*(as our most worshipful brethren of Geneva did also ad-*  
*monish us) our mind is not to have any window laid open*  
*to any rebellion or injustice.<sup>a</sup>*

But if there be some fault in his person, who, according  
to the laws and rites of the country, is lord and ruler either <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
by close or open consent; to wit, that he is ungodly, or co-  
vetous, or ambitious, or cruel, or a fornicator, or unchaste, &c.  
it belongeth only to the superior magistrate and estates of <sup>Manifest  
and noto-</sup>  
the country to correct it. But it is the duty of all private <sup>rious crimes  
(of the in-</sup>  
men, and also of all inferior magistrates, that herein render- <sup>ferior ma-</sup>  
ing due obedience, they rather choose to suffer wrong, than <sup>are to be  
only pun-</sup>  
that leaving their vocation, wherein every man ought always <sup>ished by</sup>  
to continue himself, to set force against force, and so to <sup>the Prince:  
and herein  
all private  
men and  
other,</sup>  
deal unjustly. <sup>rather to  
suffer  
than to  
rebel.</sup>

\* The words of Beza and the Genevian Church, that the last clause of the thirty-first Article refers to, were these, (which I think convenient here to set wrong, than down, to shew that Church's judgment in this matter.) "Your conclusions concerning the authority of magistrates, as ye sent them to us, we do not doubt in <sup>52</sup>  
general to approve as godly and orthodox. Only we could not conjecture, why in Art. XXX. ye make mention of tyrants; and in Art. XXXI. which seems to arm inferior magistrates against the superior, we are forced [*ἐπέχειν*] to form bear our assent; not only because it is very dangerous, in our times especially, to open such a window; but also because this matter seems not simply to be argued, (as the thing is handled of you in this *thesis*), but from very many and very weighty circumstances. In this aphorism therefore we abstain; and that not at all out of any fear of men, but that we pronounce nothing rashly in a matter of so great moment."

BOOK  
I.

## Number XIX.

*A list sent into the Bishop of London, to be preferred above, for favour, upon account of the arrest.*

The names of those which have been persecuted for religion, and frequent the English, French, Dutch, or Italian Churches.

Joos Faes	Adriaen de Breier
Christiaen Van Cortenberch	Mr. Jan Mouson
Harman Holman	Henrick de Drossaert
Hendrick Herpers	Joos Moyeson
Joris Struys	Adriaen Poelvoet Van Sierckzee,
Cornelis Hendricksen	Jan Van Spiers
Michiel Geertsen	Jan Coens
Mattheus oude Cleercooper	Jan de Viet
Hendrick de Stoeldraeyer	Arnout Aerdtzen
Gonaert Hamels	Jasper Van oude Janssen
Cornelis Busyn	Tobias de Bye
Deniis Folcaert	Jan Penneman
Aert van Guylick	Peeter de Pruet
Jan Hanicks	Anthony de Rycke
Hector Vander Vore	Adriaen Wanten
Mr. Lenart Van Isegem	Peeter de Rycke
Jaques Cromelinck	Walram Lowick
Ambrosius Huybrechts	Hans de Drossaert
Willem de Keyser	Gielis Sierkens
Reynier Franssen	Christian Beeckmans
Jan Moreel	Joos Vander Borcht
Gielis Segers	Joos Van Oorliaens
Peeter Persoons	Lieu en Twercken
Mr. Jan Thomas	Lieu en Van den Hulle
Stenen de Sagher	Hendrick Martens
Cornelis Reyms	Adriaen Hendricks
Claes Stantvoort	Hans Speeckaert
Cornelis Bulleyns	Peeter Lieuens
Hendrick Van Abbeue	Dierick Vryman
Hans Voormant	Jan Coenen
Joos de Graue	Hendrick Harmans
Willem de Sagher Van Burse	

Hendrick Moermans	Emanuel Hueze	BOOK I.
Marten Pyniarts	Jasper Jansen	
Abraham Rossaert	Anthuenis Burtoen	
Peeter Bouters	Jan Willemsoen	53
Jan Coucke	Hugo Quyerynsoen	
Jan Vande Vynet	Cornelis Bullens	
Joos de Puyt	Adrian Vanden Pust	
Peeter Winne	Hendrick de Hout	
Jan Vanden Luere	Jacob Plaete Voet	
Marinus Lambrecht	Arnout de Naen	
Harman Tyssins	Peeter Sterlincks	
Dierick Cornelissen	Jaques Meyndt	
Philips de Vrolicke	Jooes Vanden Sype	
Fransoys Tybaut	Clement Struis	
Charles Veeskens	Hendrick Abbeville	
Philips Vanden Meere	Johan Vande Poelle	
Willen Van Pottelbergh	Peeter Janssen	
Cornelis de Vos	Adriaen Hielle	
Gonaert Van Broeghel	Cornelis Vanden Borcht	
Cornelis Vanden Borcht	Geeraret Manhoet	
Peeter Cleymans	Joris Van Heucke	
Jacob myn Heere Van Huele	Jan Mantau	
Hendrick Laureyns	Jan Brant Mesmaker	
Peeter de Hase	Egbart Buntinck	
Crysbyn Vanden Biest	Lodewyck Manteew	
Anthony Wiegens	François Smedekens	
Jan Knodde	Frans Oitsen Smet.	

We whose names be hyre under-wreten, do testifie these persons above-wreten, to be persecuted for religion; and before the tyme of the arrest, to have frequented, some the Doche church, some the French church, &c.

Derych Heinryckson  
 Jan Vander Hure  
 Jasper Van Vosberghen  
 Arnould Bernardt  
 Nicolas Sellin.

Examined by { William Cocks.  
 { William Sharington.

## BOOK

I.

**54** The names of those that were of the Dutche church, and now frequent the English church: and many of the same frequent also the French and Dutche church.

Cornelis Plas	Anthony Smet
Jan Godschalck, with his son Jacob	Willem Wetten
Mr. Jan de Viendrt	Huybreche Delinck
Gabriel Berdts	Adriaen Ghyselinck
Herman Van Goch	Bartholomeus Piters
Jeremias Ackerman	Jan Beelen
Bartholomeus Huysman	Willem Piterson
Willem Busdonk	Christiaen de Ryke
Michiel Mattheus	Jacob Corte
Adriaen Vanden Mere	Cornelis Vanden Plaetze
Jan Selen	Gielis Van Hiele
Geraerdt Van Bedber	Joris Cutler
Peeter Trioen	Pauwels Maes
Melsen Van As	Peeter de Mol
Jan Draeck	Gerardt Janssen
Jan Pruet	Crispijn Van Oudenaken
Jan Selot	Hans de Lether dresser
	Heyndrick Moreels.

We whose names be hyre under-wretten, do testify these persons above-wretten, to have bynn sometime of the Doche congregation, and syns their departing from the same church, the same persons to have frequented some the English church, and some the French, Doche, and Italian churches.

Signed as before.

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# AN APPENDIX

55

OF DIVERS

## ORIGINAL PAPERS,

LETTERS, AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS,

WHEREUNTO REFERENCE IS MADE

IN

THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

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## BOOK II.

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### Number I.

*Mysdemeanors of the Master of the Savoy, partelie confessed MSS. penes  
by the said Master, and partelie proved by the othe of the me.  
Chapleins and other officers of the same house.*

First, THAT the said Master is not resident as he is 1.  
bounde to be by the statutes of the house, neither doth his Non-resi-  
dewtie in keepinge hospitalitie in his owne person. dence.

Item, That he mayntayneth in the said hospital divers of 2.  
his kinsfolkes with meate, drinke, and lodginge, at the charges Over-charg-  
of the said hospitall: and hath a messe of meate at everie ing the hos-  
meale, whether he be present or absent, at his commandement- pital.  
to the charge of the same hospitall at one hundredreth  
pounds by the yere at the least, contrarie to the statutes of  
the same hospitall.

Item, When he is there, he receiveth not the Communion, 3.  
nor comyth not to the churche, unless it be verie syldome, Not com-  
municating.

**BOOK II.** but useth to spend his tyme in bowlinge and gamynge, and keepeþ his servants and others thereat, so as they also cum not to the churche in tyme of divine service, nor receive the Communion as they should do.

**56** *Item*, That albeit he hath received all the rents of the said hospitall, yett he never made any accompte to the iij Chapleins there sithens his admission to the mastership, which is more then xj yeres agoe, beinge bounde by the statutes to make an accompte to them twise everie yere.

**4.** *Item*, That he kepith the statutes and ordenences of the said hospitall from the said Chapleins, contrarie to the same statutes, and suffreth strangers to kepe and pervse the same.

**5.** *Item*, That the said Master hath kept and had the common seale of the said hospitall in his owne custodie ever sithens he was Master there, until the xxij daie of Aprill 1370, last past, direct contrarie to the statutes and ordenences of the same hospitall, and without the consent of the Chapleyns there, whereas it ought to remaine by order of the said statutes in the common treasorie vnder iij lockes and keyes.

**6.** *Item*, Where by the statutes of the said house he ought not to make any lease for any terme above        yeres, without the consent of the visitors of the same house, yet nevertheless of his private authoritie he hath made and granted divers unprofitable leases of the landes of the said hospitall for excessive number of yeres, as for xxx, xl, l, lx, lxx, above; and namelie, one lease to Mr. Fanshall, of the manor Dengeh for vi hundred yeres. Another to one Anderton, of lands in Yorkshire and Lancashire for a thousand yeres, as it is said.

**7.** *Item*, Also, That the said Master havinge the said seale in his owne custodie, hath made a great number of the grantes under the common seale of the said hospitall, without the consent of the said Chaplynes, and hath bounde the said hospitall by the common seale thereof to paie divers great summes of money for his owne private detts; and with the revenues of the same house hath dischargid and paid a great parte of the same; and for sume parte thereof hath and doth

**Irregular leases.**

**8.** *Abusing the seal.*

suffer sundrie extentes to be served upon the lands of the said hospitall. And so what by one means, and what by other, he hath burdenyd the hospital with the same his dettes, above the summe of MDCCCC XXXVIIJL. xvis. vijd. alreadie knownen.

Also, That the Master, without the consent of the Chapleins, hath under the common seale of the said hospitall solde awaie the fee-simple of an house and lande at Myle-ende, of the yerely rent of vL. and converted the money that he toke therefore to his owne use.

Also, That he hath bounde the hospitall by the common seale, to pay lxL. for the advousen of the benefice of Denbigh, and hath sold the same again to his owne use.

Also, That the said Master, of his own private authoritie, hath solde and alienated the jewells, copes, vestimentes, and ornaments of the said hospitall. Also, a chalis with a cover duble gilte. Also, vere faire plate and ornamente gevyn by Mr. Fekenharn, late Deane of Pawlls; for the which the hospitall is bounde yerelie to paie xls. for ever to the Peti-cannons of Pawles in London.

Also, That the said Master hath taken awaie certaine bed-<sup>57</sup> dinges gevyn to the poore, and caried it to the Courte and other places, for his men to lye on.

Also, That by his means the poore want theire allowance of fire in the wynter, and lacke drinke in greate necessitie; whereby the sisters have ben driven to give them water instede of drinke.

Also, The beddinge belonginge to the poore is verie sore decaied, and lackith both in number and other furnyshe-<sup>14.</sup> ments required by the statutes.

Also, That there hath ben muche evill rule and dissolute livinge emonges his servantes. So that two of his mayden servantes, beinge his cokes, have ben gotten with childe in the said hospitall, and no correction hath ben done therfore.

Also, That one Elizabeth Woller, a suspect woman of livinge, hath, in her keepinge, a private or double key of the alley-gate, contrarie to the statutes. And thereby at all tertiained.

**BOOK II.** tymes both night and daie cummyth in, and bringith in  
and owt whom she lyft into the said Masters lodgynges:  
wherebie the house is brought into great obloquie.

<sup>17.</sup>  
**The books  
of statutes  
not kept.** Also, That the said Master hath not kept the booke of  
statutes and ordinaunces, with the dotations and letters pa-  
tenttes of the lands and other munymnts, belonginge to the  
said hospitall in the common treasurie, under iiiij lockes and  
keys, accordaninge to the statutes; but hath kept them to his  
private use, and levith the same in thandes and kepinge of  
other persons owt of the house, to the great daunger and  
losse of them.

*Concordat cum compertis in visitatione hospitalis prædict.*

W. Say.

### Number II.

*Grindal, Archbishop of York, to the Lord Treasurer; com-  
plaining of injuries offered to his Clergy by those that  
were sent down upon concealments.*

**MSS. pe-  
nes me.**

AFTER my very hearty commendations to your good  
Lordship. I can be very well contented, that the gentlemen  
pensioners, in whose behalf your Lordship wrote unto me,  
may have the penalties, forfeited by the Clergy of my dio-  
cese, according to their letters patentts. Neither did I ever  
mind to abridge them of any part thereof. But I find fault  
with the manner of proceeding which hath been used here,  
about the levying of the same. For first, their deputies  
have been bare men, and noted for evil dealing heretofore,  
and so the liker to commit extortions and briberies. Whereof  
some, as I hear, have been opened in the Star-chamber; and  
58 of some we have suffered in these parts. Secondly, their  
manner of dealing, by composition for offences past and to  
come, tendeth not to the restraint of abuses, but is rather a  
mean to increase the same. Moreover, (as they use the  
matter,) men of good worship and calling, which are no way  
culpable, and generally, all the whole Clergy, as well the

innocent as the faulty, are compelled to appear before the said deputies, being men qualified as before, and to attend upon them as Commissioners (where indeed they have no such commission) to their great charge, molestation, and discredit.

BOOK  
II.

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Wherefore, if the said gentlemen would send me down in articles a form of proceeding to be observed by their deputies; whereby the said inconveniencies, and some other, now for brevity omitted, may be avoided, I shall be willing, in all reasonable order, to further their commodity, or otherwise leave them to the execution of their commission according to their own discretion, so as no injury be offered to my Clergy and me. Which I assure myself was not meant at their granting of their said letters patents. And thus ceasing further to trouble your Lordship at this time, I heartily commend the same to the grace of God. From Bishoppethorpe, this xxix. of June, 1573.

Your Lordship's in Christ,  
Edm. Ebor.

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### Number III.

*The said Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer, concerning proceedings in the ecclesiastical Commission with Papists in the north.*

MY very good Lord, we of the ecclesiastical Commission MSS. p.  
here have sent a certificate to my LL. of the Council, of nes me. our proceedings this term. Only five persons have been committed for their obstinacy in Papistical religion. For the number of that sect (thanks be to God) daily diminisheth; in this diocese especially. None of note was committed, saving only your old acquaintance Doctor Vavasor; who hath been tolerated in his own house in York, almost three quarters of a year. In his answer made in open judgment, he shewed himself the same man which you have known him to be in his younger years: which was sophistical, disdainful, and eluding arguments with irrisio[n], when he was

**BOOK** not able to solute the same by learning. His great anchor-  
**II.** hold was in urging the literal sense of *hoc est corpus meum*, thereby to prove *transubstantiation*: which to deny (saith he) is as great an heresy as to deny *consubstantiation*, decreed in the Nicene Council. The diversity was sufficiently  
59 declared unto him by testimonies of the Fathers. *Sed ipse sibi plaudit.* My Lord President and I, knowing his disposition to talk, thought it not good to commit the said Dr. Vavasor to the castle of York, where some other like affected remain prisoners; but rather to a solitary prison in the Queen's Majesty's castle at Hull, where he shall only talk to walls.

The imprisoned for religion in these parts of late made supplication to be enlarged; seeming, as it were, to require it of right, by the example of enlarging of Fecknam, Watson, and other Papists above. We here are to think, that all things done above are done upon great causes, though the same be to us unknown. But certainly my Lord President and I join in opinion, that if such a general *jubilee* should be put in use in these parts, a great relapse would follow soon after. Your Lordship, and other of my Lords, may consider of it, if any such suit should be made, &c.

Thus I take my leave of your good Lordship, heartily commanding the same to the grace of God. From York,  
13th of Novemb. 1574.

Your Lordship's in Christ,  
Edm. Ebor.

## Number IV.

*Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the most reverend Father in God, Edmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in the Convocation or Synod, holden at Westminster by prorogation, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, MDLXXV. touching the admission of apt and fit persons to the ministry, and the establishing of good order in the Church.*

FIRST, that none shall be made Deacon or Minister here-  
after, but only such as shall *first* bring to the Bishop of that E MSS.  
Guil. Petyt,  
Armag. diocese, from men known to that Bishop to be of sound religion, a testimonial, both of his honest life, and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the Articles of Religion, which concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted; entitled, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of the Diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; Put forth by the Queen's authority:* and which also shall then be able to answer, and render to the same Bishop an account of his faith in Latin, agreeable and con- 60 sonant to the said Articles: and shall *first* subscribe to the said Articles. And every such Deacon shall be of the age of twenty-three years, and shall continue in that office the space of an whole year at the least, before he be admitted to the Order of Priesthood. And every such Minister shall be of the full age of twenty-four years. And neither of those Orders shall be given, but only upon a Sunday or holyday, and in the face of the Church; and in such manner and form, and with such other circumstances as are appointed by the book entitled, *The Form and Manner of making, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*

**BOOK II.** *II. Item,* That no Bishop shall give either of the said Orders to any that be not of his own diocese, (other than graduates resiant in either of the Universities,) unless they be dimitted under the hand and seal of that Bishop, and of whose diocese they are ; and not upon letters dimissary of any Chancellor or other officer to any Bishop.

*III. Item,* That unlearned Ministers heretofore made by any Bishops, shall not hereafter be admitted to any cure or spiritual function, according to the Queen's Majesty's injunctions in that behalf. For which purpose, the Bishop shall cause strait and diligent examination to be used in the admission of all Curates to the charge of any cure.

*IV. Item,* That diligent inquisition be made in every diocese for all such as have forged or counterfeited letters of Orders, that they may be deposed and punished by the Commissioners ecclesiastical.

*V. Item,* That the Bishops by their letters do certify one to another the names of such counterfeit Ministers ; to the end they be not suffered to serve in any other diocese.

*VI. Item,* That from henceforth none shall be admitted to any Orders ecclesiastical, unless he do presently shew to the Bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice then void, within the diocese or jurisdiction of the said Bishop ; or unless he likewise shew to the said Bishop a true certificate, where presently he may be placed to serve some cure within the same diocese or jurisdiction : or unless he be placed in some cathedral, or collegiate church, or college : or unless the Bishop shall forthwith place him in some vacant benefice or cure : or unless he be known to have sufficient patrimony or livelihood of his own.

*VII. Item,* That none shall be admitted unto any dignity or benefice with cure of souls, unless he be qualified according to the tenor of the first Article : and if any such dignity or benefice be of the yearly value of *xxxl.* or above, in the Queen's books, unless he shall then be a Doctor in some faculty, or a Bachelor of Divinity at least, or a preacher lawfully allowed by some Bishop within this realm, or by one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford ; and shall

give open trial of his preaching before the Bishop or Ordinary, or some other learned men appointed by him, before his admission to such dignity or benefice. And nevertheless, where the stipends or livings be very small, there to choose and admit of the best that can be found in such case of necessity.

VIII. *Item*, That all licences for preaching granted out by any Archbishops or Bishops within the province of Canterbury, bearing date before the 8th of February 1575, be void and of none effect. And nevertheless, all such as shall be thought meet for that office, to be admitted again without difficulty or charge, paying not above four pence for the seal, writing, parchment, and wax for the same, according to an article of the *advertisements* in that behalf.

IX. *Item*, That every Bishop take order, that all able preachers within his diocese do earnestly, and with diligence, teach their auditors sound doctrine of faith and true religion; and continually exhort them to repentance and amendment of life; that they may bring forth the fruits of faith and charity, and be liberal in alms, and other good deeds commanded by God's word. And that none be admitted to be a preacher unless he be first a Deacon at the least.

X. *Item*, That every Bishop in his diocese shall with all expedition take order, that the Catechism allowed be diligently taught to the youth in every parish church; and that the Homilies, when no sermons be had, be duly read in order, as they be prescribed, every Sunday and holyday.

XI. *Item*, That every Bishop shall likewise take order within his diocese, that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, and stipendary Priest, being under the degree of a Master of Art, and being no preacher, shall provide, and have of his own, within two months after warning given to him or them, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, or Welsh; and shall confer daily one chapter of the same, the Latin and English, or Welsh together. And that Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, in their synods and visitations, shall by their discretion appoint to every of the said Par-

BOOK  
II.

In the printed articles it is somewhat different, viz. paying nothing for the same.

**BOOK II.** sons, Vicars, Curates, and stipendary Priests, some certain tax of the New Testament to be conned without book, or otherwise to be travailed, as shall be thought most convenient to the said Archdeacons, Commissaries, or Officials; and shall exact a rehearsal of the same, and examine them, how they have profited in the study thereof, at their next synods and visitations, or such other time or times, as to them shall be thought meet

**XII. Item,** Where some ambiguity and doubt hath risen among divers, by what persons private baptism is to be administered; forasmuch as by the Book of Common Prayer allowed by the statute, the Bishop of the diocese is authorized to expound and resolve all such doubts as shall arise concerning the manner how to understand, and to execute the things contained in the said book; it is now by the said Archbishop and Bishops expounded and resolved, and every of them doth expound and resolve, that the said private baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be ministered by a lawful Minister or Deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other. And that every Bishop 62 in his diocese shall take order, that this exposition of the said doubt shall be published in writing before the first day of May next coming, in every parish church of his diocese in this province. And thereby all other persons shall be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of baptism privately, being no part of their vocation. [This twelfth Article is omitted in the printed book of these Articles.]

**XIII. Item,** That from henceforth there be no commutation of any penance by any having ordinary jurisdiction ecclesiastical, or any of their officers or deputies into any mulct pecuniary; unless the same be done upon great and urgent causes, by the consent of the Bishop of the diocese, declared in writing under his hand and seal.

**XIV. Item,** That all Archdeacons, and others, which have ordinary jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and their officers and deputies, shall call before them all such person or persons as shall be detected or presented before them, or any of them, of any ecclesiastical crime and fault; and shall use

all means by law prescribed, to convince and punish such as <sup>BOOK</sup>  
be found to be offenders, effectually upon pain of suspen- <sup>II.</sup>  
sion from his and their office.

XV. *Item*, That the Bishops shall take order, that it be published and declared in every parish church within their diocese, before the first day of May next coming, that marriage may be solemnized at all times of the year, so that the banns be first, upon three several Sundays or holydays in the service-time, openly asked in the church, and none impediment objected; and so that the said marriage be also publicly solemnized in the church at the usual time of Morning Prayer. [This fifteenth Article is omitted also in the printed Articles. As also this that follows is left out.]

“ To all which Articles, and every of them, we, the said  
“ Archbishop and Bishops, whose names are under-  
“ written, have assented and subscribed our several  
“ names with our proper hands, as well for ourselves,  
“ as also for other Bishops, being absent; for whom  
“ in this Synod we have lawful proxies.”

BOOK  
II.

## Number V.

MSS. Grindal. *The Faculty-Office. The dispensations, with their prices.*

63

Dispensation and Tax.	To the Queen.	L. Chancellor.	Clerk.	Archbishop.	Commissary.	Register.
Commendam 16 <i>l.</i>	8 <i>l.</i>	35 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> q.	13 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> ob. q.	3 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>	17 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> ob. q.	17 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> ob. q.
Plurality 6 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	3 <i>l.</i>	13 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ob.	7 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob.	28 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ob.	7 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob. q.	7 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob. q.
Legitimation 4 <i>l.</i>	43 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ob.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ob.	17 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Non-Residence 2 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	30 <i>s.</i>	Nil.	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ob.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ob.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ob.
Licence to eat Flesh 40 <i>s.</i>			3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Creation of Notaries 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	Nil.	Nil.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> q.	Nil.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> q.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> q.
<i>De non promo-</i> <i>vendo :</i> that is,	43 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ob.	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> ob.	17 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

for a Doctor of Civil Law to enjoy some ecclesiastical preferment, 4*l.*

Trialities, 9*l.*

As many benefices as the party could get. } The Tax here much greater, according to the quality of the grant.

Dispensation for children, and young men under age, to take ecclesiastical benefices. If the party were eighteen years of age or more, 4*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* If under eighteen years of age, much greater.

*Perinde valere*; that is, making grants good, which by law were void, and a right grown to some other person, 6*l.*

Dispensation to take all Orders together, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Dispensations to take Orders out of one's own diocese, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Licences to marry without banns, 10*s.*

Number VI.

BOOK  
II.

*The ecclesiastical Commission granted to the high Commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, for ecclesiastical causes.*

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queen of England, Cott.  
&c. To the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty, Librar.  
and right well-beloved Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cleopatra,  
F. 2. Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; to our right  
trusty and well-beloved, the Bishops of London, Winches-  
ter, Ely, Worcester, St. David's, Norwich, Chichester, and  
Rochester, for the time being, Richard, Suffragan of Do-  
ver, and to our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors,  
&c. Whereas, in our Parliament holden at Westminster, the  
twenty-fifth day of January, in the first year of our reign,  
and there continued and kept until the eighth day of May  
then next following; among other things, there were two  
acts and statutes made and established: the one entitled,  
*An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction of  
the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual;* abolishing all foreign  
power repugnant to the same; the other entitled, *An Act  
for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the  
Church, and Administration of the Sacraments:* and whereas  
also, in our Parliament holden at Westminster, the 12th  
day of January, in the fifth year of our reign, among other  
things, there was one other act and statute made and es-  
tablished, entitled, *An Act for the Insurance of the Queen's  
Majesty's royal Power over all States and Subjects within  
her Dominions:* and further, whereas, in our Parliament  
begun and holden at Westminster, the 2d of April, in the  
thirteenth year of our reign, and there continued unto the  
dissolution of the same; among other things, there was an  
act and statute made and established, entitled, *An Act to re-  
form certain Discords touching Ministers of the Church;*  
as by the said several acts more at large doth appear:

And whereas divers seditious and slanderous persons do  
not cease daily to invent and set forth false rumours, tales,

BOOK and seditious slanders, not only against us, and the said  
II. good laws and statutes, but also have set forth divers sedi-  
tious books within this our realm of England; meaning  
thereby to move and procure strife, division, and dissension  
among our loving and obedient subjects, much to the abusing  
of us and our people: wherefore, we earnestly minding  
to have the same several acts before-mentioned to be duly  
put in execution, and such persons as shall hereafter offend  
in any thing contrary to the tenor and effect of the said se-  
veral statutes, or any of them, to be condignly punished;  
and having special trust and confidence in your wisdoms  
and discretions, have authorized, designed, and appointed  
you to be our Commissioners; and by these presents do  
65 give full power and authority unto you, or three of you,  
whereof you, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bi-  
shops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, St. Davies,  
Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, for the time being; or you  
the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, or the said Tho. Smith,  
Francis Wallingham, Roger Manwood, Tho. Goodwin, Alex-  
ander Novel, Gabriel Goodman, John Whitgift, Tho. Sack-  
ford, Tho. Wylson, Gilb. Gerrard, Tho. Bromly, Anthony  
Cook, Hen. Nevyl, Tho. Wats, Davy Lewis, Tho. Yale,  
Barth. Clerk, or John Hammond, to be one, from time to  
time hereafter, during our pleasure: to inquire, as well by  
the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses,  
and all other ways and means you can devise, of all of-  
fences, contempts, transgressions, and misdemeanors, done  
and committed, and hereafter to be committed and done,  
contrary to the tenor and effect of the said several acts and  
statutes, and every or any of them: and also to inquire of  
all and singular heretical, erroneous, or offensive opinions,  
seditionous books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or  
tales, scandalous words or sayings, invented or set forth, or  
hereafter to be published, invented, or set forth by any per-  
son or persons, against us, or against any our Magistrates,  
or Officers, or Ministers, or other whatsoever, contrary to  
any our laws or statutes of this our realm, or against the  
quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, in

any county, city, borough, or other place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm of England; BOOK  
II. and of all and every the coadjutors, counsellors, and comforters, procurers and abettors, of every or any such offender or offenders.

And furthermore, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, whereof you the said Archbishop of Canterbury, our Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, &c. to be one, from time to time, during our pleasure, as well to hear and determine all and every the premises; as also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, offences, assaults, frays, and quarrels done and committed, or hereafter to be committed and done in any church or chapel, church-yard or chapel-yard, or against any divine service, or any Minister or Ministers of the same, contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm, in any place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm. And also, to inquire of and search out, and to order, correct, reform, and punish all and every such person or persons, dwelling in places exempt or not exempt, which wilfully and obstinately have absented themselves, or hereafter shall wilfully and obstinately absent themselves from the church, and such divine service as by the laws and statutes is appointed to be had and used, by censures of the church, or any other ways and means by the said act for uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. or any laws ecclesiastical of this realm, is limited or appointed. And also, to take order by your discretions, that the penalties and forfeitures limited by the said act for uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. against the offenders in that behalf, may be duly, from time to time, levied by the churchwardens of every parish, where any such offence should be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of every such offender, by way of distress, according to the limitation and true meaning of the said statute. 66

And also, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as is aforesaid, from time to time, and at

**BOOK II.** all times, during our pleasure, to visit, reform, redress, correct, and amend in all places within this our realm of England, as well in places exempt as not exempt, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, spiritual or ecclesiastical, whatsoever, which by any manner spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation or otherwise, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of all virtue, and the preservation of the peace and unity of this realm; and according to the authority and power limited and appointed by any laws, ordinances, or statutes of this our realm.

And also, we do give and grant full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as aforesaid, from time to time, and at all times, during our pleasure, to inquire of, search out, and call before you, all and every such person or persons ecclesiastical living, that shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary, or repugnant, to any of the Articles of Religion, and also to the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishop and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord God 1562, according to the Computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of Diversity of Opinions, and for establishing of Consent, touching true Religion: Put forth by the Queen's authority.* And that if any person or persons, being convened before you, or any three of you, as aforesaid, for any such matter, shall persist therein, or not revoke his or their error, or after such revocation eftsones affirm such untrue doctrine, then to deprive from all promotions ecclesiastical all and every such person and persons so maintaining, or affirming, or persisting, or so eftsones affirming, as is aforesaid.

And lastly, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as is aforesaid, by virtue hereof, to

inquire, hear, determine, and punish all incests, advou-  
tries, fornications, outrageous misbehaviours and disorders BOOK  
II.  
in marriages, and all other crimes and offences, which are  
punishable or reformable by the ecclesiastical laws of this  
our realm, committed and done, &c. according to the tenor  
of the laws in that behalf, and according to your wisdoms,  
consciences, and dispositions.

Willing, and commanding, and authorizing you, &c. to  
use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial  
and searching out of all the premises, as by you, or three  
of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary.  
And upon due proof thereof had, and the offence or offences  
before specified, or any of them, sufficiently proved against  
any person or persons, by confession of the party, or lawful 67  
witnesses, or by any other due means, before you, or three  
of you, that then you, &c. shall have full power and authority  
to order and award such punishment to every such of-  
fender, by fine, imprisonment, censures of the Church, or  
otherwise, or by all or any of the said ways; and to take  
such order for the redress of the same, as to your wisdoms  
and dispositions shall seem most convenient.

And further, we do give full power and authority unto  
you, &c. to call before you, &c. every offender or offenders,  
in any of the premises; and also, such as by you, &c. shall  
seem to be suspect persons in any of the premises; and  
also all such witnesses, or any other person or persons that  
can inform you concerning any of the premises, &c. as you  
shall think meet to be called before you. And him or them  
to examine upon their corporal oaths, for the better trial  
and opening of the truth of the premises.

And if you, &c. shall find any person or persons dis-  
obedient, either in their appearance before you, &c. or else  
in not accomplishing or not obeying your orders, decrees,  
and commandments, &c. you shall have full power to pu-  
nish the said persons by executions, and other censures ec-  
clesiastical, or by fine, according to your dispositions, or  
commit the same to ward, there to remain until he or they  
shall be by you delivered and enlarged.

**BOOK II.** And because there is great diversity in the persons that are to be called before you, some of them dwelling far off from you, some being fugitives, and so to be charged with grievous crimes and faults, the speedy redress whereof is most requisite; and therefore more speedy, effectual, and straiter process than by your letters missive is required in most part of those causes; we, for the better execution and furtherance of our service here, do give full power and authority unto you, &c. to command all and every our Justices, and other officer or officers, and subjects within this our realm, in all places as well exempt as not exempt, by your letters to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, any person or persons which you shall think meet to be convened before you, to answer to any matter touching the premises, or any part thereof; and to take such sufficient bonds to our use, as you, &c. shall by your letters prescribe for his or their personal appearance to be made before you, or three of you as aforesaid, and so to attend as appertaineth. And in case any such person or persons so apprehended be not able, or will obstinately refuse to give sufficient bonds to our use, for his or their personal appearance; then we will, that in our name you, &c. give commandment to such Justices, &c. under whose charge he or they so to be convened shall happen to remain, either for the bringing him or them before you; or else, to commit him or them to ward, or other safe custody, &c. so to remain until you, &c. shall further order for his or their enlargement.

And further, we do give unto you, &c. full power and authority to take and receive of every offender and suspected person to be convened and brought before you, a 68 recognizance or obligation to our use, in such sum or sums of money as to you shall seem meet and convenient, as well for their personal appearance before you, as for the performance and accomplishment of such orders and decrees, as to you shall seem convenient in that behalf.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that you shall assume our trusty and well-beloved subject William Bedell to

be your Register, whom we by these presents do depute to that effect, or, in his absence or default, any other public sufficient notary or notaries whatsoever you the Archbishop and Bishop of London for the time being shall, by your discretions and considerations of the time and place, judge most meet and apt to further our service, &c. for the registering of all your acts, decrees, and proceedings, by virtue of this our commission; and shall limit unto the said Register such allowance for the pains of him and his clerks in that behalf, as to your discretions shall be thought meet, to be answered as well of the parties before you to be convened, &c. as of the fines which you assess and levy by force of this our commission, &c.

BOOK  
II.

And like manner, you, by your discretions, shall appoint one or more messenger or messengers, or other officer, to attend upon you for your service in this behalf; and shall limit unto him or them, for his or their pains, such allowance as you shall think good: the same to be answered to him or them in like manner and form, as before touching the said Register is appointed.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that you, &c. shall appoint one sufficient person to be receiver, and to gather up and receive all such sum or sums of money, as by you, &c. shall by virtue of this our commission be assessed or taxed for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons for their offences. And that every such receiver, &c. shall be accountable for the same, &c. willing and commanding you, once in every Michaelmas term, during this our commission, to certify into our Court of Exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of all such fines as shall be set or taxed before you, and by him received; to the intent that the said receiver may be charged thereby; and upon the determination of his account, we may be answered of the residue thereof, that to us shall appertain over and beside the allowances to the said register, messenger, and other officers, willing and commanding also our auditors and other officers, to whom it shall appertain, upon the sight of the said bill signed with the hand of you,

**BOOK** or any three of you, to make unto the said receiver due al-  
**II.** lowance, according to the said bill upon the said account.

And whereas there were divers cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar-schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations erected, founded, or ordained by the late King of famous memory, our dear father King Henry VIII; and by our late dear brother King Edward VI; and by our late sister Queen Mary; and by the late Lord Cardinal Pool; the ordinances, rules, and statutes whereof be either none  
**69** at all, or altogether imperfect, or being made at such time as the crown and regiment of this realm was subject to the foreign usurped authority of the see of Rome, they be in some points contrary, diverse, and repugnant to the dignity and prerogative of our crown, the laws of this our realm, and the present state of religion within the same; we therefore do give full power and authority unto you, or six of you, of whom we will you, the forenamed Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, for the time being; Gabriel Goodman, William Dey, or Tho. Watts, always to be one; to cause and ordain in our name all and singular the ordinances, rules, and statutes of all and every the said cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar-schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations, together with their several letters patents, and other writings touching and in any thing concerning their several erections and foundations, to be brought and exhibited before you, or six of you, as is aforesaid; willing and commanding you, &c. upon the exhibiting, and upon diligent and deliberate view, search, and examination of the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, letters patents and writings; not only to make speedy and undelayed certificates of the enormities, disorders, defects, surplusage or wants, of all and singular the statutes, rules, and ordinances, but also with the same to advertise us of such good orders and statutes, as you, or six of you, &c. shall think meet and convenient to be by us made and set forth for the better order and rule of the said several churches, erections, and foundations, and the

possessions and revenues of the same; and as may best tend to the honour of Almighty God, the increase of virtue and unity in the said places, and the public weal and tranquillity of this our realm: to the intent we may thereupon further proceed to the altering, making, and establishing of the same, and other statutes, rules, and ordinances, according to an act of Parliament thereof made in the first year of our reign.

And where also we are informed, there remain as yet still, within this our realm, divers perverse and obstinate persons, which do refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction, power, privilege, superiority, and preeminence, spiritual and ecclesiastical, over all states and subjects within this our realm, and other our dominions, which is given to us by virtue of the foresaid two Acts; the one entitled, *An act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same;* and the other entitled, *An act for the assurance of the Queen's Majesty's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions;* we therefore do assign, depute, and appoint, and by these presents do give full power, and authority, and jurisdiction to you, or three of you, whereof you, the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. to tender and minister the oaths expressed and set forth in the same Act, &c. to all and every the Archbishops, Bishops, and other persons, officers and Ministers ecclesiastical; and also to every other person or persons appointed, or compellable by either of the said Acts, to take the said oath, of what state, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be; and to receive and take the said oath of the said persons, and every of them, &c. willing and requiring you, &c. that after the refusal or refusals of the same oath by any person or persons, to certify us accordingly, under the seals of you, and every of you, &c. and of the names, places, and degrees of the person or persons so refusing the same oath, before us in our Court, commonly called *the King's Bench.*

Moreover, our will, and pleasure, and commandment is,

BOOK that you our said Commissioners shall diligently and faithfully execute this commission, and every part and branch thereof, in manner and form aforesaid, and according to the true meaning thereof; notwithstanding any appellation, provocation, privilege, or exemption in that behalf, to be made, had, pretended, or alleged by any person or persons, resiant and dwelling in any place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm, any our laws, statutes, proclamations, other grants, privileges, &c. which be, or may seem, contrary to the premises notwithstanding.

And that for the better credit and more manifest notice of your doings in the execution of this our commission, our pleasure and commandment is, that unto our letters missive, processes, decrees, orders, and judgments, from or by you, or any three of you, to be awarded, set forth, had, made, decreed, given, or pronounced at Lambeth, or London, you, or three of you, as aforesaid, shall cause to be put and affixed a seal engraved with the rose and the crown over the rose, and the letter E before, and the letter R after the same, with a ring or circumference about the same seal, containing as followeth, *Sigill. Commissar. Regin. Maj. ad caus. Ecclesiast.*

And finally, we will and command all and singular Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other our officers, Ministers, and subjects, in all and every place and places, exempt or not exempt, within our realms, upon any knowledge or request from you or any three of you, whereof you the said Archbishop, &c. to be one to them, or any of them given or made, to be aiding, helping, and assisting you, and at your commandment, in and for the due executing of this our commission; as they and every of them tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their utmost perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters of commission to be sealed with our great seal. Witness ourself at Gorambury, the twenty-third day of April, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

## Number VII.

BOOK  
II.

*Articles to be inquired of in the metropolitical Visitation of  
the most reverend Father in God, Edmund, by divine  
sufferance, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all  
England, and Metropolitan, in all and singular cathe-  
dral and collegiate churches within the province of Can-  
terbury.*

1. FIRST, Whether your Bishop and his Chancellor, Grind. Reg. Commissaries, and all other his officers, do minister justice indifferently and incorruptly to all her Majesty's subjects, and punish vice and public crimes with due punishment, without any corrupt commutations, neither respecting gifts nor persons. And whether any money, gift, reward, or any other commodity, other than accustomed lawful fees, hath been received for justice, or any judgments or execution of laws, or for any gift, advowson, presentation, collation, institution, or induction, or for the procuring of any such to any spiritual or ecclesiastical living. What hath been received; by whom, and by whose mediation.

2. Item, Whether your Bishop, Dean, Chapter, and all other your governors, do, in their several regiments, direct all their doings to seek the glory of God, the godly quietness of the Church of England; the upholding in good order of your cathedral officers, neither suffering in the same corrupt doctrine nor offensive manners. And whether any of them hath, or doth make, or suffer any waste, ruin, decay, or dilapidation of the goods or possessions of this church; as by decay, or not repairing of the church and the several houses, alienating the stocks, buildings, implements, or other moveable goods of the church; or committing any of the same to private uses, or making of leases in possession or reversion for more years, or otherwise, than the statutes of the church do prescribe; or by greedy waste of timber, excessive sales of wood, advowsons unused, and unreasonable grants, patents, and reversions of offices, unwonted annuities, and such like greedy griping of things

**BOOK** present, to the impoverishing of the church and succession.

**II.**

How many, and what they be: whether any such grant or advowson hath been sold for any value: by whom, and to whom, and for how much; and who now enjoyeth the same.

3. *Item*, How many such grants, patents, advowsons, sales, offices, annuities, and such like, have been confirmed by your chapter-seal, sithence the first year of her Majesty's reign: to whose use; and by whose means; and what money was received for the same: by whom, and to whose use: whether any like gift, grant, advowson or lease for longer time than for one and twenty years, or three **72** lives, hath been made or confirmed, antedated, or by other colourable means procured in the possession or reversion, sithence the beginning of the Parliament in the 13th year of her Majesty's reign. What those be, and by whose means procured, and to whose use.

4. *Item*, Whether your Deans, Archdeacons, and other Dignitaries of the church, be resident or not. Who they be: what other promotions or livings every one of them hath, and in what diocese; and whether every one of them be Ministers or not: whether they use seemly or priestly garments, according as they are commanded by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions to do.

5. *Item*, Whether your Prebendaries be commonly resident; or how many of them were: where every one of the rest be: what be their names: what livings every one of them hath; and in what place: what Orders they be in: how or in what apparel they do commonly go. Whether they do preach in their several courses; or how often, and what times in the year; or how oft they do resort to your cathedral church.

6. *Item*, Whether the divine service be used, and the Sacrament ministered in manner and form prescribed in the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and none other: whether it be said and sung in due time: whether in all points, according to the statutes of your church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's laws or injunctions: whe-

ther all that were wont be bound, or ought to come to it, **BOOK**  
do so still: whether every one of the church doth openly **II.**  
communicate in the said cathedral church at the least once  
in every year.

7. *Item*, Whether the grammar-school be well ordered; whether the number of children thereof be furnished: how many do want, and by whose default: whether they be diligently and godly brought up in the fear of God and wholesome doctrine: whether any of them have been received for money or rewards; and by whom: whether the statutes, foundations, and other ordinances, touching the godly prescribed and used alms of your church, and the said grammar-school, master or the scholars thereof, or any other having doing or interest therein, be kept. By whom it is not observed; or by whose default. And the like in all points you shall inquire, and present of your choristers and their master.

8. *Item*, Whether all other officers and ministers of the church, as well within as without, do their duty in all points, obediently and faithfully. And whether your Dean, Stewards, Treasurers, Bursars, Receivers, or any other officer, having any charge, or any ways being accountant to the said church, do make a true, perfect, and faithful account, at such days and times as be limited and appointed by the statutes and customs of the said church; making full payment yearly of all arrearages: whether any money or goods of the church do remain in any men's hands: who they be, and what sums remain.

9. *Item*, You shall inquire of the doctrine and judgment of all and singular heads and members of the said church; as your Dean, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Readers of Divinity, Schoolmasters, Vicars, Petty Canons, Deacons, **73** Conducts, Singing-men, Choristers, Scholars in grammar-schools, and all other officers and ministers, as well within your church as without: whether any of them do either privily or openly preach any unwholesome, erroneous, or seditious doctrine, contrary or repugnant to any article agreed upon in any synod of the Clergy of the province of

**BOOK II.** Canterbury, sithence the first year of her Majesty's reign; or discourage any man, soberly for his edifying, from the reading of the holy Scriptures; or in any point do persuade or move any not to conform themselves to the order of religion reformed, restored, and reviewed by public authority in this Church of England.

10. *Item*, You shall inquire of the names and surnames of all and singular the abovenamed members, officers, and ministers of this your said church, as well high as low: whether you know or suspect any of them to obtain his room, or living, by simony, that is, by money, unlawful covenants, gift, or reward: who presented him: whether his living be in lease; and by whom it is leased; to whom, and upon what rent. Whether he doth pay any pension: for what cause: what sum, and to whom: whether any of them be known or suspected to be a swearer, an adulterer, a fornicator, or suspected of any other uncleanness: whether any of them do use any suspect house, or suspected company of any such faults, any tavern, alehouse, or tippling houses, at any inconvenient season: whether any of them be suspected to be a drunkard, a dicer, a carder, a brawler, fighter, quarreler, or unquiet person, a carrier of tales, a backbiter, slanderer, baitmaker, or any other ways a breaker of charity and unity, or cause of unquietness by any means.

11. *Item*, Whether you have necessary ornaments and books for your church.

12. *Item*, Whether your church be sufficiently repaired in all parts: what stock or annuity is there towards the reparation of the cathedral church: in whose hands and custody doth it remain.

13. *Item*, Finally, you shall present what you think necessary or profitable for the church to be reformed, or of new to be appointed and ordered in the same.

## Number VIII.

*Hierom Zanchy to the Archbishop; congratulating his access to the archbishopric.*

S. OBSERVANTIA, quâ te, Reverendissime Domine, Zanchii Epist. lib. 2. semper sum prosequutus, propter tuam singularem pietatem, humanitatem, virtutem, facit, ut non possum non gratulari tibi istam novam, amplissimamque de quâ ad me scripsit communis amicus Knolles, dignitatem. Quid enim majus expectari amplius in isto regno tibi poterat? Gratulor itaque ex animo. Quoniam istæ divinæ benedictiones 74 testimonia sunt, tum constantis in Deum pietatis tuæ, tum immutabilis erga te benevolentiae Dei. Sed non minus gratulor eamdem rem toti isti regno, quòd scilicet talem jam nactus sit à Deo Primate: cuius curâ et diligentia magis ac magis in vera religione ac pietate promoveri possit.

Neque enim dubito, quin ista supremæ post regiam Majestatem dignitatis accessio, futura sit tibi perpetuus stimulus, quo ad faciendum officium diligentius quam unquam, acriter exciteris. Precor Deum sua etiam in te dona augeat; firmaque et diuturnâ valetudine donare te velit, ad salutarem suæ Ecclesiæ gubernationem.

Vivo adhuc, et quidem bona valetudine, Dei beneficio, pro mea ætate, qui sexagesimum primum ago annum, cum uxore, liberis quinque, et qui brevi, ut spero, prodibit in lucem. Sunt autem et haec magnæ Dei benedictiones, pro quibus ingentes illi ago gratias. Restat, ut tum donis sui Spiritus eos replete, tum quae ad vitam hanc honestè transigendam necessaria sunt, illis suppeditet; quod ut faxit, toto pectore illum rogo per Jesum Christum; ac tibi etiam, amplissime Archiepiscopæ, aliisque amicis et bonis viris commendô. Dominus Jesus te diu nobis ad Ecclesiæ salutem, conservet in columem. Exspectamus quotidie nostrum Casimirum. Heidelb. 22. Julii, 76.

T. Amplitud.

H. Zanchius.

## Number IX.

*The Archbishop's letter to the Queen, concerning suppressing the Prophecies, and restraining the number of Preachers.*

To her Majesty, December 20, 1576.

Grind.  
Epist.  
penes me.

WITH most humble remembrance of my bounden duty to your Majesty ; that may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it hath pleased you to deliver unto me, when I last attended on your Highness, concerning the abridging the number of Preachers, and the utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences among the Ministers of the Church, allowed by their Bishops and Ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomfited me. Not so much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against mine own person, being but one particular man, and not much to be accounted of ; but most of all for that the same might both tend to the public harm of God's Church, whereof your Highness ought to be *nutricia* \*, and also to the heavy burdening of your own conscience before God, if they should be put in strict execution. It was not your Majesty's pleasure then, the time not serving thereto, to hear me at any length, concerning the said two matters there propounded ; I thought it therefore my duty by writing to declare some part of my

75 mind unto your Highness : beseeching the same, with patience, to read over this that I now send written with mine own rude scribbling hand ; which seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed : for I say with Ambrose,

Ambrosius  
ad Valen-  
tinian.  
Imperator.

*Scribo manu mea, quod sola legas* ; i. e. " I write with mine own hand, that you alone may read it."

Madam,

First of all, I must and will, during my life, confess, that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your Majesty ; who, notwithstanding mine insufficiency, (which commendeth your grace the more,) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits as I

\* Esa. xl ix.  
33. Queens  
shall be thy  
nursing  
mothers.

could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore, according to my most bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards your Majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful heart; and that knoweth He which knoweth all things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your Majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God, or of his Church, by necessity of office, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced: and in those cases, (which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me,) if I should use dissembling or flattering silence, I should very evil requite your Majesty's so many and so great benefits; for in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards God, and I myself into endless damnation.

The prophet Ezechiel termeth us, Ministers of the *Ezechiel.* Church, *speculatores*, i. e. "watchmen;" and not *adulatores*, i. e. "flatterers." If we see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, or else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any evil opinion of you, although I cannot assent to those two articles then propounded. I do, with the rest of all your good subjects, acknowledge, that we have received by your government many and most excellent benefits, as, among others, freedom of conscience, suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the Gospel, with public peace and tranquillity. I am also persuaded, that even in these matters, which you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is to the best. The like hath happened to many of the best princes that ever were: yet have they not refused afterwards to be better informed out of God's word. King David, so much com-<sup>2 Regum</sup> mended in the Scriptures, had no evil meaning when he commanded the people to be numbered: he thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against God's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterward, (saith the Scripture,) his own heart stroke him; and God, by the prophet Gad, reprendered him for his offence, and gave him for the same, choice of

**BOOK** three very hard penances, that is to say, famine, war, and  
 II. pestilence. Good King Ezechias of courtesy, and good af-  
 fection, shewed to the ambassadors of the King of Babylon  
 4 Regum xx. the treasures of the house of God, and of his own house;  
 and yet the prophet Esay told him, that God was there-  
 2 Paral. xix. with displeased. The godly King Jehoshaphat, for making  
 league with his neighbour King Achab, (of the like good  
**76** meaning, no doubt,) was likewise reprehended by Jehu the  
 prophet in this form of words; *Impio præbes auxilium, et*  
*his qui oderunt Dominum amicitiā jungeris, &c.* Ambrose  
 writing to Theodosius the Emperor, useth these words;  
*Novi pietatem tuam erga Deum, lenitatem in homines;*  
*obligatus sum beneficiis tuis, &c.* And yet for all that, the  
 same Ambrose doth not forbear in the same epistle earn-  
 estly to persuade the said Emperor to revoke an ungodly  
 edict, wherein he had commanded a godly Bishop to re-  
 edify a Jewish synagogue pulled down by the Christian  
 people.

**Prima Pars.** And so to come to the present case; I may very well  
 Concerning suppressing use unto your Highness the words of Ambrose above  
 preachers. written, *Novi pietatem tuam, &c.* i. e. "I know your  
 "piety God-ward, and your gentleness towards men: I am  
 "bounden to you for your benefits," &c. But surely I  
 cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should  
 once enter into your mind, that it should be good for the  
 Church to have few preachers.

**Expostu-  
 lates with  
 the Queen  
 for the  
 number of  
 preachers.  
 Matth. ix.** Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one  
 thing, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully  
 preached; and that plenty of labourers should be sent into  
 the Lord's harvest; which being great and large, standeth  
 in need, not of a few, but many workmen?

**3 Reg. v.** There was appointed to the building of Salomon's ma-  
 terial temple, an hundred and fifty thousand artificers and  
 labourers, besides three thousand three hundredth over-  
 sees: and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice  
 to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is  
 his Church?

**Matth.  
 xxviii.** Christ, when he sendeth forth his Apostles, saith unto

them, *Ite, prædictate Evangelium omni creaturæ*; i. e. “*Go ye, preach the Gospel to every creature.*” But all God’s creatures cannot be instructed in the Gospel, unless all possible means be used, to have multitude of preachers and teachers, to preach unto them.

*Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulentè*, i. e. “*Let the word of Christ dwell among you richly,*” saith St. Paul to the Colossians; and to Timothy, *Prædica sermonem*, *insta tempestivè, intempestivè, argue, increpa, exhortare*, i. e. “*Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort.*” Which things cannot be done without often and much preaching.

To this agreeth the practice of Christ’s Apostles, *Qui constituebant per singulas ecclesias Presbyteros*, i. e. “*Who appointed Elders in every church.*” St. Paul likewise writing to Titus, writeth thus, *Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere, et constituas oppidatim Presbyteros*; i. e. “*For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou mayest go on to make up what is wanting, and appoint Elders throughout every town.*” And afterwards describeth, how the said *Presbyteri*, i. e. “*Elders,*” were to be qualified; not such as we are compelled to admit by mere necessity, (unless we should leave a great number of churches utterly desolate,) but such indeed as were able to exhort *per sanam doctrinam, et contradicentes convincere*, i. e. “*By sound doctrine to convince gain-sayers.*” And in this place I beseech your Majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted; which is this, if the Holy Ghost prescribe expressly that preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, i. e. “*in every town or city,*” how can it well be thought, that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire?

Public and continual preaching of God’s word is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man unto God. By preaching of God’s word, the glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity is encreased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and in-

**BOOK** cited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience com-

**II.**

**Psal. xxx.** comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of God is threatened. By preaching also due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects, for obedience proceedeth of conscience; conscience is grounded upon the word of God; the word of God worketh his effect by preaching. So as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth.

**Preaching** No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than  
**God's word** makes loyal your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily.  
**subjects.** If your Majesty come to the city of London never so often,  
**London.** what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is  
 there to be seen? Yea, what acclamations and prayers to  
 God for your long life, and other manifest significations of  
 inward and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and  
 hearty obedience, are there to be heard? Whereof cometh  
 this, Madam, but of the continual preaching of God's  
 word in that city? whereby that people hath been plentifully  
 instructed in their duty towards God and your Ma-  
 jesty? On the contrary, what bred the rebellion in the  
 north? Was it not Papistry and ignorance of God's word,  
 through want of often preaching? And in the time of that  
 rebellion, were not all men, of all states, that made profes-  
 sion of the Gospel, most ready to offer their lives for your  
 defence? Insomuch that one poor parish in Yorkshire,  
 which by continual preaching had been better instructed  
 than the rest, (Halifax I mean,) was ready to bring three  
 or four thousand hable men into the field to serve you  
 against the said rebels. How can your Majesty have a  
 more lively tryal and experience of the contrary effects of  
 much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one  
 working most faithful obedience, and the other most un-  
 natural disobedience and rebellion.

**Halifax.**

But it is thought of some, that many are admitted to  
 preach, and few be hable to do it well. That unable preachers  
 be removed is very requisite, if *ability* and sufficiency  
 may be rightly weighed and judged: and therein I trust  
 as much is, and shall be done, as can be; for both I, for

mine own part, (let it be spoken without any ostentation,) BOOK  
II.  
 am very careful in allowing such preachers only, as be  
The Arch-  
bishop care-  
ful what  
preachers be  
allowed.  
 hable and sufficient to be preachers, both for their know-  
 ledg in the Scriptures, and also for testimony of their good  
 life and conversation. And besides that, I have given very  
 great charge to the rest of my brethren, the Bishops of this  
 province, to do the like. We admit no man to the office,  
 that either professeth Papistry or Puritanism. Generally 78  
 the Graduats of the University are only admitted to be  
 preachers, unless it be some few which have excellent gifts  
 of knowledg in the Scriptures, joyned with good utterance  
 and godly perswasion. I myself procured above forty  
 learned preachers and Graduates within less than six years  
 to be placed within the dioces of York, besides those I  
 found there; and there I have left them. The fruits of  
 whose travel in preaching, your Majesty is like to reap  
 daily, by most assured, dutiful obedience of your subjects  
 in those parts.

But indeed this age judgeth very hardly, and nothing  
 indifferently of the abilitie of preachers of our time; judging  
 few or none in their opinion to be hable. Which hard  
 judgment groweth upon divers evil dispositions of men.  
 St. Paul doth commend the preaching of Christ crucified,  
*absque eminentia sermonis*, i. e. “without excellency of 1 Cor. i.  
 speech.” But in our time many have so delicate ears,  
 that no preaching can satisfie them, unless it be sawced with  
 much finesse and exornation of speech: which the same  
 Apostle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reason, *Nè evacueter crux Christi*, i. e. “Lest the cross of Christ be  
 “made of none effect.”

Some there be also that are mislikers of the godly reformation in religion now established; wishing indeed that there were no preachers at all; and so by depraving the Ministers impugne religion, *non aperto marte, sed cuniculis*, i. e. “not “by open opposition, but by secret undermining.” Much like to the Popish Bishops in your father’s time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called in, as

**BOOK II.** evil translated; and the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform.

A number there is, (and that is exceeding great,) whereof some are altogether worldly minded, and only bent covetously to gather worldly goods and possessions; serving Mammon, and not God. And another great sum have given over themselves to all carnal, vain, dissolute, and lascivious life, *voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei*, i. e. “lovers of pleasure rather than God:” *et qui semetipsos dederunt ad patrandum omnem immunditiam cum aviditate;*

**2 Tim. iii.** Eph. iv. **Psal. cxix.** i. e. “and who have given over themselves to commit all “uncleanness with greediness:” and because the preaching of God’s word, which to all Christian consciences is sweet and delectable, is to them (*having cauterias conscientias*, i. e. “consciences seared”) bitter and grievous.

**1 Tim. iv.** Ambr. in **Psal. cxix.** For, as St. Ambrose saith, *Quomodo possunt verba Dei dulcia esse in fauibus tuis, in quibus est amaritudo nequitiae?* i. e. “How can the word of God be sweet in his mouth, “in which is the bitterness of sin?” Therefore they wish also, that there were no preachers at all. But because they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, so expressly commanded by God’s word, (for that were open blasphemy,) they turn themselves altogether; and with the same meaning as the other do, to take exceptions against the persons of them that be admitted to preach.

**79** But God forbid, Madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions; or any way go about to diminish the preaching of Christ’s Gospel: for **Prov. xxix.** that would ruinate altogether at the length. *Quum defecerit prophetia, dissipabitur populus*, i. e. “When prophesie shall fail, the people shall perish,” saith Salomon.

**Reading the Homilies and preaching compared.** Now where it is thought, that the reading of the godly Homilies, set forth by publique authority, may suffice, I continue of the same mind I was when I attended last upon your Majesty. The reading of the Homilies hath his commoditie; but is nothing comparable to the office of

preaching. The godly preacher is termed in the Gospel, *BOOK fidelis servus et prudens, qui novit famulitio Domini cibum demensum dare in tempore*; i. e. “a faithful servant,<sup>II.</sup> *Matth. xxiv.* “ who knoweth how to give his Lord’s family their appropriated food in season.” Who can apply his speech according to the diversity of times, places, and hearers; which cannot be done in homilies: exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions, are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the hearers, in sermons than in homilies. Besides, homilies were devised by the godly Bishops in your brother’s time, only to supply necessity, for want of preachers; and are by the statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, whensoever they may be had; and were never thought in themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction for the Church of England. For it was then found, as it is found now, that this Church of England hath been by *appropriations*, and that not without sacrifice, spoiled of the livings, which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching. Which *appropriations* were first annexed to abbies; and after came to the Crown; and now are dispersed to private men’s possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So as at this day, in mine opinion, where one Church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same: and in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls, (the more is the pity,) there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a Minister. In such parishes, it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend. If every flock might have a preaching Pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of homilies altogether unnecessary. But to supply that want of preaching of God’s word, which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities aforementioned, both in your brother’s time, and in your time, certain godly homilies have been devised, that the people should not be altogether destitute of instruction: for it is an old and true proverb, *Better half a loaf than no bread.*

**BOOK II.** Now for the second point, which is concerning the learned *exercise* and *conference* amongst the Ministers of the Church; I have consulted with divers of my brethren, the Bishops, by letters; who think the same as I do, *viz.* a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And I trust your Majesty will think the like, when your Highness shall be informed of the manner and *order* thereof; what *authority* it hath of the Scriptures; what *commodity* it bringeth with it; and what *in-commodities* will follow, if it be clear taken away.

An account  
of the exer-  
cises.

The *authors* of this exercise are the Bishops of the dioces where the same is used; who both by the law of God, and by the Canons and Constitutions of the Church now in force, have authority to appoint exercises to their inferior Ministers, for encrease of learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient: for that pertaineth *ad disciplinam Clericalem*, i. e. “to the discipline of Ministers.” The times appointed for the assembly is once a month, or once in twelve or fifteen days, at the discretion of the Ordinary. The time of the exercise is two hours: the place, the church of the town appointed for the assembly. The matter intreated of is as followeth. Some text of Scripture, before appointed to be spoken of, is interpreted in this order: First, The occasion of the place is shewed. Secondly, The end. Thirdly, The proper sense of the place. Fourthly, The propriety of the words: and those that be learned in the tongues shewing the diversities of interpretations. Fifthly, Where the like phrases are used in the Scriptures. Sixthly, Places in the Scriptures seeming to repunge, are reconciled. Seventhly, The arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly, It is also declared, what virtues and what vices are there touched; and to which of the commandments they pertain. Ninthly, How the text hath been wrested by the adversaries, yf occasion so require. Tenthly, and last of all, What doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The conclusion is, with the prayer for your Majesty, and all estates, as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and a Psalm.

These orders following are also observed in the said exercise: First, two or three of the gravest and best learned Pastors are appointed of the Bishop, to moderate in every assembly. No man may speak unless he be first allowed by the Bushop, with this *proviso*, that no layman be suffered to speak at eny time. No controversie of this present time and state shall be moved or dealt withal. If eny attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the Moderator. None is suffered to glaunce openly or covertly at persons publick or private; neither yet eny one to confute another. If eny man utter a wrong sense of the Scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the Moderators, and other his fellow Ministers. If eny man use immodest speech, or irreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in lyfe, he is likewise admonished, as before. If eny wilfully do break these orders, he is presented to the Bushop, to be by him corrected.

The ground of this, or like exercise, is of great and ancient authority. For Samuel did practise such like exercises in his time, both at Naioth in Ramatha, and at Bethel. So did Elizæus at Jericho. Which studious persons in those days were called *fili prophetarum*, i. e. “the ‘sons of the prophets:’” that is to say, the disciples of the prophets, that being exercised in the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, they might be hable men to serve in God’s Church, as that time required. St. Paul also doth make express mention, that the like in effect was used in the primitive Church; and giveth rules for the order of the same. As namely, that two or three should speak, and the rest should keep silence.

That exercise of the Church in those days, St. Paul calleth *prophetiam*, i. e. “prophecie;” and the speakers *prophetas*, i. e. “prophets:” terms very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood. For indeed *prophetia* in that and like places of St. Paul doth not, as it doth sometimes, signify *prediction* of things to come. Which gift is not now ordinary in the Church of God, but signifieth there, by the consent of the best auncient

BOOK  
II.

The orders of them.

The ground of them.

1 Reg. xix.

1 Reg. x.

4 Reg. ii.

1 Cor. xiv.

81

Scripture.

**BOOK** writers, the interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures.

**II.**

**I Cor. xiv.** And therefore doth St. Paul attribute unto those that be called *prophetæ* in that chapter, *doctrinam, ad ædificationem, exhortationem, et consolationem*, i. e. “doctrine, to “edification, exhortation, and comfort.”

**Acts ii.** This gift of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures was in St. Paul’s time given to many by special miracle, without study: so was also, by like miracle, the gift to speak with strange tongues, which they had never learned.

**Acts x.** But now, miracles ceasing, men must attain to the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, &c. by travel and study, God giving the increase. So must men also attain by like means to the gift of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures. And amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above named exercises and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church: which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the Universities; saving, that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

Cantuar.  
London.  
Wynton.  
Bathon.  
Litchfield.  
Glocestren.  
Lincoln.  
Ciestren.  
[Cicestren.]  
Exon.  
Meneven-  
sis, al. Da-  
vidis.  
10.

Howsoever report hath been made to your Majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and others of your Bushops, whose names are noted in the margent hereof, as they have testified unto me by their letters, having found by experience, that these profits and commodities following have ensued of them: 1. The Ministers of the Church are more skilful and ready in the Scriptures, and apter to teach their flocks. 2. It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. 3. Some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confession of the truth. 4. Ignorant Ministers are driven to studie, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. 5. The opinion of laymen, touching the idleness of the Clergy, is hereby removed.

The benefit  
of these ex-  
ercises.

6. Nothing by experience beateth down Popery more than that Ministers (as some of my brethren do certifie) grow to such a good knowledg by means of these exercises, that where afore were not three able preachers, now are thirty, meet to preach at St. Paul’s Cross; and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. So as, it is

found by experience the best means to encrease knowldg in the simple, and to continue it in the learned. Only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret against it: which in truth doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversaries, and great sorrow and grief unto the favourers of religion. Contrary to the counsel of Ezekiel, who saith, *Cor justi non est contristandum*; i. e. “The heart of the righteous must not be made sad.” And although some few have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all.

Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any just cause of offence to be taken, yf divers men make divers senses of one sentence of Scripture; so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the *analogie* and proportion of faith: for otherwise we must needs condemn all the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of Scripture diversly; and yet all to the good of the Church. Therefore doth St. Basil compare the Scripture to a well; out of which, the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water.

I trust, when your Majesty hath considered and well weighed the premisses, you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniencies can grow of these exercises, as you have been informed, but rather the clean contrary. And for my own part, because I am very well assured, both by reasons and arguments taken out of the holy Scriptures, and by experience, (the most certain seal of sure knowldg,) that the said exercises, for the interpretation and ex- position of the Scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to encrease knowldg among the Ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers, I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: much less can I

BOOK  
II.

Ezek. xiii.  
18.

Epilogus secundæ partis.  
He refuses to suppress these exercises.

## BOOK

II.

send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, *I have no power to destroy, but only to edifie*; and with the same Apostle, *I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.*

<sup>2</sup> Cor. x.  
<sup>2</sup> Cor. xiii.  
O! Episco-  
pus verè  
Apostolicus.

If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. I consider with myself, *Quòd horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*, i. e. "That it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

Heb. x.

I consider also, *Quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis juribus nixam) ædificat ad gehennam*, i. e. "That he who acts against his conscience, (resting upon the laws of God,)

Matth. xvi.

"edifies to hell." *And what should I winn, if I gayned (I will not say a bushoprick, but) the whole world, and lose mine own soul?*

His advice  
to the  
Queen.

Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I chuse rather to offend your earthly Majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God. And now being sorry, that I have been so long and tedious to your Majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, well to consider these two short petitions following.

83 The first is, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, unto the Bishops and Divines of your realm; according to the example of all godly Christian emperors and princes of all ages. For indeed they are things to be judged, (as an ancient Father writeth,) *in ecclesiâ, seu synodo, non in palatio*, i. e. "in the church, or a synod, not in a palace." When your Majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your Court, but send them to your judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way is to refer the decision of the same to the Bishops, and other head Ministers of the Church.

Prima pe-  
titio.  
Ad Theodo-  
sium, Epist.  
29.

Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words, *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis, quanto magis in causa religionis sacerdotes Domini, æquum est consulas?* i. e. "If

“ in matters of mony you consult with your earls, how much  
 “ more is it fit you consult with the Lord’s Priests in the BOOK  
II.  
 “ cause of religion?” And likewise the same Father to the good  
 Emperor Valentinianus, *Si de fide conferendum est, Sacer-* Epist. 82.  
*dotum debet esse ista collatio; sicut factum est sub Constan-*  
*tino augustæ memoriae principe: qui nullas leges antè*  
*præmisit, quām liberum dedit judicium Sacerdotibus;* i. e.  
 “ If we confer about faith, the conference ought to be left to  
 “ the Priests; as it was done under Constantine, a prince of  
 “ most honourable mēmory; who set forth no laws, before he  
 “ had left them to the free judgment of the Priests.” And  
 in the same place the same Father saith, that Constantius  
 the Emperor, son to the said Constantine the Great, began  
 well, by reason he followed his father’s steps at the first;  
 but ended ill, because he took upon him *de fide intra palati-*  
*um judicare,* i. e. “ to judge of faith within the palace,”  
 (for so be the words of Ambrose,) and thereby fell into  
 Arianism; a terrible example.

The said Ambrose, so much commended in all histories  
 for a godly Bishop, goeth yet farther, and writeth to the  
 same Emperor in this form, *Si docendus est Episcopus à Ibid.*  
*laico, quid sequatur? Laicus ergo disputet, et Episcopus*  
*audiat; Episcopus discat à laico. At certè, si vel Scriptu-*  
*rarum scriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus,*  
*quis est qui abnuat, in causa fidei, in causa, inquam, fidei,*  
*Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Impe-*  
*ratores de Episcopis, judicare?* i. e. “ If a Bishop be to be  
 “ taught by a layman, what follows? Let the layman then  
 “ dispute, and the Bishop hear: let the Bishop learn of the  
 “ layman. But certainly, if we have recourse either to the  
 “ order of the holy Scriptures, or to ancient times, who is  
 “ there that can deny, that in the cause of faith, I say, in  
 “ the cause of faith, Bishops were wont to judge concerning  
 “ Christian Emperors, not Emperors of Bishops?” Would  
 to God your Majesty would follow this ordinary course,  
 you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind,  
 better please God, avoid many offences, and the Church

**BOOK II.** should be more quietly and peaceably governed, much to your comfort, and the commodity of your realm.

**84** The second petition I have to make to your Majesty is Secunda petitio. this; that, when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is his spouse, bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters: but always remember that in God's causes, the will of God (and not the will of any earthly creature) is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the Pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas*; i. e. "So I will have it; so I command: "let my will stand for a reason." In God's matters, all princes ought to bow their scepters to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth, what they ought to do. David exhorteth all kings and rulers to *serve God with fear and trembling*.

Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 8. Remember, Madam, that you are a mortal creature.

"Look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the purple and princely array, wherewith ye are apparelled, "but consider withal, what is that that is covered therewith. "Is it not flesh and bloud? Is it not dust and ashes? Is it "not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth "again, God knows how soon?" Must not you also one day appear *ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias ibi, prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum?* i. e. "before the fearful judgment-seat of the crucified [JESUS,] "to receive there according as you have done in the body, "whether it be good or evil?"

Psal. lxxvi. And although ye are a mighty Prince, yet remember that he which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as the Psalmist saith, *terribilis, et is qui aufert spiritum principum terribilis super omnes reges terræ;* i. e. "terrible, "and he who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth."

Wherefore I do beseech you, Madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the

majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside ; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat* ; i. e. “ Not mine, but thy will be done.” God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years ; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which ye have set forth ; I mean, Christ’s true religion ; and, secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to God for you. Which have hitherto, as it were, tyed and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.

Take heed, that ye never once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Ozeas, [Joash,] who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together ; and afterwards, *cum robatur esset*, (saith the text,) *elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, et neglexit Dominum* ; i. e. “ when he was strengthened, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, “ and he regarded not the Lord.” Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if ye turn from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a terrible expectation of God’s judgments, *and an heaping up wrath against the day of wrath !*

But I trust in God, your Majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous setting forth of God’s true religion, always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of God, the onley rule of faith and religion. And if ye so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unfaithfulness, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own name’s sake, and for his own glory sake, he will still hold his merciful hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as he hath done hitherto.

BOOK  
II.

<sup>2</sup> Paral.

<sup>xxiv.</sup>

<sup>Heb. x.  
Rom. ii.</sup>

**BOOK II.** I beseech God our heavenly Father plentifully to pour his *principal spirit* upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen.

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### Number X.

*The Queen to the Bishops throughout England, for the suppressing the exercise called Prophecyng, and any other rites and ceremonys but what are prescribed by the laws.*

Cotton li-  
brary.  
Cleopatra,  
F. 2.

RIGHT reverend father in God, we gréte you well. We hear to our great grief, that in sundry parts of our realm there are no small numbers of persons presuming to be teachers and preachers of the Church, (though neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet fit for the same,) which, contrary to our laws established for the public divine service of Almighty God, and the administration of his holy Sacraments within this Church of England, do daily devise, imagine, propound, and put in execution, sundry new rites and forms in the Church, as well by their unordinate preaching, readings, and ministering the Sacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of assemblies, and great number of our people out of their ordinary parishes, and from places far distant, (and that also some of our subjects of good calling, though therein not well advised,) to be hearers of their disputations, and new devised opinions, upon points of divinity, far unmeet for vulgar people: which manner of innovation they in some places term *prophecyngs*, and in some other places *exercises*. By which manner of assemblies great numbers of our people, especially the vulgar sort, meet to be otherwise occupied with honest labour for their living, are brought to idleness, and seduced; and in manner schismatically divided among themselves into variety of dangerous opinions, not only in towns and parishes, but even in some families, and manifestly thereby encouraged to 86 the violation of our laws, and to the breach of common order,

and finally to the offence of all our quiet subjects, that desire to live and serve God according to the uniform orders established in the Church: whereof the sequel cannot be but overdangerous to be suffered.

BOOK  
II.

Wherefore considering it should be the duty of the Bishops, being the principal ordinary officers in the Church of God, as you are one, to see these disorders (against the honour of God and quietness of the Church) reformed; and that we see that by the encrease of these, through sufferance, great danger may ensue, even to the decay of the Christian faith, whereof we are by God appointed the defender; beside the other great inconveniences, to the disturbance of our peaceable government; We therefore, according to the authority we have, do charge and command you, as the Bishop of that dioces, with all manner of diligence, to take order through your dioces, as well in places exempt as otherwise, that no manner of publick and divine service, nor other form of administration of the holy Sacraments, nor any other rites and ceremonies be in any sort used in the Church, but directly according to the orders established by our laws. Neither that any manner of person be suffered within your dioces to preach, teach, read, or exercise any function in the Church, but such as shall be lawfully approved and licensed, as persons, able for their knowledg, and conformable to the ministry in the rites and ceremonies of this Church of England. And where there shall not be sufficient able persons for learning in any cures, to preach or instruct their cures, as were requisite, there shall you limit the Curats to read the publick Homilies according to the injunctions heretofore by us given for like cases.

And furthermore, considering for the great abuses that have been in sundry places of our realm, by reason of the aforesaid assemblies, called *exercises*; and for that the same are not, nor have not been appointed nor warranted by us or by our laws; We will, and straitly charge you, that you do cause the same forthwith to cease, and not to be used; but if any shall attempt, or continue, or renew the same, we will you not only to commit them unto prison, as main-

**BOOK II.** tainers of disorders, but also to advise us, or our Council, of the names and qualities of them, and of their maintainers and abettors. That thereupon, for better example, their punishment may be made more sharp for their reformation.

And in these things we charge you to be careful and vigilant, as, by your negligence, if we should hear of any person attempting to offend in the premisses without your correction or information to us, we be not forced to make some example in reforming of you according to your deserts.

Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the viith day of May 1577. In the xixth year of our reign.

*Arguments to be considered, whether a several commission be expedient for passing faculties within the realm of Ireland; and no longer to be granted from the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Cott. libra-  
ry. Cleopha-  
tra, F. 2.

I. AT such time as the authority of the Bishop of Rome was utterly abolished within her Majesty's dominions, for granting the said faculties, from whom only within Christendom they passed before that time, a very strait and precise form was thought convenient to the Parliament holden in England, for granting the said faculties in any her Majesty's dominions: which was by the Archbishop of Canterbury only. Of whom special choice was made by the said Parliament for that purpose.

II. Neither was it thought inconvenient, that where, as well out of all other realms and countries before, as out of these her Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland, travail was made to Rome, for the said faculties, her Majesty's subjects of both her said realms should procure faculties of the Archbishop of Canterbury, resiant within this her realm of England.

III. And therefore one special reason may be gathered, BOOK  
II. that forasmuch as faculties and dispensations against the common law ecclesiastical are of their own nature odious and sparingly to be graunted, therefore the Parliament thought it not convenient to have them pass from divers men's hands. And if her Majesty's subjects of Ireland should from thenceforth procure their faculties out of England, whereas before they had them at Rome, it was taken a good change, made for the ease of her Majesty's subjects in both the said lands. And that as things pass out of England to her Majesty's subjects in Ireland by common messengers, without the parties special travail, so might faculties, upon the commendation of the Ordinary of the place where the suitors dwell, be sent into Ireland, without the travail of those that sued for the same.

IV. Whereupon, forasmuch as by the said Parliament holden in England, the authority was solely committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors only, for the time being, in the rates and taxations of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the said realm, for first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, paid to her Majestie; the profit of faculties was taxed to the said Archbishop of Canterbury, as having authority to pass the same, as well in Ireland as England. And so remaineth at this present taxed above the value that shall come unto him, if a several commission be graunted for Ireland.

V. And therefore as it should seem, though in the Parliament holden at Dublin, in the 28th of Henry VIII. being three years after the Parliament holden in England, a clause in the Act of Faculties was then added by way of pro-88 vision, that if at any time it should be thought good to the King, his heirs and successors, to appoint another to exercise the office of Faculties there, the said person, or persons, so appointed by the King, his heirs and successors, should have the like authority in Ireland, as the Archbishop of Canterbury hath either in Ireland or England. Yet hath it not hitherto, since the making the said Act, been thought necessary or expedient, that any such other commission should

**BOOK II.** have been appointed within the said realm of Ireland, until  
 The words in the crotchetts scratched out in the copy.

that Dr. Ackworth, who was put from his livings here in England for his inordinate life, and Mr. Garvey [who, being neither in Orders of the ministry, nor Doctor of Law, is a person disallowed] for their own private lucre and gain, rather than for the commodity of the Church, or the country of Ireland, have sought to have this commission for the said realm.

Scratched out in the copy.

VI. And if that shall continue, or rather be graunted, it is also to be considered, whether it be convenient that her Majesty's subjects in Ireland shall have liberty to procure faculties in two places: so as any one, upon due examination of the cause, or quality of the person, being denied for his unworthiness in one place, may not nevertheless [by friends and rewards] procure his faculty in another. For though such commission be graunted particularly in Ireland, yet doth the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury continue for graunting faculties in Ireland, as well by the Act of Parliament made in Ireland, as in England. Neither can it be restrained without particular injury done to the see, being by that occasion charged with greater first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, to her Majesty.

VII. One matter among others is also to be considered, whether it be not better to have faculties so pass to her Majesty's subjects of Ireland, as worthy men only upon commendation of their Ordinary may have them from hence; or as well unworthy as worthy confusedly from these Commissioners, who pretend the greatest reason of their commission to be the Prince's commodity, in passing great numbers of faculties.

VIII. For if they mean to pass no more than the Archbishop of Canterbury would, upon the special commendation of the Bushops, and other wise and godly men in that realm, then will not the Prince's commodity be so great by graunting them, or any of them, a commisssion, as it will be by continuing that authority only in the see of Canterbury. For where they by their commission have a moyety of the Prince's part, here it is wholly answered to her Majesty.

So as, except they graunt more than twice so many as the Archbushop of Canterbury will do, the Prince's commodity shall be hindred by their commission. And if they shall graunt more than twice so many, it is to be feared they will graunt more than a good many: and so rather hurt the Church in Ireland, than do any good.

IX. And where, peradventure it shall be said, that the Archbushop of Canterbury hath hitherto little benefitted the Queen's Majestie, by passing faculties in Ireland; that hath happened by his restraint. And it may be hereafter, when it shall so please her Majestie, that the said Archbushop will either eftsones send her Master of Faculties into Ireland, or else pass commission to some of the Bushops there, for passing such faculties as shall be profitable for the Church and country to have graunted.

X. Lastly, The affection, which divers of the Irish people have rather to faculties graunted by the Pope, than after the statutes of her Majesty's realms, it is thought will rather be encreased, when they shall see them pass in Ireland under the names of meaner persons, or so neer at hand, than if they be moved to have them from the Archbushop of Canterbury, the Primate or Metropolitan of England. For so much do they more esteem the Pope's faculties, as they are procured far off, under a large and ample title.

### Number XII.

*A Discourse concerning prophesying from 1 Cor. xiv. 29.*

*Prophetæ duo aut tres loquantur, &c. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge.*

1. *PROPHETIAM hoc loco cum Petro Martyre, &c.* MSS. Celi-  
I assert with Peter Martyr and others, that *prophesy* cilian.  
in this place is not simply and barely to be taken for the P. Mart. in  
foretelling of things to come, since St. Paul attributeth to it 1 Cor. xiv.  
edification, exhortation, consolation. In the discussing of Calv. in  
which things, that of the Apostle is to be held fast in Rom. xii. 6.

**BOOK II.** the first place, that we do not stray from the analogy of faith.

<sup>1 Cor. xiv.</sup> **26.** 2. If it be asked, in what *place* and *time* the Apostle would, that *these two or three prophets speak*, he answered before, viz. *As often as the congregation comes together.*

<sup>Ver. 26.</sup> Whence it appears, that it is not a private, but a public exercise of the Ministers; nor, that it ought to be done in a corner, but in the sight and light of the whole Church. But on what days the people and prophets should come together in one place, that shall be left to the discretion of the Church: yet so, that in appointing the days, chief account be had to the Church's edification. But on Sabbath days, such assemblies cannot be without very great inconvenience to the Church, while the pastors and teachers should be called away from feeding their own flocks of sheep and lambs: who are chiefly to be attended on that seventh day, according to the apostolical precept of St. Peter, prescribed to all Elders, whose office it is to labour in the word and doctrine. *Feed, (saith Peter) as much as lies in you, the flock of God,* that dependeth on you. Peter

P. Martyr  
in 1 Cor.  
xiv. 31.

Martyr complains, that the Church hath lost such ecclesiastical assemblies to its very great damage, "where (saith he) the sacred Scriptures and the disciplin of the Church "might be treated of in common."

**90** 3. As to the *persons*, to whom the power of speaking hath been granted, they ought to be prophets. *Let the prophets (saith he) speak.* Therefore, before any taketh on him a turn of speaking in the Church, it is necessary that he be chosen into the rank of prophets.

4. And, as it is not granted to any in a prophetical manner to speak in the Church, so neither to *judge*. Therefore, in this tryal and censure of the prophets, I think none are to be appointed censors and judges, but prophets; that the whole action of judging, as well as speaking, be altogether prophetical. Moreover, so I interpret the words of the Apostle, where he saith, *Let the rest judge;* that is, the rest of the prophets. And that this is the sense of the Apostle, appears from the Apostle himself. *The spirits of the pro-*

*phets* (saith he) *are subject*. To whom? *To the prophets*: so that the Apostle seems indeed to me, to have put an open distinction between the speaker and the hearers; that is, between the prophets and the rest of the people.

BOOK  
II.

5. Concerning the *number* of them that speak, the Apostle doth not so strictly command, *concerning two or three*, but that if occasion require, and a fuller and plainer revelation shall be given to any prophet sitting by, any fourth person may add his opinion. For *revelation* is not always taken for an instinct of the Holy Spirit to foretel things to come; (which kind of revelations was almost peculiar to that time;) but for the ordinary and larger gift of searching out the more abstruse and hidden places of the holy Scriptures. For what else is the sense of this very word *revele*, if we look to the etymology of the word, than to *uncover that which is covered*, and to unfold that which vailed? In which <sup>2 Thes. ii. 3.</sup> sense the Apostle writeth, that *Antichrist shall be revealed*; that is, by the preaching of the Gospel, the vizard of godliness, whereby his wickedness was a great while covered, shall be taken off from him, that it shall appear to all the world, how deformed the prince of darkness is. And of this ordinary revelation of the Spirit the Apostle speaks in 1 Cor. iii. 13. Phil. iii. 15.

6. But for many of the prophets sitting by it cannot be that they all speak together at one time: yet *one by one*, saith the Apostle; that is, successively and by turns, all they who are inspired by a prophetic spirit, and whom it shall seem good to the Priests and Bishops to assign this office, may prophesy. By this means the Holy Spirit by the Apostle most wisely would have peace and good order in the Church provided for; that none might justly complain that he was excluded, and not allowed the liberty of speaking; nor yet place given to any fanatical and giddy spirit to intrude itself, and to disturb the Church's order.

But some perhaps will think much, that the rest of the Christian people be excluded, and their mouths be wholly shut up, as though they were altogether destitute both of judgment and speech, and all spiritual gifts. When as yet

**BOOK II.** such is the liberty of the Holy Spirit, that it breathes where it will, and peculiarly distributes to every one as it will.

**91** We answer, that none is quite shut out from this ordinary gift of prophesying in the Church, unless women, to whom it is a base thing to speak in a well-constituted Church. But if any of the common people be so instructed by the gift of the Holy Spirit, as that he can dextrously and faithfully interpret the Scriptures, and in the judgment of the other prophets shall be esteemed worthy to speak in the congregation in his turn, this man now shall not be esteemed for a mere plebeian or layman, (as they commonly speak,) although he be not admitted to the office of a teacher or pastor in the Church, but for a prophet in this behalf.

And this is that order, that form of prophesying, as far

**1 Cor. xiv. 33.** as I apprehend, which the Apostle, as a skilful workman, had heretofore prescribed to all the Churches of the saints.

**Whether this ancient exercise ought to be taken up again in the Church.** 8. But now let us diligently examine, whether any necessity lyeth now-a-days upon the Churches of Christians, to take up again the same order, (although long intermitted, and by the malice of Satan laid asleep, and plainly buried,) and perpetually henceforth to observe it. With so great re-

verence I embrace the Apostle's rules of prophesying layd down in this place, that I subscribe to them not as ordinances of men, but plainly as the commands of God: whereof God himself is the Author and Lawgiver, the Apostle the preacher only, and writer. Therefore the Apostle would fence and fortify this same form of interpreting the Scriptures, so profitable and necessary to the Churches of the saints, not only with his own authority, but with God's,

**Ver. 37.** that it might be transmitted over even to posterity. *If any (saith the Apostle) seem to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge concerning the things I write, that they are the Lord's commands.* Therefore, where it is said by the Apostle, *Let two or three prophets speak;* let us acknowledge the voice not of an Apostle, but of the Lord commanding. And let us not think it, but believe it to be commanded; not to the Corinthians only, but also to all Christians, especially since the Apostle writeth, that he prescribed the same

order of *prophesying* to all the Churches of the saints which he had planted. Moreover, the Apostle evinceth the necessity of an ecclesiastical meeting, not to be less than that of edification, exhortation, and comfort, which ought to be perpetual in the Churches, since it seemed good to St. Paul to annex these three things to prophesy, as the effects thereof. Now the Apostle would signify, as it were in one word, the profit of this prophetical exercise, when he saith, that this form of interpreting the Scriptures by many Ministers succeeding one another, was prescribed to this end, *that all* Ver. 31. *(not the people only, but also the very pastors and teachers) might learn.* And by this means also it shall best come to pass, that the proficiency of the prophets may be mani- 2 Tim. iv. 5. fest to all.

9. While we assert these things truly, and hold them sincerely, we do not condemn the other evangelical Churches, but we do most ardently wish for their proficiency and perfection in the Lord; and we pray daily, that those who are set over the Churches of Christ to feed and govern them, may study yet more and more to excel, to the edification of the Churches. But if still the chief men of this Church go 92 on wholly to destroy the colleges of the prophets, which the Holy Ghost hath endeavoured to build up by the ministry of holy men, let the prophets and spiritual judge, that is, all godly learned men, if this be not to go backward rather than forward in the way of the Gospel, *et deficere potius quam proficere*, i. e. and to grow worse rather than better. Which how dangerous it is after so many years living under the Gospel, and how odious in the sight of the Lord, if any knows not, let him consult the prophets for this matter. But by name I will cite one instead of many, even Jeremiah. *Who, (saith he) will pity thee, O Jerusalem? and* Jer. xv. 5, 6. *who will condole with thee? And who will depart to petition for thy peace? Thou hast forsaken me, saith the Lord; thou art gone away backward. For this I will stretch out my hand upon thee, to destroy thee. I am weary so often of repenting.*

*The Lords of the Queen's Council to the Archbishop, concerning a libel printed against her marriage with Monsieur, the French King's Brother.*

Grind.  
Regist.

AFTER our right harty commendations to your good Lordship; you shall understand, how of late hath been imprinted within the city of London, a certain libel, entitled, *The Gaping Gulph*. Wherein the author, under the pretence of misliking of some dealings treated of between her Majesty and the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother, in very deed seemeth to go about to draw her Majesty's subjects into some mistrust and doubt of her Highness's said actions; as though thereby some alteration were like to ensue; especially in religion, which her Highness hath heretofore established and maintained, and is fully determined, with the assistance of God's goodness and grace, to uphold and maintain during her life; yea, and even with the hazard of her own person: whose constancy in that behalf cannot in reason be called in question, if with thankfulness it be thought on, how her Majesty hitherto, for the maintenance of the same, hath willingly sustained the malice of the great and mighty Princes, her neighbours: as one that wholly dependeth on God's providence, with assurance, that so long as she shall continue a nurse to the Church, she shall never lack for merciful assistance.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as we know, that divers of the said books have been seditiously cast abroad and dispersed in sundry places of this realm; and have good occasion to think the same hath been done within your Lordship's diocese: by the reading whereof, her Majesty's good subjects, specially those of the Clergy, may perhaps by over-light credit, upon vain suspicions and presumptions, be induced to think and speak otherwise of her Majesty's doings, than either they have cause to do, or it becometh dutiful and obedient subjects; her Majesty, for the removing of all such doubts as may be conceived in that behalf, and the better confirming of her faithful servants in such a good

opinion of her Highness, as both her doings and government over them (the like whereof never happened within this realm) have deserved; and appertaineth before God and men unto their duties; hath at this present caused a proclamation to be made, printed, and published, which we send your Lordship herewith. Upon the receipt whereof, her Majesty's pleasure is, that, with as much speed as you conveniently may, you should assemble the special noted preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons of good calling within your dioces, and upon the reading of the said proclamation, to signifie unto them her Highness's constant and firm determination to maintain the state of religion without any alteration or chaunge, in such sort as hitherto she hath done; and that as heretofore she could not, by any perswasion or practice of sundry adversaries, be brought to alter or chaunge the same, so now much less her meaning is at this present, by any treaty with the said Duke, to do the like. Who hath heretofore shewed himself a friend to those of the religion, even with the hazard of his estate and life: a thing notoriously known, though by another of the libels it be otherwise untruly given out; and doth deserve, in respect of the honour he did of late to her Majesty, in vouchsafing to come and see her in such a kind and confident manner, without respect of the peril he did expose himself to in the said voyage, both by the sea and by the land, to be honoured and esteemed of all those that truly love her Highness.

BOOK  
II.

Yee shall also admonish them, that in their sermons and preachings they do not intermeddle with any such matter of estate, being in very deed not incident nor appertaining to their profession; but commanding them to contain themselves within the limits and bounds of their callings; which is to preach the Gospel of Christ in all purity and singleness, without entangling and confounding themselves in secular matters, wherewith they ought to have nothing to do at all; but rather teach the people to be thankful towards Almighty God for the great benefits, both of liberty, of conscience, peace, and wealth, which they have hitherto enjoyed by her Majesty's good means; and to beseech him to continue and encrease his blessings over us; to the intent that,

**BOOK** in all humbleness and obedience under her gracious government,  
 II. — we may lead a quiet and Christian life: rather than, by intermeddling in such matters impertinent to their calling, go about to give occasion of distrust or disquietness among the subjects of this realm. By which their unorderly dealings there cannot but grow great prejudice to the cause of religion: which may be perhaps pretended, but in very deed is like by such means rather to be hindred than furthered.

And to such of the said preachers as dwell in remote places, and cannot be present at the said assembly, you shall 94 signify so much by your letters. And in case any of them shall understand, that any persons whatsoever by the said books, or otherwise, shall have been seduced, and carried into any such doubt or mistrust of religion, or prejudice like to ensue in this realm; you shall charge them by all godly and Christian persuasions, to do their best endeavour to remove all such undutiful and unnecessary conceipts; being far contrary to her Majesty's most gracious meaning. And in case they shall not be able so to prevail as were convenient, but shall understand that either some other persons shall otherwise deal in this matter, or that the people rest not therewith satisfied; and so shall think that some further order is necessary to be taken in that behalf, you shall charge them forthwith to give notice thereof unto you, the Ordinary. And thereupon you, by your authority, shall call such persons before you, as in whom you shall find any cause to be reformed. And by your information, or otherwise, correct them in their error; so as no farther inconvenience follow by such disordered behaviour.

And so requiring your Lordship, that here and there may be no want of your diligence, as you tender her Majesty's service, and will answer to the contrary at your peril, we bid you right hartily farewell. From Greenwich, the 5. Octob. 1579.

Your Lordship's very Loving Friends,

Tho. Bromely Canc. Will. Burghley. Hunsdon. F. Knollys.  
 H. Sydney. F. Walsingham. Tho. Wylyson.

## Number XIV.

*Articles delivered to the Lords from the Lower House of Convocation, anno 1580.*

I. FIRST, that no Bishop henceforth shall make any Ministers, but such as shall be of age full twenty-four years, and a Graduate of the University ; or, at the least, able in the Latin tongue to yield an account of his faith, according to the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation ; and that in such sort, that he can note the sentences of Scripture, whereupon the truth of the said Articles is grounded. And if any patron shall present any Minister to any benefice, which shall not be in this sort qualified, that it shall be lawful for the Bishop to refuse such presentee ; and shall not be constrained, either by *double quarel*, or *Quare impedit*, to institute any such. The Bishop that shall do contrary to this order, upon proof thereof, to be suspended by the Archbishop from making of Ministers for the space of two years.

II. Item, That there shall not henceforth be used any commutation of penance, but in rare respects : that is to say, either for some great value or dignity of the person, or for fear of some desperate event that will follow in the party that should be put to open shame. And at such time his penalty of money to be large, according to the ability of the person : and by the Ordinary, with good witnesses to be employed, either to the relief of the poor, or other necessary and godly uses. And yet even in this respect, the party offending, beside such pain of mony, shall ever make in his parish-church some satisfaction to the congregation, by declaring openly his repentant and sorrowful mind for such offence committed. And here is earnestly to be desired, that in all other respects, and towards all other persons, there may be some more strait punishment to be assigned by ecclesiastical Judges, for adultery, whoredom, and incest, than now by ecclesiastical laws they can do : whether it be by imprisonment, joined with open penance, or otherwise.

E MSS. G.  
Petyt. Ar-  
mig.

**BOOK II.** **III. Item,** That there be no dispensation graunted for marriage without banns, but under sufficient and large bonds, with these conditions following, That afterward there shall not appear any lawful let or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or by any other lawful means whatsoever. And, secondly, That there be not at that present time of granting such dispensation, any suit or plaint, quarel or demaund moved or depending before any judge ecclesiastical or temporal, for and concerning any such lawful impediment betwixt the parties. And, thirdly, That they proceed not to the solemnization of the marriage without consent of parents and governours.

**IV. Item,** As touching dispensation for plurality of benefices, we wish that none may have that privilege, but only such as for their learning are most worthy, and best able to discharge the same. That is, that the party at the least be Master of Arts of four years standing, and a common known preacher of good ability; and yet the same to be bound to be resident at each benefice some reasonable proportion of time.

**V. Item,** As touching excommunication, because it hath been ever used by ecclesiastical judges in their jurisdiction, we do find by conference, that the alteration thereof will be joined with many difficulties, and almost by interruption of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, unless many other things of bodily punishment and coercements be graunted unto us. Which we think in these days will not only be more offensive than this is, but also, by default of others, make our proceedings in such case utterly frustrate: therefore, our desire is, that two or three honest persons, well skilled in the ecclesiastical laws, may open unto your Honours what inconveniencies will follow, and how hardly this point will abide alteration.

*An Argument propounded in the Convocation concerning 96  
reforming the ordinary use of Excommunication.*

EXCOMMUNICATION by the law was never used, E MSS. G.  
nor could be used, as a punishment of any crime, saving Petyt.  
of notorious heresie, usury, symony, pyracy, conspiracy Armig.  
against the person of the Prince, of his estate, dignity, and  
crown, perturbers of the common peace, and quietness of  
the Church or realm, wilful murtherers, sacrilegers, per-  
jurers, and incorrigible and notorious committers of incest  
and adultery, false witnesses and suborners thereof, violent  
layers of hands upon ecclesiastical persons, demaunders of  
more cured benefices than one without authority ; and such  
other great and horrible crimes, which were called *senten-  
tia canonum*. Wherein, beside the particular penances that  
Bishops and their officers did impose, it was for more terror  
provided by antient canons, that there should be a general  
open denunciation of this excommunication in every cathe-  
dral and parish church twice in the year.

For other light faults there was no excommunication  
permitted or used as a punishment, other than for manifest  
and wilful contumacy or disobedience in not appearing,  
when persons were called and summoned for a cause ecclae-  
siastical ; or when any sentence or decree of the Bishop or  
his officer, being deliberately made, was wilfully disobeyed,  
or not performed.

Such wilful contumacy and disobedience to authority is  
in the law accounted so great, that it was called a contempt  
of that *Quod est in jurisdictione extremum* ; that is to say,  
if the Judge cannot have appearance of the parties, or exe-  
cution of the judgments, he is at the wall, and can go no  
farther.

Of very antient time this was their manner of proceeding  
in this realm, and the only means of reducing obstinate  
persons to the obedience of the law. It may appear by the  
antient statute or Act of Parliament in the ninth year of

**BOOK II.** Edward II. that it was the old custome and usage of the realm long before that time. The words are these, *Si aliqui, &c. propter suam contumaciam manifestam excommunicentur, ac post 40 dies pro eorum captione scribatur, pretendunt se privilegiatos, et sic denegatur breve regium pro captione corporum, responsio regis nunquam fuit negatum [negata] nec negabitur in futurum.*

It is to be considered, whether this manifest contumacy, and wilful disobedience to the magistrate and authority, be not as well punishable, when the original cause or matter is light, as weighty. The difference whereof doth nothing alter the matter of the disobedience. If for such disobedience it seemeth, that it is either unlawful or offensive to use excommunication, there is great consideration and wariness to be used in devising some other means and remedy instead thereof, to procure obedience and execution in causes ecclesiastical; and that the Judge ecclesiastical may have those means laid down with such caution, that thereby, upon pretence and colour of the reformation of this, all jurisdiction ecclesiastical be not utterly overthrown.

The means that were thought fit to be used instead of excommunication by Archbishop Cranmer, Peter Martyr, Bucer, Mr. Haddon, and others that did assemble for that purpose at that time, were imprisonment, or mulct pecuniary; and besides, in persons ecclesiastical, sequestrations of their livings, and suspensions from the execution of their offices. But these means will be as commonly offensive in some respects as the excommunication is now; and will be so hardly executed, that all the excommunications of the law ecclesiastical will be made frustrate.

And therefore, if the course that hath so long continued cannot hold, but must needs be altered, I would wish it to be done by some other means; wherein we should not need to deal with any body, but as we were wont to do ordinarily, in effect as followeth, *viz.*

Where now for not appearing, or for not satisfying any sentence, decree, or order, the ecclesiastical Judge doth pronounce the party *contumacem*, and, *in pænam contu-*

*maciae*, excommunicates him, he shall pronounce him *contumacem*, and in *pænam contumacie*, pronounce him *ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis contemptorem*; and so denounce him. And if he shall continue forty days in not appearing, or in not satisfying, he shall signifie the contempt *jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ* to the Prince, in the Chancery, as he was wont to signifie *contemptum censuræ ad claviam*, [to the Chancellor,] without any more change. And as the writs that were sent, were wont to be, *de excommunicato capiendo et relaxando*; so they may be, *de contemptore jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ capiendo vel relaxando*.

BOOK  
II.

Then there may be general words, that such a contemner so pronounced and denounced in all respects, (saving for coming to the church, receiving of sacraments, and keeping company with others,) shall in all respects, and to all purposes, be as incapable, and shall sustain all such other penalties, as a person excommunicate did sustain before the making of this law.

In all hainous, great, horrible crimes, excommunications may be used by the Archbishops and Bishops in their own persons, with such assistance as shall be thought meet, as it was wont to be in the primitive Church.

In this our realm, of very auntient time it hath been truly observed from time to time, that there was never alteration made of any law ecclesiastical, although it had appearance to benefit the state of the Clergy, but that it turned ever to some notable prejudice.

## Number XVI.

98

*A writing drawn up by the Convocation, (as it seems, anno 1586,) to be offered to the Parliament, for the enacting of the reformation of some things relating to Ministers and other matters of the Church.*

**I. Concerning Ministers.**

IT may be enacted, that none be a Minister of the word and sacraments, but in a benefice having cure of

Cotton  
Librar.  
Cleopatra,  
F. 2.

BOOK II. souls, then vacant in the dioces of such a Bushop as is to admit him.

That before the admission of such a Minister, the Bушоп shall give publick notice by writing under his seal to be fixed on the church door, then destitute of a Pastor, upon some Sunday or holy-day in the time of divine service, signifying the name of the person presented to that charge, or there to be admitted; with intimation, that such as within twenty days after will object against his admission, shall appear at a place certain before him; and alledge such matter as shall only concern his conversation of life, and thereby his sufficiency for that place.

That the Bушоп shall not procede to the admission of any to be Ministers of the word and sacraments, before due certificate be made in the authentic form, and publick place by him to be assigned, that the process of notice and intimation was executed in form aforesaid; nor before the expiration of the said twenty days; nor without calling for, or hearing of such as, upon return of the said process, shall and will object as is aforesaid.

It is here to be provided, that where in certain colleges, and cathedral and collegiate churches, the foundation or statutes require such as are there placed to be Ministers; it shall be lawful for such as are known to profess the study of divinity, or otherwise, be lawfully dispensed withal, as before this Act these might, to enjoy any fellowship [or] prebend within the said college, notwithstanding they be no Ministers.

That none be made Ministers, but upon some Sunday publickly in the cathedral church of the dioces, where the Minister is admitted, [and upon good testimonial.]

That after the receipt of such testimonial, the Bушоп shall not procede to the making of the person Minister which bringeth that testimonial, before he shall declare before the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church, that he well knoweth the persons, by whom the testimonial is made, to be such as is by the said statute expressed.

That he shall not make a Minister, but such as shall by

the Dean and Chapter, or the more part of them, or six learned preachers of the dioces then present, be allowed for a man meet and sufficient, by subscription of their hands to some writing, declaring their assent in allowing of him.

That none shall have a benefice with cure of the value of 20*l.* yearly in the Queen's books, except he be Master of Arts, or a Preacher allowed, notwithstanding that he be made a Minister before of some mean cure.

## II. *Concerning Excommunication.*

*Excommunication* is at this time the pain of contumacy, and hath place where a man appeareth not upon process, or satisfieth not some order prescribed by the judge: as, not taking some oath, or not paying legacies, tiths, &c.

The offences that grow by the practice hereof in this manner are great. One, that being the highest censure left to the Church of God, it is profaned by applying it to temporal and civil causes. Another, that it is exercised by men that have no calling in the Church, as Chancellors, Officials, &c.

It may [therefore] be enacted, that none, not having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall in any matter already moved, or hereafter to be moved in the Courts, give or pronounce any sentence of suspension or excommunication. And yet for the contumacy of any person of [in] causes depending before them, it shall be lawful only to pronounce him *contumax*; and so to denounce him *politiquely*. And if upon such denunciation, as in excommunication hath been used, the party shall not submit himself, nor stand to, nor abide such order as is to him assigned, within fourty days, then it shall be lawful to signifie his contumacy in such manner and sort, and to such Court, as heretofore hath been used, for persons so long standing excommunicate. And that upon such certificate, a writ *De contumace capiendo* shall be awarded in like force, to all effects and purposes, as the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*.

Again, forasmuch as the Church may not be left without this censure of excommunication, it is to be provided, that

**BOOK** for enormous crimes, adultery, and such other, the same be  
II. executed, either by the Bushops themselves, with assistance  
of grave persons; or else by such persons of calling in the  
Church with like assistance; and not with Chancellors,  
Officials, [&c.] as now been used.

### III. Touching Commutation of Penaunce.

That there be no *commutation of penaunce* for sin, but  
by the order and appointment of the Bushop, with assent  
of the Dean and Chapter, or the most part of them; or  
with the assent of six preachers of the dioces.

### IV. Touching Dispensations.

The *faculties* that did the greatest hurt in the Church  
were three, viz. *dispensation De non promovendo*; *dispen-*  
*sation* for pluralities of benefices, and *dispensation* for non-  
residences.

These two last named faculties have bred the disorder of  
making vague Ministers: whereof hath ensued two great  
100 incommodities. One, and the chiefeſt of all, that the people  
is not taught: the other, that Ministers placed in benefices  
where the Pastor is absent, and having for the most part  
small allowance, do post from place to place for their better  
preferment, and resting no where, respect neither their  
lives, nor encrease in knowledg. For men be careful for their  
conversation, where they are to have continuance. And small  
account can be taken how he profiteth that abideth no  
where long. [Therefore]

That no Chaplain have two cures, if both amount to  
above 40*l.* in the Queen's books, or be forty miles distant.

That none be enabled to have two cures, unless they be  
under the value aforesaid, and within twenty miles distant,  
and [they] resident upon one of them. [And none else] shall  
enjoy the same.

That no Dean of a cathedral church, Prebendary, or  
other having dignity, have more than one benefice with  
cure, beside his dignity, &c.

That no man have more dignities or prebends than two.

That they which have chaplains shall advance no more than their number, till the advanced dy, or otherwise one of the two benefices become void.

That none be made Chaplain, enabled to [enjoy] two benefices, unless he be a Master of Art, or allowed by the Ordinary as sufficient.

That none shall be non-resident, but such as be continual attendents in the houses of such as they shall be Chaplains unto.

That they shall preach in person yearly two sermons; and four sermons beside *per se vel alium*.

Lastly, To consider, whether it were not meet to abate the number of the Chaplains of Archbushops, and under that degree, that may by the statute keep more than one Chaplain.

That in cases of non-residences and pluralities, the Bushop shall have [the nomination of] the allowance of the Minister that shall serve the cure in the absence of the Incumbent: and the stipend of the same Minister to be appointed by the Bushop, according to the sufficiency of the Minister: so as the stipend do not exceed the half of the clear yearly value of the benefice.

That is one faculty of great inconvenience, graunted not only by the Court of Faculties, but by the Chancellor of every dioces, *viz.* the dispensation of mariage without banns asking. By occasion whereof children make disordered matches without the assent of their parents; and orphans are left to the spoil of unthrifty persons. There will hardly be found reasonable cause why such dispensations should be permitted to any two persons to mary, whereof the one or both be single persons, and be not widows or widowers.

**101 A Licence granted to John Morrison, a Scotchman, to preach and administer holy things throughout the Province.**

Grind. Reg. **WILHELMUS AUBREY** Legum Doctor, officio Vicariatus in spiritualibus Generalis, et officialitatis principalis sedis Archiepiscopalis Cantuar. legitimè fungens; dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Morrison, A. M. in regno Scotiæ oriundo, Sal. in Domino sempiternam.

Cum uti ex fide digno testimonio acciperimus, tu præfatus Johannes Morrison circiter quinque annos elapsos in oppido de Garvet in comitat. Lothien. regni Scotiæ per generalem synodum sive congregationem illius comitatus in dicto oppido de Garvet congregatam juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras: cumque etiam dicta congregatio illius comitatus Lothen. orthodoxæ fidei et sinceræ religionis, in hoc regno Angliæ modo receptæ et auctoritate publica stabilitæ, sit conformis:

Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujus modi, modo præmisso factam, quantum in nos est, et de jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, tibi, ut in hujusmodi ordinibus per te susceptis, in quibuscumque locis congruis, in et per totam provinciam Cantuarien. divina officia celebrare, Sacraenta ministrare, necnon verbum Dei sermone Latino vel vulgari, juxta talentum tibi à Deo traditum, purè et sincerè prædicare, liberè et licitè possis et valeas, licentiam et facultatem, de consensu et expresso mandato reverendiss. in Christo Patris Domini Edmundi Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitani, nobis significato, quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, ac quatenus jura regni patiuntur, benignè in Domino concedimus et impertimus. In cuius rei testimonium, sigillum, quo in similibus utimur,

præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. sexto die mensis Aprilis **BOOK**  
ann. Dom. 1582. **II.**

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## Number XVIII.

*Dr. Beacon to the Chancellor of Cambridge; for a roll to  
be sent up from the Universities of the learned men  
there.*

GIVE me leave, right honourable, to be your Lordship's MSS. penes remembrancer of a blessed and singular benefit to the <sup>me.</sup> Church of God, and the students of the University, obtained by your Lordship's mediation many years since, and most graciously graunted by her most excellent Majesty, for the renewing or execution whereof, remaining in the records at Cambridg, either never once begun to be put in practice, or soon intermitted; the general and just complaint in these days, for want of sufficient instruction of the people in divers countries, of sharing ecclesiastical livings between corrupt patrons, ordinaries, and hirelings, of suffering many godly and learned preachers in both the Universities to remain less profitable to the Church, less comfortable to themselves, and no less discouragement of young students in divinity; doth make humble suit to your Lordship, or to both the Chauncellors of either University jointly, that by your honorable mediation to her Highness it may be from henceforth more religiously observed: that every second or third year either University do send up the names of all their learned and well-disposed students in divinity, ripe, ready, and willing to be disposed abroad into the Lord's vinyard; to remain with her Highness's principal Secretaries, or Clerk of the Signet, and the Lord Chancellor for the time being, as faithful remembrancers of her Majesty's most gracious zeal and disposition for their timely preferment.

What would not this example work in the inferior subject for imitation? How would it revive the dulled and discouraged spirits of University students, which, after their

**BOOK II.** bodies and substance wearied and spent, might stand in some certain hope of their timely employments to the good of the Church, and their convenient provision and maintenance? Nothing would sooner daunt or restrain the shameless corruptions of these times, or work greater joy or hope of God's blessing in the hearts of the godly. It is no reproof of former courses, if the remembrance of any better be renewed: which if your Lordship have peradventure forgotten, Mr. Skinner can make best report thereof, who, not many years since, saw and read it amongst other monuments of our University. Your Lordship is wise to consider what is best to be done, by what means, and at what opportunity; and to pardon this students duty to the University and the Church of God, being performed to the Chauncelour of the University, and so honourable a patron of religion, vertue, and learning; and the L. Chauncelor to be named by her Majesty: whosoever shall be happy to have his entrance thus sanctified by her Majesty's gracious direction in this behalf; howsoever many wicked benefice-brokers may hereby be disappointed of their manifold spoils reaped and expected by this cursed prey.

My prayers shall be for your Honor's happy preservation to this Church, Commonwelth, University of Cambridg, and your Honor's own nurse of St. John's, which your Honor had a meaning to sanctifie with the first-fruits of graunting impropriations, as they fell void, to the preachers of the house, during their lives, and attendance in teaching that people, before the statutes were fully finished. I beseech your Lordship not to be offended, if I presume to be your Honor's remembrancer thereof also, that it may be done in time, if it be not already done; that God's blessing may be more favourable and plentiful upon the students, and very walls of that famous foundation. From the Doctors Commons this xxv. of April, 1587.

Your Honour's humble at commaundment,

J. Beacon.

## Number XIX.

*Precedents of Resignations made by Bishops. Drawn out 103  
of Matthew Paris by the Archbishop.*

*De Resignatione facta per Nicolaum de Farnham Episco-  
pum Dunel. Ex Matthæo Paris.*

PURIFICATIONE Beatae Mariæ imminentे, Episcopus Dunelmensis Nicolaus, sentiens se annosum, valetudinariū, et infirmum, &c. Episcopatum suum Dunelmensem, obtentā tali à Domino Papa licentiā, resignavit, et datis ad hoc provisoribus, Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Londinensi et Wigorniensi Episcopis, assignata sunt ei tria maneria, viz. de Hoveden cum pertinentiis, Stoctuna et Esingtuna. Recedens igitur à Dunelmo, acceptā ibidem à fratribus licentiā ad alterutrum dictorum maneriorum mansurus, perrexit, ut in pace ibidem, sine querelarum vel causarum strepitu, exutus à sollicitudinibus mundanis, sibi jam expectanti donec ejus veniret immutatio, liberius orationi vacaret, &c.

Nicholaus  
Epis. Dunel.  
Episcopa-  
tum suum  
resignat,  
postquam  
sedisset an-  
nos octo.

*Idem alio in loco.*

Adulatores quidam pessimi cupientes placere Dunelmensi Episcopo Waltero, petierunt à Papa Episcopatum vel redintegrari, vel saltim minus damnificari. Quibus Papa. Miramur super his. Nonne facta fuit distributio illa, et partitio per magnam deliberationem et considerationem virorum peritorum, et consensum partium; et res jam confirmata est per nos, et regem Angliæ, et pér provisores. Et sic repulsi sunt accusatores cum probris.

*Idem alio in loco.*

Eodem tempore obiit Magister Nicolaus de Fernham quon-dam Episcopus Dunelmensis, qui cesserat episcopatuī, ut quietius et liberius fructus caperet contemplationis. Obiit autem apud Stoctunam, nobile suum manerium.

Nicholaus  
vixit post  
resignati-  
onem annos  
IX.

*The Archbishop's last Will and Testament.*

IN the name of God, *Amen*. The viii. day of May, in the year of our Lord 1583, and in the xxvth year of the raign of our Soveraign Lady ELIZABETH by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Quene, Defender of the Faith, &c. I EDMUND GRINDALL, Archbishop of Canterbury, being hole in mynd, and of perfect remembrance, do make this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, revoking all other wills whatsoever heretofore by me made, except one bearing date the xiith day of April, 1583, concerning a certain portion of tiths in the parish of Ashwel, within the county of Hartford, geven to the Master, Fellows, and Scholers of Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of my heavenlie Father, humbly beseeching him to receive the same into his gracious mercies for his Christ's sake: and my body I will to be buried in the quere of the parish church of Croydon, without any solempne herse, or funeral pompe. Notwithstanding my meaning is, that if it please God to call me out of this transitorie lyfe, during the time that I shall remain in the possession of the archbishoprick of Canterbury, that the heralds shall be reasonablie compounded withal, and satisfied for their accustomed fees in such cases.

And as concerning my worldly goods, wherewith the Lord hath blessed me, my will is, that they shall be bestowed by my executors as followeth:

First, having nothing worthie to be presented to her Majestie, I humblie beseeche the same to accept at my hands the New Testament of Jesus Christ in Greke, of Stephanus his impression, as an argument of my dutiful and loving harte towards her Highnes: whom I pray Almighty God long to prosper and preserve to the benefit of his Church. *Item*, I will and bequeath to my next succes-

sor that shall be in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, the <sup>BOOK</sup> pictures of Archbishop Warham and Erasmus, and all such <sup>II.</sup> instruments of musick, and other implements, as were bequeathed and left unto me by my predecessor that last was. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the right honourable the L. Burghley, L. High Thresorer of England, that my standing cup which her Majestie gave unto me at new year last, before the date hereof; and I make him supervisor of this my testament, desiring his Honor to take that burden upon him. *Item*, I give unto the reverend Father in God the Bishop of Worcester that now is, my gold ring with a saphire; and to my honourable good friend Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretarie to her Majesty, my best standing cup which I brought from York, praying his Honor to be good and favourable towards the accomplishing of this my testament. *Item*, I gyve unto my faithful friend Mr. Nowel, Dean of Powls, my ambling gelding, called Gray Olephant. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Pettie Canons and other inferior officers belonging to the church of Christ's Church in Canterburie, to be divided amonges them by the advice of the Dean of Canterburie for the time being, ten pounds. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Masters and Fellows of Pembroke hall in Cambrige, one standing cup doble gilt, which her Majesty gave unto me the first year after I was Archbisshop of Canterburie; and these books following, *viz.* an Hebrew Bible in *decimo sexto*, noted with Mr. Dr. Watts his hand; Chrysostom in Greke, upon St. Paul's Epistles; Pagnine his Thesaurus; Eusebius in Greke, and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius and others, of Christopherson's translation. *Item*, I gyve to the Provost and Fellows of Quene's college in Oxford, one nest of bowls, brought from York, with a cover, *viz.* the newest three of the nine, and forty pounds <sup>105</sup> which they do owe unto me; also, all such books as I have assigned unto them, to be kept in their library, conteyned in a catalogue subscribed with my hand, and ten pounds towards the clasping, bossing, and chaining of the same. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Maior and Citizens of

**BOOK II.** Canterbury one hundred pounds, to be kept in a stock for ever, to the use of the poor of that citie; upon condition that they enter into sufficient bond unto my executors, as well that the said stock of one hundred pound shall not be diminished, as also that it shall be yearlie employed upon woll, flax, tow, hemp, and other stuff, whereby the poor people of the said citie may be set on work. *Item*, I give to the poor of Lambeth ten pounds; and to the poor of Croydon other ten pounds; and to the poor of the town and lower part of the parish of St. Beghs aforesaid, thirteene pounds, six shillings and eight pence. And I give to the use of the parish church of St. Beghs my communion cup, with the cover doble gylte, and my fayrest English Byble, of the translation appointed to be redd in the Church. *Item*, I gyve to every household servant that I shall have at the tyme of my death, which is not better provided for in this my testament, one half year's wages. And I will, that my said household servants shall be kept together, by the space of one month after my decease, and have their ordinary diet during the said tyme, to be provided by mine executors, without admitting any stranger thereunto. *Item*, I give unto Mr. Dr. Gibson, one of my lesser standing cups doble gilt, with a cover. *Item*, I will and bequeath to William Woodhall, my nephew, two nests of gilt boles, *viz.* the greater and the less, and the bed wherein I use to ly in Lambeth; two pillars, and two pair of fine shetes, a pair of my best fustain blanketts, my tapstrie coverlid wrought with grene leaves, a liverie bed, and two pair of shetes, and other furniture mete for the same, my signet of gold, my great nutt, my best salt doble gilt; all the silk in my warderobe that shall not be made into apparel at the tyme of my death; one dozen of silver spons parcel gilt; one garnish of vessel, and two of my best geldings that are not given by name in this my testament; and my black straie nagg called Nix. And I do further forgive him all such debts as he oweth unto me upon specialties. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto Mr. Wilson, my Chaplain, all such books as I have assigned unto him, conteyned in a

scedule subscribed with my hand. And I will, that my executors shall assign unto him the advouson of the parsonage of Wonstone, in the dioces of Winchester, if it fall void in his lifetime. But if it shall fall void after the death of the said Mr. Wilson, then I will, that my executors shall assign the same to my Chaplain Mr. Robinson, now Provost of Quene's college in Oxon, unless he shall before have received some one of the advousons hereafter specified: and I do forgeve unto the said Mr. Wilson all such debts as he oweth me upon specialties. Also I will, that my executors shall assign unto the said Mr. Robinson the advouson of the dignitie and prebend in the church of Lytchfeld, or the advouson of certen dignytes and prebends 106 in the church of St. Davies, as sone as either of them shall fall void, at the election and choice of the said Mr. Robinson, unless he shall before have received the advouson of Wonstone aforesaid. But if the said dignities and prebends, or ether of them, shall not fall void in the lifetime of the said Mr. Robinson; or if they shall fall void after that he hath received the advouson of Wonstone aforesaid, then I will, that my executors shall assign one of the said advousons unto my Chaplain Mr. John Chambers, so sone as ether of the said dignities and prebends shall fall void, at the election and choice of the said Mr. Chambers. *Item*, I will, that my advouson of the dignitie of the church of Powles shall be bestowed upon some learned man, at the discretion of my executors, or the longest liver of them.

*Item*, I gyve and bequeath unto my nieces, Mabel, Anne, Barbara, and Frances, the daughters of Robert Grindal my brother late deceased, to every of them fifty pounds. And to my nieces, Dorotheie, Katheren, Elizabeth, and Isabel, the daughters of Elizabeth Woodhal, my sister late deceased, to every of them fifty pounds; to be divided amonges them at the discretion of William Woodhal their uncle. *Item*, I gyve to my niece Woodhal one bowle doble gilt, without a cover; and to my niece Isabel Wilson one other bowle doble gilt, without a cover; and to Edmund Woodhal my godson one of my little standing cups, with a cover, doble

BOOK II. gilt. *Item*, I will and bequeath to my niece Frances Young, widowe, one dozen of silver spones parcel gilt, a garnish of vessel, my little nut, and my can or tankerd, doble gilt. *Item*, I give unto John Scott, Esq. now Steward of my household, my gelding called Old Marshall; and my servant William Henmarshe, Gent. a ring, price twenty shillings; and to Robert Sandwich of Stillington, a ring, price thirty shillings. *Item*, I give to Robert Estwick, my Gentleman Usher, ten pounds for his fee at my burial: and to my servant Peter Palmer, Gent. ten pounds. And to Thomas Nicolson, Usher of my hall, five pounds. And to my servant William Grindal, ten pounds. And to my servants William Henley and Richard Matthew, to each of them one year's wages, and three pounds six shillings and eight pence. And to my servant John Acklam six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. And to my servant William Hales five pounds. Unless they be otherwise considered by me to the value thereof before my death. *Item*, I gyve to William Tubman my servant, ten pounds, and such books as are assigned unto him, conteyned in a scedula subscribed with my hand, and the advouson of the parsonage of Newington in Surrey, if it shall fall void in his lifetime. *Item*, I gyve to my servant Reignold Gledal, a good nagg, at the discretion of my executors, and forty shillings. *Item*, I give unto my servant John Sharpe, now Clerk of my kitchen, twenty pounds. *Item*, I give unto Richard Ratcliff, Gent. my Comptroller, thirty pounds, which he oweth me. And to Richard Frampton, Gent. my Secretary, ten pounds, out of his dett which he oweth me. *Item*, I gyve to Richard Somerdyne, late Yeoman of my horse, forty pounds, to be deducted out of his dett which he oweth unto  
107 me, upon specialtie for his lease of Rippon. *Item*, I gyve unto my loving friend Mr. Thomas Eaton, and to his wife, to ether of them, a ring, price twenty shillings; and I do forgyve him fifty pounds which he oweth unto me. *Item*, I gyve to Mr. William Strickland eight pounds. To Mr. Atherton seven pounds. To Mr. John Shutt ten pounds. To Mr. Warefeld of London, ten pounds. To Barston

and Ponder, eleven pounds: and to Saltmarsh forty shillings, of those detts which they and every of them do owe unto me. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to John Browne, Fellow of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, ten pounds, and all such books as are assigned unto him in a scedula subscribed with my hand; and my morning gown and hood geven to me at the burial of the late Bishop of Elie; and also a bed, with two pair of shetes, and other furniture to the same, if he receive not the same bed and furniture before my death. *Item*, I gyve Mr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, my white hobbie called York.

*Item*, I do ordein and constitute William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, John Scott, Esq. now Steward of my house, and William Woodhal my nephew, executors of this my last will and testament. And I gyve to every of them that shall take upon them the execution of this my testament, fifty pounds: and to every of them that shall refuse the same, I gyve ten pounds, to the intent they be favourers and furtherers of the execution thereof. The residew of all my goods and cattells, my detts and legacies being payd, and all other manner of charges being born and fully satisfied, I will, shall be bestowed upon the poorest of my kinsfolk and servants, and upon poor scholars, and other godlie uses, at the discretion of my executors. In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal hereunto, in the presence of the witnesses underwritten.

## E. CANT.

John. Walkerus Archidiac. Essexiae.

Per me Johan. Incent, Notar. Public.

Per me Thomam Redman, Notar. Public.

Will. Archbold.

Josua Gilpin.

William Kirton.

## Number XXI.

*A letter from Pembroke hall to Grindal, upon his advancement to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and upon certain endowments settled by him on that college.*

MSS. de  
custod.  
Pembro-  
chian.

ETSI nunquam tuam in nos, collegiumque nostrum, (amplissime, reverendissime Præsul,) neque beneficentiam essemus, neque pietatem experti, (quam certè experti sumus singularem, totaque domus frequenti prædicatione celebrat,) ii tamen sunt Præfecti nostri de summo tuo studio, insigni benevolentia, curaque de nobis incredibili, sermones, ut de amplitudine tuâ non sperare optimè, non sentire magnificè, non loqui honorificè, non queamus. Non solum enim peramicam te ait, celeberrimamque collegii mentionem etiam in gravissimarum rerum occupatione facere, sed ea quoque addere piorum benefactorum promissa, quibus nos amplissimæ dominationi tuæ, cum omnino omnes, tum sigillatim singulos ita devinxeris, ut non tam officiorum aliquorum vinculis tibi obstricti, quàm dediti planè ac devoti videamur. Quibus ornatissimi viri, de nobisque optimè meriti, sermonibus ita exhilarati sumus vel inflammati, ut protinus ardenti quadam cupiditate flagraremus erga amplitudinem tuam, ut quàm gratissimi et quàm officiosissimi cognosceremur. Præsertim cum in altissima celsissimaque sede dignitatis collocatus, de nostris tamen cogitare rebus, et Pembrochianorum tuorum patrocinium suscipere non digneris.

Quid enim nobis singulis optatius? Quid universis honorificentius? Quid aulæ Pembrochianæ gloriosius esse potuit, quàm in hominis, non solum excellenti doctrinâ singularique pietate spectatissimi, verum etiam pontificio splendore et autoritate, omni dignitateque illustrissimi, id est, et Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Grindalli, peregregiâ tutelâ esse? Certe nemo ex omnibus est, quos vel mater Academia aluit, vel collegium nostrum educavit, vel Doctorum monumenta celebrârunt, cuius fidei, virtuti, integritati malimus, quàm tuæ commendari. Imò tantum abest (honoratissime Præ-

sul) tibi quempiam ut anteferamus, ut ne conferamus quidem aliquem, sed facile primas, ut totius Angliæ Primi*BOOK  
II.*  
tribuamus. In quo est, quod magnopere etiam atque etiam Pembrochiani gloriemus, quod cum antea complures Episcopos habuerimus, egregia eruditionis virtutisque laude præstantes, Carliol. Exon. Winton. Dunelmen. Londin. Eboracen. nonnullos alios alumnos collegii nostri, nunc quoque aliquando tandem, ad sempiternam Pembrochianam gloriam, etiam ipsum Cantuariensem, ipsum Metropolitatum, ipsum Angliæ Primate, et sumnum denique Archiepiscopum, omnibus animi fortunæque ornamentis cumulatissimum, habeamus. Ad quem non tanquam ad Deum Delphicum, à poetis temerè confictum, sed tanquam ad Mecænatem, omnium scriptorum monumentis celeberrimum, et communem literarum vindicem, assiduè confugiamus, et in cuius suavissimo, sanctissimoque patrocinio, tanquam peropportuno diversorio, conquiescamus.

Nec vero non maximas Dei et sempiternas gratias debemus, cuius singulari beneficio propugnatorem adepti sumus et patronum tam singularem? Tibi etiam (reverendissime, colendissimeque Pater) secundum Deum, non modo gratias agimus, agemusque ut Mecænati, immortales, sed omnia præstantissimo et sanctissimo Patri emetiemur. Quod amplissimæ dominationi tuæ præterea impertiamus, præter supplices et assidas ad numen æternum preces, nihil habemus; a cuius præpotenti Majestate vehementer etiam atque etiam contendimus, ut amplitudinem tuam, cum ad nostram privatim, tum communem ecclesiæ reique publicatatem, quam diutissimè velit, et aliis rebus omnibus ornamentisque florentissimam, incolumem atque salvam conservare. Dat. Cantabr. è collegio nostro, vel potius tuo.

1576.

Tuæ Amplitudini, &c.



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